

# THE COLD WAR AND THE AMERICAS 1945-1981



# INTRODUCTION

- Contest of ideology, diplomatic movements, military activities, and political actions between the U.S. and Soviet Union
- Contest over geography: Eurasian land mass, focused on Central Europe and eastern Asia
- Smaller nations chose to align with U.S., Soviet Union, or remain neutral (non-aligned)
- How Cold War policies affected Canada and Latin America

# CONTAINMENT UNDER PRESIDENT TRUMAN

- Based on looking over the past, Truman's policy on containment appears to have been a success
- The fight against communism influenced popular culture.
- After WWII, Latin American countries believed that based on their contribution to the war effort and subordinating their policies to the policies of the U.S., they deserved more recognition and influence in Western Hemisphere policies
  - Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance and Solidarity agreement of March 1945
  - Looked to a return of FDR's Good Neighbor policy
- While Latin American countries looked at postwar relations with the U.S. in global context, the Truman Administration viewed relations through the Cold War prism
  - Stability, not democracy, was goal against communism

# CONTAINMENT pt. 2

- 1947- Rio Treaty moved toward military cooperation that shared anti-communistic views; concern over Argentina and Brazil
- Truman felt Latin American countries important to stem communism
- Latin American countries believed they were forced into containment doctrine without any reciprocal benefits
- While Latin American countries were requesting economic assistance, U.S. was paying little attention to their needs
- 1948- formation of Organization of American States to solidify defense policies against communism

# CONTAINMENT pt. 3

- Jan 20, 1949- Truman's Point Four programs
  - Scientific technical assistance and monetary aid to developing nations; unlike Africa and Asia, Latin America received little benefit
- June 25, 1950 N. Korea attacked S. Korea; marginalized Latin America in U.S. foreign policy- however, intensified anti-communist assistance in the region
- Mutual Security Act of 1951 provided \$38MM of military assistance to L.A.
  - Did little to change perception of little assistance from U.S.
- 1952; NSC-68- U.S. should seek orderly political and economic development in L.A. to resist communism

# CONTAINMENT pt. 4

- McCarthyism and anti-communism
  - 1947 marked the increase in actions from the House of Unamerican Activities Committee (HUAC)
    - Targeted suspected communists- “guilty until proven innocent”
    - Intimidated Hollywood and artists; “blacklisted”
  - Concurrent with HUAC step up was Truman’s prosecution of American Communist Party leaders under the Smith Act
    - 200 jailed
    - Created the Federal Loyalty Program in March 1947 to investigate and infiltrate communist activities in U.S.
  - Truman Doctrine in 1947 fought communism both domestically and internationally
    - Edgar Hoover and the FBI
    - Red Scare
    - McCarran Internal Security Act, 1950; required registration of communist groups

# CONTAINMENT pt. 5

- McCarthyism and anti-communism (cont)
  - Ethel and Julius Rosenberg- 1953 only citizens executed for espionage
  - Mao's victory in 1949 accelerated the concern for global rise of communism
- Joseph McCarthy
  - To politician's favor that they side with McCarthy
  - Democrats mostly objected but stayed silent
  - Used committee to investigate areas of federal gov't
  - Press's failure of McCarthy's accountability was major contributor to longevity of hearings
  - December 1954 Senate condemns him for abuse of power

# CONTAINMENT pt. 6

- McCarthyism and anti-communism: an assessment
  - Politically it helped the Republicans become majority party after decades of Democratic majorities; frenetic era of paranoia
- Social and Cultural Effects of McCarthyism and the Cold War
  - '40s and '50s- “the whole culture was permeated with anti-communism” Howard Zinn
  - Film, television, education, arts were all influenced by anti-communism; film industry was blacklisted
    - Evil communists were the antagonists of over 40 Hollywood movies
    - The Crucible by Arthur Miller addressed mass hysteria and witch hunts associated with the McCarthy Era
    - Television (on the rise) promoted anti-Soviet passions and support for U.S. domestic and foreign policy



# CONTAINMENT pt. 7

- Assessment of anti-communism
  - Education became an important vehicle to have lower classes climb the social ladder
  - The threat of Soviet “godless Communism” spurred religious groups to involve in U.S. government
  - The successful launch of Sputnik in 1957 shocked the U.S. and created perception of Soviet technological superiority
  - All sides of political spectrum were united in fighting communism
  - Federal government educated the public on the dangers of the Atomic Age; Atomic Café; “drop drills”
  - Fifties music had references to Cold War or nuclear disaster; Bob Dylan
  - Modern art was accused of being communist-influenced; arts and writing was influenced
  - Accelerating consumerism was promoted to fight communism

# THE KOREAN WAR, 1950-53

- June 25, 1950, 100K N. Korean soldiers invaded the South
  - Objective was to reunite North with South under communism with Kim Il-Sung
  - 15 UN nations committed to military action creating the first test of UN's collective security; intended to be a "limited war"
  - Chinese intervened and contemplation of nuclear weapons
- Background to Korean War
  - At end of WWII, Japanese surrendered and U.S. and Soviet Union split Korea along 38<sup>th</sup> parallel
  - Syngman Rhee president of South and Kim Il-Sung pres. of North
  - Kim proposed attack to Stalin and agreed to proceed
  - Truman asked Security Council to condemn and have military response

# Korean War pt. 2

- Truman determined to limit war for three reasons
  - Keep Soviets out and prevent direct confrontation
  - Korea might be diversion to Soviet advances in Europe
  - Considered public opinion; isolationist after WWII
- Truman realized he had to fight to contain communism
  - Did not want Congress to declare war; just police action
- Military Developments
  - Stage 1: Invasion and Inchon
    - Four days after invasion, North captured Seoul
    - MacArthur lands 25K men at Inchon and moves inland
    - U.S. retakes Seoul and crosses the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel

# KOREAN WAR pt. 2

- Military Developments (cont)
  - Stage 2: Chinese Intervention
    - MacArthur charges north and takes Pyongyang
    - U.S. and Korean forces near Yalu River (Chinese border)
    - Nov 27<sup>th</sup>, 300K Chinese soldiers invade- U.S. suffers major defeat
    - Chinese soldiers push back and retake Seoul
  - Stage 3: Stalemate and Panmunjom
    - March 20, 1951, Truman reiterates limited war and seek peace
    - Truman fired MacArthur on April 11
    - Conflict moves back to 38<sup>th</sup> parallel
    - Talks occur at Panmunjom- cease fire on July 27, 1953
    - Civilian losses betwee 2-2.5MM; 3 years and 2 days
    - No clear victory but sense of relief

# KOREAN WAR pt. 3

- Canada and Colombia in the Korean War
  - Canada prime minister Louis St. Laurent cautiously brought Canada into the war
    - No ground forces initially, just naval and air support
    - Sent 27K soldiers and sailors; 3<sup>rd</sup> largest contingent
  - Colombia sent 6200 soldiers; Battle of Pork Chop Hill; six warships
- Political Consequences of the Korean War
  - Korea first effort of communist state overtaking non-communist neighbor
  - Limited war was feasible; choose not to use nuclear option
  - Canada- initiate most costly and largest peacetime rearmament
  - U.S.- further strained U.S.- Soviet relations
  - Single minded commitment by all U.S. presidents to contain communism; supported by U.S. public opinion

# EISENHOWER, DULLES AND THE NEW LOOK

- After Korean Conflict, Eisenhower administration turned attention elsewhere- U.S. looks to Western Hemisphere
  - Guatemala and Arbenz administration one of biggest threats
  - U.S. used skills of the CIA to engage adversary regimes to destabilize those governments
    - Banana republics of Central America
    - United Fruit Company
    - U.S. military and economic dominance replaced British dominance
  - U.S. moved to support military regimes that had anti-communist positions; opposite of U.S. ideals; pragmatism

# EISENHOWER pt. 2

- President Eisenhower's National Security and Foreign Policies
  - Eisenhower won presidency in 1952, took away from Democrats since 1933
  - Republican economic policy is "laissez-faire"; hands off; free market
    - Limited economic assistance to struggling countries; in regards to the Americas:
      - Commodities proposals during the Truman adm. were put on hold
      - Creation of an Inter-American Development Bank were put on hold
      - Latin Am. countries were advised that they should encourage U.S. investment
  - National security policy- "New Look"
    - Developed out of NSC-162/2
    - Smaller army and navy
    - Increase in nuclear weapon reserves and expanding air force
    - Led to a strategy of "brinkmanship"- forced to back down

# EISENHOWER pt. 3

- Eisenhower foreign policies (cont)
  - Realized that nuclear buildup would create theory of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD)
  - Other way to contain communism and Soviet threat- covert actions and use of CIA
  - CIA actions included:
    - Foreign leaders on payroll
    - Subsidizing anti-communist labor unions, newspapers and political parties overseas
    - Hiring U.S. journalists and academics to make contact with foreign student leaders
    - Co-opt business executives to report back vulnerabilities
    - Creation of U.S. Information Agency to spread U.S. culture – Voice of America
    - Funding Radio Free Europe
    - Training military officers in counterrevolutionary methods
    - Conducting covert operations to overthrow regimes hostile to the U.S.



# EISENHOWER pt. 4

- Eisenhower's foreign policies (cont)
  - Critical to the CIA is plausible deniability by the president – removed from decision-making
- Implications of the New Look for the Region
  - Needed to be a continental defense policy, not just a border policy
  - Feared encroachment of Soviets on Canadian territory
    - 1958 agreed with Canada on North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD)- bi-national defense organization that provides advance warning on attacks
  - Dulles maintained that communism was on the rise in L.A. and it remained the largest threat to U.S. security
  - “Domino Theory”- one falls, all fall
  - In reality most regimes in L.A. had lost communistic position
    - Socialistic ideals were present, but not through a communist party

# EISENHOWER pt. 5

- Eisenhower foreign policies (cont)
  - L.A. elites were embracing new models of economic development away from communism
  - The New Look's focus on minimizing costs was reflected in the support of the military and use of covert actions
- Guatemala and the Use of Covert Operations
  - Previous to Arbenz, support for U.S. policies and investment
    - United Fruit Company; large U.S. investment
  - Arbenz had three objectives
    - Economic independence
    - Establishment of modern capitalist state
    - Increased standard of living for population
  - Agrarian Reform Bill allowed Guatemalan gov't to expropriate uncultivated land from large plantations
    - Much of land was from UFCO; 85% uncultivated
    - UFCO believed unfairly compensated
    - Interrelationship of U.S. political and economic interests became clear

# EISENHOWER pt. 6

- Eisenhower foreign policies (cont)
  - Domino Theory applied- if Arbenz could do it, all L.A. countries could
  - U.S. resorted to both embargo and covert operations to oppose Arbenz
  - Arms shipment from Poland gave U.S. excuse to claim Arbenz a communist
  - Castillo and CIA support in 1954 forced Arbenz to resign
  - Situation in L.A. seemed to quiet down; Dulles argued that threat of communism had been diminished as a result of U.S. actions

## Nixon's visit to South America

May 1958- Opposition in discussions was respectful, but U.S. State dept and press portrayed the protestors as angry mobs of communists

In order to keep the leftists from power, U.S. needed to endorse economic aid;

Inter-American Development Bank- provided money for social and economic programs in the region

U.S. committed \$500MM rather than \$20-30BB requested

# EISENHOWER pt.7

- Eisenhower and the Cuban Revolution
  - Castro made a trip to U.S. in April 1959 but only Nixon met him
  - Eisenhower authorized a CIA plan to train Cuban exiles to overthrow Castro's regime
  - Program floundered
  - New Look policies were used to try to prevent communism from taking root in the Americas

# U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN THE VIETNAM WAR

- August 7, 1964 Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin resolution that authorized LBJ to use conventional military forces in Southeast Asia without a formal declaration of war
- U.S. involvement in Vietnam can be divided into three stages
  - 1945-1964- assistance, first to France then to South Vietnam
  - 1964-1968, escalation of U.S. involvement from 15K advisors to 500K soldiers under LBJ
  - “Vietnamization”- Nixon’s attempt to achieve “peace with honor”
- Went far beyond containment and the domino theories; changed society and culture in the U.S.

# U.S AND VIETNAM pt. 2

- Involvement in Indochina, 1945-65
  - War in Indochina began right after WWII
    - France wanted to hold onto colonies (Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, Laos)
    - After France lost Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh declares Vietnam independent
    - U. S. labels Viet Minh a communist regime
  - April 1954, Eisenhower verbalizes his doctrine of containment
  - Geneva Accords were signed in July 1954; U.S. and Vietnam did not sign but agreed to 17<sup>th</sup> parallel to split North and South
  - Eight nations including U.S., U.K., France and Australia agree in 1955 to sign South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)
  - Elections to unify were cancelled and Ho Chi Minh's guerillas infiltrated the South- Vietcong

# U.S. AND VIETNAM pt. 3

- Diem became president of the South and Eisenhower supported with equipment, weapons and 1000 military soldiers as advisors to arm the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN)
- The majority of ARVN units were badly trained
- Kennedy's first year was a foreign policy disaster
  - Bay of Pigs failure
  - Building Berlin Wall
  - Started escalation in Vietnam
- Escalation, 1964-1968
- Following the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, the U.S. went from assisting the South to taking control of the war.
  - Limited war with no declaration of war
  - "Operation Rolling Thunder" – air offensive against the North
  - Both air and ground war heated up

# U.S. AND VIETNAM pt. 4

- LBJ tried to win the war prior to 1968 elections
- The Tet Offensive of January 1968 was the turning point in the war
  - Anti-war protests were beginning in U.S.
  - On Jan 31, North successfully invaded the South; 85K Viet Cong and North soldiers
  - Significant erosion of U.S. public opinion
- LBJ decided not to run and Nixon won in 1968
- Vietnamization and Withdrawal, 1969-1973
  - Nixon's policy of turning war over to South Vietnamese Army
  - Last bombing was August 1972
  - Paris Peace Accords were signed in Jan. 1973
  - Early March 1973, North began full scale invasion of the South
  - Saigon collapsed on April 30th



# U.S. AND VIETNAM pt. 5

- The Domestic Impact of the Vietnam War
  - 1960s witnessed the rise of the middle class, evolution of the civil rights movement, the women's movement, rise of the youth culture and government initiatives in social reform
    - The war became a catalyst for the changes and made U.S. reconsider its global image and status
  - Universities became centers of dissent; youth protested
  - Clear racial and class divisions as to who would serve; initiated the draft
  - Walter Cronkite's disenchantment with the war swayed public opinion
  - Lt. Wm. Calley and Mai Lai massacre hurt military reputation

# U.S. AND VIETNAM pt. 6

- Kent State Shootings
  - Apr. 30, 1970 Nixon announces the invasion and bombing of Cambodia
  - National Guard kill four innocent students on May 4
  - NYC mayor John Lindsay denounces Nixon and claims the country is on the edge of spiritual and physical breakdown
- Conclusion of Vietnam War
  - Between 1964-1973 over 2MM served in Vietnam and over 500K had resisted the draft
  - Historical consensus has yet to be determined
  - Entire peninsula of Indochina fell to communism
  - Pol Pot in Khymer Rouge killed approx. 1.5MM Cambodians
  - Brought U.S. and USSR to bargaining table resulting in SALT; began U.S. relations with China

# U.S. FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS THE AMERICAS

- The Kennedy Administration
  - Best known for resolution of Cuban Missile Crisis
  - Alliance for Progress was a program that attempted to create stability through assistance rather than coercion
  - Marked by strong Soviet presence in Western Hemisphere
- Flexible Response and the Kennedy Doctrine
  - Doctrine was warning the Soviet Union to stay out of the Americas and pledged to reverse any Soviet incursions into the region that had already occurred
  - Flexible response had the nuclear option as the last option; other options were negotiation, economic assistance to developing and non-aligned nations, continuance of covert operations and expansion of conventional forces

# U.S. AND AMERICAS pt. 2

- The Alliance for Progress
  - \$500MM in assistance to Latin America and 10 year plan with six objectives
    - Increase per capita income
    - Diversify trade
    - Industrialize and increase employment
    - Bring about price stability
    - Eliminate adult illiteracy
    - Bring about social reform
  - Through prosperity, there will be stability and democracy
  - Increase funding to \$22.3BB throughout the '60s
  - Ultimately, Alliance for Progress failed; Only \$10 per person per yr
  - In Kennedy's last year there were six coups
  - By the end of the decade, dictatorship was main form of gov't

# U.S. AND AMERICAS pt. 3

- The Cuban Missile Crisis
  - Of all L.A. countries, Cuba consumed most of JFK's time
  - Bay of Pigs failure humiliated JFK's administration
  - Summer of 1962, U.S. intelligence noted heavy Soviet activity in Cuba
  - Oct. 16, 1962, confirmation of Soviet missiles in Cuba
  - Quarantine (blockade) of port of Havana
  - Brinkmanship policy was created
  - Khrushchev backed down ordering ships to turn around
  - Closest engagement for nuclear confrontation
- The Johnson Administration
  - LBJ's legacy was Vietnam
  - The Mann Doctrine in 1964 addressed conflicting U.S. interests in the region

# U.S. AND AMERICAS pt. 4

- The Johnson Administration (cont)
  - The Mann Doctrine (cont)- policies should focus on:
    - Economic growth with neutrality towards social reform
    - Protection of U.S. private investments
    - Opposition to communism
    - Non-intervention
    - No moral reserve about cooperating with military generals to achieve policy goals
    - No preference for democratic states or institutions
  - April 1964 was first use of this in Brazil
- The Nixon Administration
  - His administration killed the Alliance for Progress; actually fueled some discontent

# U.S. AND AMERICAS pt. 5

- Nixon and Chile
  - 1970 Salvador Allende took office against U.S. wishes
    - Remove him from power
  - U.S. used both covert operations and economic measures to try to oust
  - August 1973 Augusto Pinochet named head of army
  - U.S. went to significant lengths to oust a democratically elected president
  - The Rockefeller Report of 1969 addressed L.A. and assessed due to political upheaval and strong Marxist presence, made sense to collaborate with military rulers to prevent spread of communism

# U.S. AND AMERICAS pt. 6

- The Carter Administration
  - Initial shift away from Cold War foreign policy
  - More concerned with environmental issues and improve human rights abroad through U.S. assistance and pressure
  - Foreign policy advisers were often in opposition with each other
  - External events plagued his presidency
    - Soviet build up in Afghanistan
    - Boycott of 1980 Moscow Olympics
    - Iranian Revolution of 1979
  - In Americas, Carter was focused on human rights and the Panama Canal (12/31/1999)
    - In unprecedented move, economic assistance could be denied based on human rights' violations
    - Oct 1979, coup in El Salvador prompted fears of Southeast Asia repeat
  - Events of L.A., USSR and Iran led back to Cold War containment policies



# THE COLD WAR IN CHILE, 1945-1981

- Interesting study how Chilean foreign and domestic policies reflected global realignments in Cold War
- Elected governments from the right represented conservative oligarchies and favored middle sectors of society, ignoring the working classes- lower classes sought inclusion by the '50s; strikes and discontent
- Women's suffrage in 1949
- Carlos Ibanez elected with 47% in 1952
- Inflation rate of 51%
- 1957 political parties of the left banded together- Popular Action Front (FRAP); Ibanez's gov't harshly repressed against the communists

# CHILEAN COLD WAR pt. 2

- 1958 election, Jorge Alessandri with 1/3 of vote was installed
- The left, encouraged by Cuba, fueled protest and gained strength
- Centrist party, Christian Democratic Party (PDC) emerged as strong reformist
  - PDC received nearly ½ its campaign funds from U.S. and European sources for candidate Eduardo Frei
- Frei won 56% but still dealt with lack of consensus in Congress compounded by agrarian reform implementation
- Frei's gov't was plagued with miners' strikes and student protests and foreign policy was avoiding direct confrontation with U.S. power
- PDC tried to find a middle ground between capitalism and communism; did not work

# CHILEAN COLD WAR pt. 3

- 1970 Popular Unity (UP) won and Allende was reelected president
  - Political climate became highly charged
  - Allende wanted deep changes in social, political and economic systems
  - Implemented a domestic policy that enlarged gov't social services and nationalized key industries; continued agrarian reforms
  - Expropriation of land created violent confrontations and Allende reached out to Soviets and Cuba
  - U.S. blockade plus hyperinflation had effect
  - Allende's policy of salary increase and price fixing had short term political benefits, but control of coalition was weakening and he began to distance himself
  - 1973, gov't had gone through 10 cabinet changes; he resigns and Pinochet becomes commander-in-chief

# CHILEAN COLD WAR pt. 4

- Sept 11, 1973, Pinochet stages military coup; Allende commits suicide
  - Suspended rights of citizens, curtailed civil liberties, freedom of press
- By 1978, discovery of bodies reveals significant human rights abuses
- Changing circumstances in Cold War plus continuing pressure on human rights abuses turned public opinion against Pinochet in 1989; voted out of office