INTER-AMERICAN COOPERATION THROUGH
UNITED STATES PROGRAMS FOR
CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

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INTER-AMERICAN COOPERATION THROUGH
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CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

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CHAPTER I

CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

Objectives

The problem.—In the past few years an obvious reversal of United States foreign policy in inter-American affairs has been indicated by the new interest in cooperation and multilateralism. After the long period of our unilateral interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine as the guiding paen of policy, doubt or mistrust was the usual reaction in the other American countries. Cultural understanding among the nations of the hemisphere is the broad base on which any permanently effective cooperation must be founded. In nearly all the twenty-one American states this fact is understood; consequently, government programs have been set up to develop a wider knowledge in each country of the cultural concepts of the others. The purpose of this thesis is to examine and discuss the efforts and arrangements made by the United States to promote cultural understanding in the American hemisphere.

Up to a short time ago, through long years of independence of the American nations, very few people of this hemisphere made any effort to know their neighbors.
Anglo-Americans and Latin Americans looked on Europe as of major significance and looked on each other as of small importance. Today we begin to glimpse our similarities, our innate differences from Europeans, our economic future, our interdependence, and our idealistic ambitions. Provincialism, nationalism, ignorance, hatred, and lack of understanding must be destroyed. In their place, a basis for the establishment and maintenance of world peace must be substituted. The foundation for this understanding may have a fortunate beginning in programs for cultural understanding as aids to more effective inter-American cooperation.

The title.—A long title is best understood by dividing it into its various parts. "Inter-American Cooperation Through Cultural Understanding" is taken to mean mutual assistance of the republics of the American Hemisphere in international problems of this part of the world and those disquieting affairs of other sections that affect us. It is believed that the most feasible approach to inter-American cooperation is through a basic foundation of understanding of the ideas, customs, and techniques of the American neighborhood of states. "United States Programs" will include not only the work of the Department of State and other governmental agencies but also that of many varied private groups in the fields of
their own special interests where their activities relate to Pan American cultural understanding.

Plan of the study.—In the winter of 1936, Secretary of State Cordell Hull made a speech before the State Department Conference on Cultural Relations in which he outlined the broad concepts of the approach to cultural understanding.¹

Understanding, trust in each other, and friendliness are the foundations of those close relations of cooperation upon which the progress of all depends. Education, exchange of information, earnest effort to learn from each other and to understand and respect each other's point of view are among the greatest factors in promoting these essential objectives.

These ideas might well be taken as the basis of any study of cultural relations. United States policy has been enlarged since the Buenos Aires Conference of 1936 to include a definite program such as outlined in Hull's statement. Much has been done in this matter, yet we have barely scratched the surface. To help bring about an understanding of the need, development, and changes of this kaleidoscopic movement is the purpose of this study. When it is remembered that some form of Pan Americanism has been in existence almost continuously since 1826, that many problems have affected the serenity of the American

¹Hull: Bulletin of Pan American Union, February 4, 1939, p. 79.
hemisphere, that we are even now engaged in the aftermath of a titanic ideological struggle, and that international procedure must change; then the importance of understanding and cooperation becomes evident.

The first chapter of the thesis deals with a discussion of the objectives and the depth of the problem. Here are defined the principal words around which the study is written. Culture is so broad a study in itself that some limitation must be put on its scope and its relation to other phases of society in this study. Reasons for the choice of the subject are brought out in a short survey of our present and recent cultural and social problems in the matter of Pan American relations. These difficulties are the very real and extremely important problems which make an improvement in cultural understanding mandatory.

A knowledge of historical background is necessary in the study of a problem so broad and important as inter-American cultural understanding. This background is the subject matter of Chapter II. This chapter goes into the early lack of interest of the United States in Latin America and the beginnings of our first interest in the other countries of the hemisphere. Then, a brief reconstruction of our inter-American foreign policy is brought in for the purpose of bringing the discussion up to date.
This examination includes the ideas of the first applications of the Monroe Doctrine, United States imperialism in the Caribbean area, the first few Pan American conferences, and finally the development of the Good Neighbor Policy. This last policy is the one which is implemented by the programs for cultural understanding.

"Buen Vecino" became the watchword of democracy in a great and continuing struggle of ideologies, worldwide in the past few years, as it developed in the American Hemisphere. The forces of evil, as we consider them, and their operations in this part of the world are discussed in Chapter III. The effects of cultural nationalism on relations of sovereign states are discussed from the standpoint of nationalistic hindrances to cooperation and understanding. Here too, are examined the cultural concepts opposing the idea of the Good Neighbor. Hispano-Americanism, the work of the Falangistas, and the effects of Fascist penetration are shown to be our rivals in Latin America. These forces are the ones that necessitate our change of policy; they become the reason why our cooperation with the other American nations must be improved and why cultural understanding is called for.

The third and fourth chapters make up the body of the thesis. The work which has been done and that which is
planned by the United States is the subject matter of Chapter IV. Any program as large as the one of this discussion cannot be completely covered in a study of this size; however, its general scope is outlined, and various examples from the different fields involved are examined in detail. Both governmental and private agencies are primarily interested in this work; upon them is placed the burden of increasing our understanding among the Americas.

In conclusion, the outlook and goals of the program in inter-American affairs are the material for the last chapter. Here the problem is observed as a present force and also as a probable future means of success in the foreign policy of the United States. If the plans for cultural understanding are to continue; then, as the program grows, it will need additional fields of endeavor, and the pitfalls of past relations must be avoided. Finally, there is a short discussion of American aims in international relations showing how they can be aided by cooperation based on sound reciprocal cultural understanding by the peoples of the whole world.

In his address on Pan American Day in April, 1933, President Roosevelt showed how the new policy toward
Latin America was to operate when he said:

The essential qualities of Pan Americanism must be the same as those which constitute a good neighbor, namely, mutual understanding and, thru such understanding, a sympathetic appreciation of the other's point of view. It is only in this manner that we can hope to build up a system of which confidence, friendship, and good-will are the cornerstones.

This statement was the authority from which the policy came. Now we will see how it developed to become what it is today.

Definitions

Interchange of ideas.—Cultural understanding will always come from interchange of ideas as naturally as association between individuals, for example, will cause them to know each other more fully. Regular foreign relations between states bring about a certain amount of such knowledge, but for a long time the American nations had very little even of these fundamental associations. Throughout the early period of discovery and exploration and during the colonial stage, the Spanish, French, Portuguese, English, and other colonies showed little more than a hostile isolationist interest in each other. Inter-American cooperation really began when Joseph

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2J. E. Johnsen, editor: United States Foreign Policy, (1939), p. 139.
Napoleon entered Spain giving the colonies an excuse to organize juntas for government in the interest of Ferdinand VII. For the first time the Spanish colonies had a chance for interrelationship without the medium of the mother country, and the first faint stirrings of United States' interest in the lands to the south began to be discerned. Since that time, the United States has been interested in relations with the other American governments. Our present and future problems make necessary a new and sounder basis for more effective and continued cooperation. This cooperation is to be found in a friendly understanding of the cultural concepts of each other. Some types of cultural understanding started in the Pan American Union, beginning as early as 1906, with the exchange of educational information. This work was followed by other conferences of special phases of business and intellectual life in the Hemisphere; however, a formal treaty setting up a definite program of cultural relations was not completed until 1936. In this thesis we are concerned with the interest in the problem since the Treaty of Buenos Aires, because United States programs for understanding have developed since that time.

Meaning of culture.—Dictionaries define culture as the civilization of a race of people, including religion,
arts, and social customs. When the economic and political ideas of a people are added to those other forces which drive men's lives, it is plain to be seen how a general understanding of the cultures of others can mitigate some of the ignorance and misunderstanding of public opinion which affect foreign policy so directly. Of the many different versions of culture, Wissler\(^3\) has one of the best when he says we can condense American culture into the concepts of "mechanical invention," "mass education," and "universal suffrage;" "because no matter where we go in this land of ours, the towns will manifest cycles of activities associated with such concepts." When we speak of cultural understanding, then, it is the study and improved knowledge of these phases of life in all the American countries that must be understood. The manifestations are similar everywhere but never the same. More effective inter-American cooperation will result from systematic plans for popular comprehension of these backgrounds.

It is found, as one outline shows,\(^4\) that there is a universal culture in which national cultures vary only in forms of the general pattern. The pattern includes speech, material traits, art, mythology and religious practices, scientific knowledge, family and social systems, property,

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\(^3\) Wissler: *Man and Culture*, (1938), p. 3. \(^4\) Ibid., p. 74.
government, and ideas of war. True cultural understanding would mean a knowledge of the principal national characteristics of these general traits. This is the information we seek.

Relation of culture to society.--A report in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,⁵ in showing the relationship of institutions to culture and their importance to civilization, explains that our social concepts, based on knowledge of politics, economics, sociology, philosophy, and history, determine the processes by which men work through institutions. Culture"...the system of artifacts, associations, and codes of behavior... seems to be a more or less casual structure of man's wishes." This structure, no matter how imperfect the world's knowledge or immature its ideas and beliefs, is the result of the meandering haphazard operations of society which has advanced to our present complicated pattern of culture. The Western State System has built up international relations on nationalistic interpretations of these principles. Mitigation of fallacious international disruptions cannot begin or be sufficiently assured without the foundation of cultural understanding.

Cultural understanding.--Keeping in mind that we are seeking cultural understanding to help further the interest

of inter-American cooperation, it must be remembered that our search is for "understanding" and not transfers or recipients for either our culture or some other. The United States Department of State cautions:

Cultural interchange in its nature is fundamentally reciprocal. It is necessarily a matter of give and take. It means influencing and being influenced. If we have much of value to contribute to the other American republics, we also have much to receive.

A fact to remember is that the other American republics are growing in economic power and political significance. We may look forward to a day when their population will outstrip our own. It is worthwhile, then, to turn our thoughts toward the profits which may come to the United States and its people from inter-American exchange in the cultural and intellectual field.

Antipathy, misunderstanding, and antagonism render the problem acute. It is not an easy problem. The approach must be psychologically scientific; the operation must be cooperatively effective. Cultural understanding is a development which needs slow, careful nurture, building always on what already exists. Powys believes that a person naturally camouflages his real temperament on meeting a stranger, that people are civil and polite until the nature of each is understood.

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6 Department of State: Bulletin No. 1382, 1940.
7 J. C. Powys: Meaning of Culture, (1929, p. 226.)
This is good procedure in our own program; caution is necessary, we do not want over-impetuosity.

Importance of the Subject

Cultural and social ills.—In the past few years, the world has gone through one of the greatest periods of struggle over ideologies it has ever seen. There has been cultural conflict, and rivalries have been so intense that it is easy to understand why, before World War II, some thinkers fell into pessimism regarding the outcomes. Unless the improbable happens, Schuman thinks we are bound for a new dark age, and Spengler says, "We cannot help it if we are born as men of the early winter of full Civilization..." and continues in the belief that a newer and more vigorous culture will take the place of our own. Our way of life was, and may still be, at stake. Many events and experiences have caused the development of such ideas. Seligman explains:

The neo-barbarian of the twentieth century has for one of his foremost objectives the suppression of free communication and the ensuing darkening of the human spirit.... All those forces are joined which make for the enlightenment and liberation of mankind against those which would return to the slavery of the past.

Although such conditions have not necessitated failure and

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10Ibid., p. 25.
utter ruin, they expose the magnitude and enormity of the
forces which have been in array against us. Beals, in his
book finished just as the war was beginning, left us a
gleam of light when he said, 11

We are doomed to confusion and possible defeat un-
less what we call democracy can become a positive
force with definite goals rather than a fear-filled
multitude quivering before radios, terrifiedly cling-
ing to the not-too-perfect status quo, and utilizing
emotions chiefly for hysterical hatred of such ogres
as Hitler and Mussolini.

Democracy's development was the key. Could we have hesi-
tated and ended like France? The answer is here today.
First, we had to meet the military obligations of defeating
our enemies. At the same time, plans for building again
on stronger foundations for international relations had to
be set up and put into effect.

Idealism may have something to offer after all. World
peace may not have to wait on the millenium, for coopera-
tion and friendship have developed in the New World. Even
if that development has been due primarily to world war,
our successes offer wonderful encouragement. The develop-
ments are extremely important. As Archibald MacLeish says,12
"Cultural relations are no longer irrelevancies." We can-
not consider them so while the main question of the

11Pan America, (1940), p. 10.
12Nation, February 10, 1940, pp. 170-172.
present has become cultural. Ideas are conflicting; it is the idea of democracy that has been challenged.

Pan American understanding.--Cultural competition did exist, and democracy was in danger; therefore, no ideological struggle must be allowed to lapse until we are completely successful. Limiting this thought to the Hemisphere, it is wise to consider Stuart's observation that only recently have the people of the United States made any effort to understand their southern neighbors.\textsuperscript{13} Newspaper notices had been confined to back-page squibs. Spanish and Portuguese languages were seldom taught. There were very few university courses in Latin American affairs, and the problems of the southern nations were not part of our public information.

That inter-American cooperation was begun none too soon is evident. With that cooperation public opinion began to feel the effects of increased knowledge. We can see the effects of lack of insight and understanding from the examples of Europe. Angell maintains that governments there were kept from correct policies by public opinion.\textsuperscript{14} Hitler succeeded in Europe where his opponents' realization came too late. This fact has a certain and definite effect

\textsuperscript{13} G. H. Stuart: \textit{Latin America and the United States}, (1938), p. 10.

\textsuperscript{14} N. Angell: \textit{America's Dilemma: Alone or Allied}, (1940), p. 3.
on the Americas. International developments leading to world war have shown the nations of the American hemisphere that the Panama Canal is no longer a ditch that divides the two continents but is a bond, instead, uniting them in preserving their liberties and the achievement of a common destiny. 15 The Americas are naturally drawn together because of certain geographical, economic, and political facts. We all live in a new world with our greatest development ahead. We have both temperate and tropical climates so that competition need not be too severe. We all revolted from European states to organize republican forms of government, and we are determined to maintain ourselves free from foreign encroachments. These basic facts provide strong elements for the building of continental solidarity.

15 Department of State: op. cit.
CHAPTER II

PREVIOUS POLICIES OF THE
UNITED STATES

United States Preoccupation

Early interest.—Regarding the recent change in the policies of our government toward Latin America, one author raises the question: "Why the sudden upsurge of affection? Is it love for love's sweet sake or is there a dowry in the offering?" United States policy toward the Latin American countries has undergone a remarkable about-face in the last few years. Why should our policy have changed? Was it unsatisfactory? Thus, the necessity for a general survey of the broad trends of inter-American relations is demonstrated. Relations with the other republics of the Americas can be summarized in three periods: that of United States internal preoccupation from about 1800 to around 1895, the period of imperialism from 1895 to approximately 1930, and that of United States interest in multilateralism from 1930 to the present.

Continental expansion and consolidation, the development of democracy and public education, and the building

1 Hubert Herring, "Making Friends with Latin America," Harper's, September 1939, p. 360.
of an industrial system kept the United States from any intense or maintained interest in Latin America for more than a century. Yet even as the new republic was passing from infancy through national adolescence toward maturity as a world power, a policy was enlarging.

Latin American affairs.—Trouble with Spain over Florida and the acquisition of Louisiana from France increased the natural interest of a country formed in revolution in the successes of others engaged in similar civil strife. Napoleon's predicament helped L'Ouverture's Black Rebellion in Haiti in 1804; and when Joseph came to the Spanish throne in 1808, the Spanish colonies took this as the first opportunity to establish juntas governing in the interest of Ferdinand VII. This procedure continued until about 1824, gradually developing into movements for complete independence from Spain. By 1822, the United States was sending representatives to Argentina and Chile to sign preliminary treaties of amity and commerce.

Toward the close of the year 1824, Simon Bolivar, the great liberator of South America, began to see the opportunity for bringing up one of his most cherished projects, that is, the unification of the new Spanish American states in an international assembly. He issued
his well-known circular letter of December 7, 1824, inviting the American republics, formerly colonies of Spain, to take part in an "Assembly of Plenipotentiaries." Later the United States and Brazil were invited by the governments of Colombia, Mexico, and Central America. Great Britain had a special invitation; it was rumored that France would be represented; and the Netherlands, whether invited or not, sent an agent to Panama. The Assembly was to meet later at Tacayuba, Mexico, to go further with the idea. However the first meeting was far from successful, and the later meeting failed to take place. According to Lockey, Bolivar's aims and ideas were premature, and more than likely, they would be so today. 2 The failure of the conference is well-known, and the exclusion of the United States is still desired by the supporters of Pan Latinism; but the fact that the Assembly was actually held over a hundred and fifteen years ago and has had at least some support continuously ever since shows its importance and approval.

President John Quincy Adams expressed the opinion that accidents unforeseen and mischances not to be anticipated might baffle the high purposes and disappoint the expectations of the conference. "But the design," he declared, "is great, is benevolent, humane." Henry Clay said, "The Congress would form a new epoch in human affairs. The fact itself,

whatever may be the issues of such a congress, cannot fail to challenge the attention of the present generation of the civilized world and to command that of posterity. 3

Monroe Doctrine.—Canning’s refusal of Great Britain’s assistance to the Holy Alliance and his request for United States’ participation in joint maintenance of Latin American independence, coupled with the young nation’s fear of European entanglements, led to the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine in the Presidential Message to Congress in December, 1823. From the beginning and for the first three-quarters of a century, the Doctrine was defensive, unilateral, and regarded with favor, but as a presumption, by Latin America. 4

In 1825, Secretary of State Clay issued a statement that the United States would look with disfavor on the control of Cuba by any other than Spain. Clay even frowned on Colombian and Mexican offers of assistance to Cuba in securing independence, believing that such aid should come from the United States. But when Argentina asked for our assistance, under the authority of the Monroe Doctrine, in the Falkland Islands dispute with England, the decision was that England had prior claim and no involvement of Monroe’s assertion was found.

3 [Ibid., p. 317. 4Department of State: Bulletin No. 1369]
During the Mexican War, it was held that the Doctrine had no effect over transfers of territory to other American states, but in 1848 Polk declared the United States would not consent to transfers to non-American powers, even though such transfers were voluntary.

Just as the American Civil War was beginning, England, France, and Spain asked United States' participation in intervention in Mexico to force settlement of claims, and another incident developed. The United States refused, while England and Spain withdrew from Mexico after a treaty with Juarez; but France persisted in setting up the ill-fated, notorious regime of Maximilian. Juarez continued his revolution against the French, and the United States never withdrew its recognition of the great Indian's government. Secretary Seward sent a mild but definite note to the French showing United States disapproval. During the Civil War Napoleon III's power increased, and Maximilian and the French soldiers remained. The United States refrained from further action, not being able to risk foreign difficulties while the Civil War was in progress. By the end of the Brothers' War, European and domestic stirrings had begun to worry the French monarch; and the addition of a more specific note from Seward with the potential backing of a proved army was sufficient to change French policy, leaving Maximilian to his fate.
About this same time, during the American Civil War, the poverty-ridden and politically incapable Dominican Republic had asked and received the protection of Spain. Seward made no comment during the war, for after all there was nothing illegal in a protectorate; however, chronic problems burned the fingers of Spain, and the agreement was terminated in 1865. During this period the United States seemed to notice Latin American states only when outside interests forced attention; for example, the effect of Manifest Destiny on our Mexican relations.

The next thirty years saw an evolution take place. The United States consolidated its boundaries, while a vast industrial system financed by corporate wealth was mushrooming. Transportation and communication flowered, and all the age-old vistas of empire scintillated with a growing, manifold luster. Why? Why does imperialism ever develop? Its effect on United States Latin American policy was profound.

United States Imperialism

Causes.—R. L. Schuman says that a strong industrial nation and a weak agricultural state are the prerequisites for imperialism. Those conditions were ideal in the Caribbean. One of the most important steps in setting the stage for intervention was the long controversy over the Venezuelan

boundary. As early as Grant's administration, United States Secretaries of State had declared an interest in the question, but it remained for Cleveland and Olney to force British arbitration. Cleveland originated a new policy, like that of the Monroe Doctrine, in that it meant to keep Venezuela from foreign aggression, but also, the right of the United States to be the only protector was insinuated. "It was a most important step, for without it, the United States could not play the overweening role in the Western Hemisphere to which future actions committed them."6

The "American Lake" became a reality in the next twenty years. Business interests had laid the groundwork; yellow-sheet journalism had molded public opinion; and incidents were created as necessary, closely following Schuman's outline of the methods of imperialism. Critics of the policy were ruthlessly controlled. Cuba and Puerto Rico came first, then Panama, followed in rapid succession by the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Nicaragua. Soon after the acquisition of the canal rights, Secretary Henry Cabot Lodge declared that no foreign nation might collect debts by force of arms within our sphere of interest there and that the United States might be forced to take over any such debts. The "Big Stick" policy came during the Dominican embroglio when

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Roosevelt proclaimed refusal to condone chronic wrongdoing, saying it might become necessary for a strong neighbor to enforce peace and order. In 1912, the Secretary of State maintained through "Dollar Diplomacy" that investments of United States citizens would be protected wherever they were. Needless to say, the Marines were busy.

United States relations with Mexico have been both involved and unpleasant at times. From the Mexican War through the invasion of North American capitalists during the regime of Diaz, Mexico felt the power of its expanding neighbor. Following the Diez y Seis revolution, United States foreign policy amounted to intervention in domestic affairs of Madero's government. Armed intervention came when Vera Cruz was occupied and Pershing beat the deserts and mountains for Villa. Wilsonian idealism accounted for the last troubles. His policy was to withhold United States' recognition from revolutionary de facto governments in the fond belief that poor chances for necessary United States' recognition would deter revolutionists. For fifteen years this unsuccessful policy, amounting to domestic intervention, was in force.

South America.—During most of this time, up to the first World War, there were few relations with South American countries. The United States had arbitrated the boundary settlement following the Paraguayan War in 1878 and 1895, leaving some ill-will in Argentina which expected larger
slices of Paraguayan territory. Immediately after the first Pan American Conference, the United States minister to Chile had offered sanctuary to one of the factions in a Chilean revolution. The seizure of the Itata (later returned) by two United States warships and a fracas between Chilean citizens and sailors of the USS Baltimore "...caused an unfavorable impression throughout Latin America and counteracted, to a considerable extent, the good effects of the Washington Conference." 

Several cases of arbitration were handled, including the Venezuelan problems with Great Britain and Germany; the Chilean-Argentine boundary; the Tacna-Arica dispute between Chile, Peru, and Bolivia; and the Gran-Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay. Here the important point is the interest of our government in settlement of disputes by peaceful means wherever possible. Only recently, there has been a timely addition to these arbitrations. The United States assisted in the settlement of the last boundary dispute in the Americas, between Ecuador and Peru, when it seemed that the success of the entire Rio de Janeiro Conference of 1942 depended on that agreement.

Brazil has been consistently friendly. A few weeks after the United States entered the first World War, Brazil

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severed relations with Germany and seized the forty-six German ships interned in her harbors. In a circular note of June 2, 1917, the Brazilian government declared to the world that it had taken this step because the Republic of Brazil was bound to the United States... by a traditional friendship and by a similarity of political opinion in the defense of the vital interests of America and the principles accepted by international law,..." and because it wished to give to its foreign policy, in that critical moment of the world's history, "... a practical form of continental solidarity—a policy which was that of the old regime on every occasion on which any of the other friendly sister nations of the American continent were in jeopardy." Woodrow Wilson's reply to this note expressed the deep appreciation of the United States and the hope that the act of the Brazilian Congress was "the forerunner of the attitude to be assumed by the rest of the American states."9

League of Nations.—Though most of the Caribbean nations did enter the war, the others remained neutral. Of particular importance afterwards was the rejection of the Covenant of the League of Nations by the United States. The rejection was regarded by Latins generally as a moral betrayal.10 Wilson had created a new enthusiasm by his

9Ibid., p. 662.
idealistic speeches and policies, but this quickly vanished into a greater fear of the increased power of the United States after the war. Previously, the economic leaders in South America were Great Britain and Germany, but now the United States became politically and economically dominant.

All the Latin American nations except Ecuador eventually joined the League of Nations. They did so for various reasons, but undoubtedly it was the ideals and principles which interested all of them. Throughout the nineteenth century the Latin American nations were weak powers militarily. They have always strongly upheld the ideas of arbitration, cooperation, and judicial settlement of international disputes; therefore, they saw the Covenant of the League of Nations as a worldwide statement of their own traditional policies. Naturally, this was cause for great pride to them.

Membership in the League of Nations increased this pride and new respect. In the Council and Assembly of the League, the Latin American states were on terms of equality with the great powers, and as time went on their representatives came to preside over those assemblies and sometimes received chairmanships of important committees. This was just opposite from the Pan American conferences, where the United States dominated and the Latin American nations felt that their rights were neglected. In fact, there is little
doubt that one of the important desires of a considerable number of the Latin American states in joining the league was the hope that it would act as a balance to the United States. Article 1 of the Covenant, guaranteeing the political independence and territorial integrity of League members, largely responsible for the Covenant's rejection by the United States, made a strong appeal to some of the weaker Latin countries. The Colossus of the North was rampant. Manuel Ugarte preached against "gringoism," and most Latin Americans considered the United States as "Uncle Scrooge with a mortgage."

United States Multilateralism

Origin.--With the end of the World War and the trend toward isolation, imperialism began to languish. Besides, capitalists began disapproving Latin American loans. Public opinion began to shift. A young career-man in the Department of State gets credit for the origin of the new policy. Sumner Welles, in his Haboth's Vineyard, says:11

The United States will obtain the results desired, and not through military occupation, military intervention, or armed supervision of elections.... Why should not the other American republics share in the task of maintaining order when that becomes necessary.

At the Habana Conference of 1928, President Coolidge, wanting to make a better impression, sent Charles Evans Hughes

11 Charles Wertenbaker: New Doctrine for the Americas, (1941), p. 84.
as chief of the delegation and made a platitudinous speech himself proclaiming friendship for all Latin America; but Hughes stymied a resolution that no state may intervene in the internal affairs of another. The United States was not quite ready to change its hemisphere policy. Under President Hoover's Administration, our policy towards Latin America began to change. When, on October 23, 1931, the Dominican Republic suspended amortization payments of its foreign debt in violation of its treaty obligations, the State Department acquiesced instead of sending troops and a fiscal administrator to run the Republic and collect payments. When El Salvador defaulted on her debt in February, 1932, we declined to exercise the right to establish a customs receivership. When a number of South American countries defaulted on their bonds in 1931 and 1932, our government made no move to intervene and collect; and the United States withdrew her Marines from Nicaragua in January, 1933.

In 1930 and 1931 there was an epidemic of revolutions in Latin America. There was no hesitation on the part of our Department of State to accord recognition to these new governments. Our promptness in recognizing them demonstrated that we were neutral and that we had returned to the recognition policy announced by Jefferson in 1793, a policy which had been abandoned by President Wilson in dealing with
Mexico in 1915.\(^{12}\) But with all these favorable signs the Latin American countries remained distrustful of the Monroe Doctrine and the United States' policy of intervention. Hoover even made a good-will tour of some of the Central American republics just after his election, but his signing the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act ruined all chances of changing the feelings of the Latins. None could see friendship in the highest tariff in the history of United States foreign trade. However, J. C. Clark, Undersecretary of State during Hoover's administration, issued the famous memorandum that the doctrine is the statement of a case of the United States against Europe and not of the United States against Latin America.\(^{13}\) Under the Platt Amendment, we exercised the power in 1930 to prohibit any further loans by United States bankers to the Cuban government in order to prevent additions to the already staggering debt burden.

**Buen Vecino.**—In March, 1933, Franklin D. Roosevelt made his inaugural address in which he said, "I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others." With that happy phrase, the new policy was begun. Cordell Hull headed the

\(^{12}\) J. H. Latane: *op. cit.*, p. 672.

\(^{13}\) Wertenbaker: *op. cit.*, p. 75.
United States delegation to the Montevideo Conference in 1933, and his friendliness, sincerity, and courtesy reassured the other delegates. For the first time a conference of the Americas was thrown open to questions of interest to all. Hull's statement that his country was opposed to interference in the affairs of other nations was welcome news to the delegates. 14 Shortly after the Conference, the United States canceled the Platt Amendment and a few years later wrote a new treaty giving Panama more rights in the protection and use of the Panama Canal. Naturally, this had remarkable effect. Now the Theodore Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine by which we claimed the right to intervene in the affairs of Latin America is replaced by collective intervention when the failure of orderly processes of government affects the other nations of this continent. 15

Pan American conferences.—At the Special Peace Conference of 1936 in Buenos Aires, the Doctrine was continentalized more definitely by providing that in the event of any war between American nations, or outside wars likely to menace the peace of any American nation, all the nations would convene and attempt to preserve peace. A pact of non-intervention was passed also, providing that no nation would

have the right to intervene in the internal affairs of other nations. If such intervention did take place, all American nations would convene to decide on a cooperative policy. And, a Declaration of Solidarity was issued that all American nations believed in cooperation, and that any danger to the peace of one nation would be danger to all and would start consultations.

At the Lima Conference in 1938, the Solidarity Pact was reaffirmed, and it was agreed that the Ministers of foreign affairs of all the American nations would meet to consult whenever it should be deemed necessary and at the request of any one minister. The first meeting of this type took place in 1939, at Panama, in the same month, September, that the recent war broke out. Neutrality was proclaimed by the American republics and inter-American commissions were created. At the Habana Conference in 1940, the agreement was made that in case any American territory changed ownership during the war, the menace would necessitate temporary administration of that area by a committee of American nations until the war was over. Afterwards, the territory would go back to the original owner or gain its independence. In the case of an emergency before this agreement could be ratified, it was agreed that any one of the American nations could go in alone or jointly to establish a temporary administration for the duration of the war.
At the Rio de Janeiro Conference in January, 1942, the American nations voted unanimously their opposition to Axis aggression and their consideration of the United States as a non-belligerent. Also, they recommended that all of the American republics break off diplomatic relations with the Axis nations. By 1942, nineteen American states had either declared war or had severed relations with the Fascist powers.

Sumner Welles' accomplishments as the architect of the Good Neighbor policy were subordinated to the activities of Hull and Roosevelt. In fact, "the three were indispensable to each other. The President was the idea man, Hull translated the ideas into policy, and Welles attended to the details." Welles' success at Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Lima, and Havana was backed up by the political experience of Cordell Hull. However, Hull's policies would not have triumphed so noticeably without the undercover assistance of Sumner Welles. It is to be wondered, at the time of this writing, what meaning there is back of Welles' departure from government service when a man of his qualifications could be of such great benefit. At any rate, the four conferences listed above and those at Panama and Rio de Janeiro were the milestones in our progress toward a new doctrine for the Americas. The Mexico City Conference occupies a

16 Wertenbaker: op. cit., p. 96.
somewhat different position and will be discussed later on in the thesis. The new Pan Americanism, like the old, still maintains that Americans insist on separating hemispheric affairs from European ambitions. It is still believed that our political systems are different and typically American. The difference lies in the reliance on mutual assistance and cooperative control of Pan American affairs in place of the old principle of hegemony of the United States. As Pan Americanism grows, the assumption of control on the part of the United States tends to disappear; and as the nations of the Americas cooperate, the unilateralism of 1823 is superseded by the present multilateralism.\textsuperscript{17} Yet, as the edifice grows, it is easy to recognize many of the general ideas of Bolivar.\textsuperscript{18}

On reconsideration of the extraordinary changes in United States-Latin American relations, it is easy to agree with John Gunther when he says:\textsuperscript{19}

The Good Neighbor policy is identified correctly with Roosevelt II and the New Deal.... We did not do it for the sake of any dewy Brazilian eyes or rippling Cuban shoulders. We did it out of imperative considerations of practical politics.

\textsuperscript{17}University of California: Civilization of the Americans, (1938), p. 136.

\textsuperscript{18}J. B. Locke: op. cit., p. 313.

\textsuperscript{19}Gunther: Inside Latin America, (1941), p. 27.
CHAPTER III

IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT

Cultural Nationalism

Outlook before World War II.--In 1941 contemplation showed the family of nations rapidly cleaving in opposition or nervously temporizing. The world was preparing the decision for Democracy v. Fascism. Few holds were barred; there was no referee; only time would judge. We needed all possible assistance, even non-belligerents were important. One of the main preliminaries of this cataclysm was the battle of ideologies in Latin America. This made our policy of cooperation in inter-American affairs absolutely necessary. And therefore, according to the idea of this thesis, cultural understanding between the Americas became of primary interest in our struggle with the enemies of democracy. Still another problem, one perhaps of yet greater importance now that the war is over and internationalism is so urgently necessary, is a phase of the Western State System: cultural nationalism, a major provision of the creed which breeds isolation.

The effects of cultural nationalism in the countries to the south were evident. Hispano-Americanism, closely allied to fascism, is still an important force and needs
consideration. Fascist penetration was found in all the Latin nations. These forces opposed our drive for inter-American cooperation and by no such tame and pleasant methods as our own. Investigation will show how definitely necessary they made our program for cultural understanding, based, as it is, on the principles of democracy.

At the end of Conflagration I, the world began to take stock of its proven facts. It found that power politics is stark realism. Idealism is mere philosophy, yet there is a connection. Since the beginning of history, this has been true. The World War brought about the first really worthwhile international effort to maintain peace. Such was the foundation of the League of Nations. There can be no more positive aim in the modern world than the establishment of peace on firmer international foundations. The universal desire and hope for the dawn of a new era was definitely intensified by the enormous sacrifices of the Great War. All of these desires cannot be realized in a day; they can be brought about only by gradual processes of evolution. The direction of international life along the path of justice and order has taken on a new and greater importance. "The nations have turned with a renewed conviction to the efficacy of international organization for bringing about the maintenance of peace and the insurance of the common interests
of all.\textsuperscript{1} International relations have become based on international organization to such a great extent that one has only to consult a list of committees of the League or of allied institutions to see how many ties there are between nations. This, of course, applies to times of peace. For all our recent breakdown, the League of Nations did advance international cooperation along paths of orientation and coordination. At least, the peace-to-come can bypass the pitfalls of the last.

The outlook was promising in 1930. But in 1930, Hitler had not yet come to power, and Manchukuo was still Manchuria. Germany was not rearmed; Italy had not entered Abyssinia; and the bastions of democracy were in their protective places. Neither had Finland's affairs finally overloaded the stumbling figure of the League. We know what happened, and the results glare accusingly at us today.

This world struggle was more than a war; it was a continuing civil war bringing a new order. Armies have beaten down a system; Hitler and Stalin both succeeded in connecting revolution with nationalism; and the masses are revolting in the old world.\textsuperscript{2} The rolling tanks of nationalism crumbled the soil not only of Europe but of Africa and Asia, and their

\textsuperscript{1}W. H. Kelchner: \textit{Latin American Relations with the League of Nations}, (1930), p. 4.

\textsuperscript{2}Carleton Beals: \textit{Pan America}, (1940), p. 12.
awesome echoes are still reverberating across the whole world.

Examples and methods.--Supposedly, when we speak of the defense of the American way of life, we mean the protection of the rights of the masses of the people to control government by democratic processes, using knowledge based on free public information promulgated by a free system of education and publications. We mean the maintenance of the privilege of making one's own decisions and of directing one's individual life, economically, politically, or socially, according to personal capabilities. Yet, we have seen in Europe, time after time, the surrender of these priceless liberties even while the native land was safe from invasion. There was no war and no bloodshed, but insidious conquest from within, through controlled information or even treason, affected the loss of a people's treasured way of life. 3

Cultural nationalism results in countries altering and controlling the affairs of their citizens and striving to influence their neighbors; and confirmed nationalists advertise premeditated values, fallacious or otherwise, to meet directly national ends. This procedure is carried on through propaganda, and there seems to be no way that the interests of a country's culture can be helped in this manner. When an

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3Norman Angell: America's Dilemma: Alone or Allied, (1940), p. 54.
artist, writer, musician, or sculptor is forced to confine his efforts to nationalistic dogma by stressing and insinuating these so-called national values, he is definitely not ensuring the lasting virtues of his work.

This truth can be seen from the fact that culture, in its every essence, is international, and ideas cannot be confined within political boundaries; consequently, there is no more sinister foe of culture than nationalism. It is to be remembered that programs for cultural exchange take cognizance of this fact and are based on this foundation. That faith "...which would set up Chinese Walls around any culture, does an ill service to all those nations whose salvation it professes to seek."  

Nazi Germany, in its programs of national socialism, demonstrated the stultification of knowledge and its stupefying effects. One of its principles was the planned reversion to the culture of pre-Christian Germanic tribes; this teaching may take years to undo in the minds of the fanatics of Nazi doctrine; degeneration has resulted. It is said:

The phenomenon is familiar to all students of cultural history as one of the most uniform symptoms of decadence. Every decadent literature has draped itself in the glories of its past.

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5Ibid., p. 78.
Some of the ideas which spread from the Nazis have been readily acceptable in our hemisphere. Subordination of the population to the will of the state may show apparent efficiencies, but on the other hand it is very easily made to justify cold-blooded exploitation. History shows the majority of Latin American countries have been managed by an aristocratic intelligentsia maintaining its position over illiterate masses, purposely kept in ignorance. For example, one author says:

Hitler came along and gave a kind of moral ideology to despotism and violence. He erected a system out of it— and Latin Americans love systems. As a result many of them are tempted to see fascism as a kind of justification of their own historical past. By this time all over Latin America, nations are beginning to understand the futility of such systems; nevertheless, until all forms of fascism are completely shattered, all Americans must be cautiously on guard.

In the field of communications, we find that the controlled spread of information is one of the principal means of diffusing nationalistic culture. By this method a state can ensure that propaganda, or information, will be exported which will best serve the interests of nationalistic policy. Controlled information became one of the great weapons of fascism, and conversely, totalitarian states' control of

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inbound communications had to be ever stricter than before, lest their own regime be weakened from the outside. We, who favor a free press and universal education, need to consider this matter seriously. "The liberal arguments for free competition in propaganda, in so far as they remain valid, need to be carefully restated in modern terms."7 Pseudo-cultural relations are a virus of such potency and cunning that they can poison a government with corruption and treachery.8 No matter how contradictory or absurd the "information" spread, masses of human beings, especially those who are disillusioned, are susceptible. This is shown as follows:9

If there be discontent, disillusion, hatred enough, the rational functions of human beings seem to abdicate. They are then fertile ground for the seed of Cadmus, that sowing that produces a crop of armed fighting men.

By the end of 1940, economic, political, and cultural warfare was being waged in the United States. It was not particularly important that this had not yet entered the stage of battle, but it was certainly the prelude to combat. It was the German strategist, Karl von Clausewitz, who

8 Department of State: Bulletin, October 26, 1940, p. 342.
said, "War is the continuation of politics by other means."\(^{10}\)

Probably by 1940 most of the American people had begun to recognize the challenge; it was a direct challenge, for our ideals have consistently maintained equal opportunities for all, no matter what a person's race, color, or ancestry, to progress according to one's own capabilities. Lincoln's idea was that the United States could not continue to exist half slave and half free; the idea now is that the world can no longer remain in that condition.

Where the people of the United States might be very hard to convince in any struggle of ideologies, the countries to the south can be considered fertile ground for the penetration of ideas. "Their long struggle for independence—which lasted for more than fifteen years—inculcated militarism; it exalted the military above civil power."\(^{11}\) And from those revolutionary times, dictatorships have been the order in Latin America. Of course there are notable exceptions. Costa Rica is the land of more school teachers than soldiers, and Uruguay is the democratic Switzerland of South America. But elsewhere, El Jefe, no matter how benevolent, is supreme. Progress is being made, yet the people still lack education.

\(^{10}\)Charles Wertenbaker: New Doctrine for the Americas, (1941), p. 51.

racial and cultural unity, knowledge of democracy, and a sense of common interests and ideals; and consequently, danger remains to our American traditions and values.

Hispano-Americanism

Pan Latinism.--In many ways closely connected with European ideology, Pan hispanism has been a historic enemy to Pan Americanism. Even Bolivar's invitations to the first conference were addressed originally only to those who were formerly colonies of Spain. "Very soon after the Spanish-American War, the Pan Hispanic movement underwent a renascence which made it, early in the twentieth century, a potentially powerful factor."

12 A Hispano-American congress at Madrid late in 1900 aroused much enthusiasm in various New World Latin states. In the first decade of this century, both in Spain and in Spanish America, there was an avalanche of writings advocating the consideration of the mother country as the source of the culture of all the ex-colonies of Spain. This seems to have been a negative force, however, because it was based primarily on a fear of the United States. Manuel Ugarte, the chief apostle of the movement, was more a hater of the United States than a lover of Spain, yet he professed a great admiration for the national characteristics which have made our country

great and merely blamed the people of his own race for not
developing similar traits. He says: 13

My object has been to call to the attention of the
Aztecs and Gauls of my time and my family of nations
to the possibility of avoiding suicidal dissensions
in order... development and survival.

With the coming of the World War, this movement lost much
of such force as it possessed, though there are chronic re-
surgences.

The educated groups in Latin America gradually began
to think of Paris as the center of international cultural
ideals so that Pan Hispanism evolved into, more correctly,
Pan Latinism. "Paris rather than Madrid became the mecca
of Latin American intellectuals." 14 There was another fac-
tor in that the Latin American states began to depend much
more on Spain and France in arbitration of their disputes,
but still neither Pan Latinism or Pan Hispanism had any
strong political or economic purposes. Probably this fact
accounts for the atrophy of these two movements, anyway,
by the end of the twenties, their effect had become neg-
ligible.

Falangistas.—A later and more important phase of Pan
Hispanism was the Falange, organized by Jose de Rivera.

13 J. H. Latane: History of American Foreign Policy,

14 University of California: op. cit., p. 165.
son of a former dictator of Spain, which claims the hispa-
nidad of all Latin Americans. There may be a direct
carryover here from the Franco regime. Although since the
end of the Spanish revolution, that government has been
mainly occupied with domestic reconstruction, Naziism has
been involved and in the opinion of one observer, "It is
safe to predict that for some time to come the Fascist re-
gime in Spain will be the most efficient carrier of un-Ameri-
can ideas to Spanish America."16

This new movement is a powerful factor because of its
reliance on a similar language and religion and the belief
that Franco's victory was success for Catholicism and de-
feat for communism. Where Latin Americans may quickly re-
sent anything remotely similar to propaganda from the United
States, Great Britain, or Russia, they may unconsciously
receive Nazi "information" from fascist Spain at its face
value and not think of it as propaganda at all. We in the
United States have accepted much from our mother country
before beginning to take it with our tongues in our cheeks,
and we can expect Spanish Americans to react similarly.
Therein lies the danger.17 John Gunther says that the
Falange covers its plans for return of the Spanish colonial

15Southworth: "Falangistas," Foreign Affairs, October 1939.
16Showman and Judson, editors: The Monroe Doctrine,
system under "cultural" and "spiritual" programs instead of definite political statements. Spain still claims to be the "spiritual axis of the Hispanic world." From a consideration of these ideas, we can say that the Falangistas alone are not so important but that they count mightily as a means of spreading Fascist-type ideology.

Fascist Penetration

Development of Nazi ideology.--Yet more dangerous than a thousand Falanges is the not-quite-definite threat of Nazi philosophy, and this is the reason our programs for cultural understanding must not fail. Although this problem has resolved itself very conclusively in the outcome of World War II, nevertheless, totalitarian ideas may not have been stamped out for all time. There may be still other ideological struggles to win before we can say that democracy has triumphed over its final opposition. The methods of Fascist penetration can be examined then, with ample reason, both from the standpoint of what has happened and what might happen.

Nazi ideology began before Hitler became of any great importance. As background for the recent penetration, we find that even during the early stages of the first World War we heard a great deal of the Teutonic claims of German

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18 John Gunther: op. cit., p. 22.
"Kultur." The term was used to lead the uninitiated to feel that it stood for something strikingly Teutonic which other peoples did not possess. 19

This culture was not only conceived of as incomparably superior to anything else in the world, but its fervor was so intense that there was a strong feeling that every Teuton should make it his first duty to spread 'Kultur' over the earth.

These ideas became a part of the culture of the German people, and thus of Hitler, for Schuman says that power came to him because he was able to use himself as a symbol of the frustrations and insecurities of the Kleinburgertum from which he came. 20

Because his own personality difficulties had counterparts by millions in the society in which he lived, he was to found a new political religion giving solace to its disciples; ... he was to become the Messiah of this religion: Der Fuhrer.

This was the ideological base of Hitler's political success, one which he recognized and used not only in internal but also in foreign policy.

Hitler always seemed to understand better than his rivals that men's actions are controlled by their thoughts. Originally, he gained control of the ideas of several Germans who propounded the ideal to others, who, in turn, literally pounded it into still other German minds. He

knew power and arms could be gained only by controlling the emotions of people like himself; therefore, all his ideas were based on hates and sentiments, always keeping clear of introspection by laying all blame on scapegoats. Such demagoguery was his force in those days; but, 21

Having, by the method of persuasion, propaganda, expanded his party from thirteen persons to several millions and made it master of Germany, he then proceeded, by exactly the same technique, to make Germany master of Europe, as a preliminary stage to making her master of the world.

This technique was the operating procedure of the Reich in those countries separated by geography so that direct force was impossible.

Conquest-from-within in Latin America.--In his Fifth Column work in Latin America it is quite obvious that Hitler had in mind using Spain, the cultural motherland of all but two of the nations to the south. It is likewise quite plain that the United States, of foreign speech, origin, and religion, found a serious problem in countering this plan. So important did Hitler consider Spain, not only as a base for possible Atlantic and Mediterranean campaigns but also as necessary in ideological approach to policy and action, that he made a detailed cultural treaty with that nation as soon as it was possible. 22 Under the terms of this agreement, German teachers were to have positions in

21 Norman Angell: op. cit., p. 83. 22 Ibid., p. 103.
Spanish schools, and philosophies of the Rosenberg stamp were to be taught.

It is important to realize the force obtained by using culture as the approach in pre-war activities. They miss the proposition who heedlessly enumerate the abilities of the United States to produce munitions, raise armies, train flyers, operate navies, more completely mechanize the people, or enforce slight opportunities for invasion of the Americas. It is not actual conflict we need to fear so much as it is the inner changes of world revolution to systems in opposition to our own. Well-laid plans can go awry too easily when expected conditions do not materialize properly. It was the successful use of this technique within the nations opposing Hitler that permitted him to defeat forces many times stronger than his own. This procedure has been used time after time and finally against the United States. "It is a method which is not really armed invasion; it is moral, political, psychological, and only in its last phases military." 23

There is plain truth in these ideas. In Berlin there was a government institution known as the School of High Political Studies for Nazi Youth in Foreign Countries. 24 Here young Nazis from abroad were given lessons that were

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23 Showman and Judson: op. cit., p. 56. 24 Ibid., p. 67.
usually so secret that very seldom did the subjects leak out to the public. These students were taught to believe that perhaps their own country as well as many others were peopled by a great majority of true Germanic population, and that the public of these nations should be taken over by these Nordic populaces all over the world so that the time would come when there would be no political boundaries for the "Superior Race." From the same source, we find that Friedrich Lange, in his book, Meines Deutschum, wrote as follows: "Decrepit nations like all those beggar South American countries, will be induced by force or otherwise, to come to their senses." And, Marshall Hoering said in his Nationale Zeitung of August:

Spain is the key question for the two continents. The victory of Franco decides between chaos and reconstruction in the two hemispheres. His final victory alone can preserve for Ibero-American countries their true Spanish culture and tradition.

In continuing the Deutsche Volkswirt gave us hints of the kind of propaganda that was already being spread through Latin America.

It is equally important for the Latin American states to know that Germany is willing and able to cooperate unselfishly in the further opening of these regions. ...German industry merely wants to participate and would leave the leadership to those who represent Latin American interests.

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25Ibid., p. 82.
A. F. Behrendt, of the University of Panama, says that totalitarian propagandists usually emphasize that Latin Americans should trade with any country, no matter what its politics, as a method of preventing economic exploitation. Propagandists say further that any sort of an alliance with the colossus of the North will only lead to subservience of the Latins and probably their use in wars which are not in their own interest. And, these same advisers insist that North American influences always cause troubles, while totalitarian powers represent the valuable essentials of stability, peace, order, and authority. This is the type of opposition we must be watchful for; this is the type that makes necessary a successful program for cultural understanding among the Americas.

Forman and Haushenbush, writing from the standpoint of a German agent's report to his superiors in Germany, find that such an agent might say that the concepts of social behavior in Latin America make the people appreciate the German type of personal honor which coincides so definitely with their own sense of personal dignity and that the easy-going, casual, and informal Yankee social relations are certainly unpleasant. This agent might say that German

26 Ibid., p. 62.
27 Forman and Haushenbush: Total Defense, (1940), pp. 3-14.
military decorations of high Latin American officials and the sending of Latin army and navy student-officers to Reich schools have been very helpful in building interest in Germany and friendly understanding of Nazi military skill. That observer could report how, contrary to German immigrants, North Americans and British living in Latin America hold themselves above the natives, seldom become citizens, and keep their own society without interest in the citizens of the country. It could be said, regarding the Uruguay Incident, that the Yankees sent a cruiser to Montevideo where all Latin Americans could see how little it could do against cultural operations and that the United States was trying to fight a war without knowing how to go about it.

On the other hand, Gunther says that when the cruiser arrived and the American minister gave his assurance that his government would do anything it was asked for in crushing activities of non-American nature, the incident became a strong assertion of Pan Americanism and aided in thwarting the putsch.28

Carr says, "This German propaganda drive is definitely more dangerous than the German trade drive...."29 Fascist propaganda was everywhere throughout Latin America and was undoubtedly well-planned and organized. For instance, in

28 Gunther: op. cit., p. 92.
the field of radio, both Germans and Italians broadcast programs in Spanish and Portuguese that covered the South American broadcast bands. Where in 1937 Argentina heard 255 programs from Germany, there were only one from England and twelve from the United States. In case local stations were unable to pick up these programs, native language recordings were made and distributed free or at small cost. Likewise, German Trans-ocean news and feature articles were distributed wherever possible. The procedure was carried further in influencing Latin American government officials, students and teachers, professional people, and military leaders to spend their vacations and attend conventions in Germany. Scholarships and government-paid trips to the Reich were sponsored for the better students, and German and Italian professors, visiting in Latin American faculties, were trained to fit gracefully into their social circles. "The Germans operate schools in every Latin American city of consequence, in each of which are blue-eyed, sabre-scarred Aryans teaching culture with an umlat."30

In the areas where German immigrants predominated, Hitler Jugend groups and other Nazi clubs were organized which exploited non-Aryan institutions and firms and boycotted others which did not do likewise. Fascist and Nazi

political organizations have been formed in Brazil, Chile, Argentina, and other countries. While at one time, it was charged that German businesses supported the Chilean Nazi party financially, and that the Acac Integralista Brasileira, which claimed a million Fascists, had the help of Count Matarazzo, an Italian banker; and Egon Renner, Von Hartt, and Rasenclever, German industrialists.  

Another author claims that the Nazis not only furnished practically free news of all types but, in some cases, subsidized newspapers completely through huge advertising campaigns, and, in others, practiced outright bribery of news- men and government officials.  

Still other sources for conquest-from-within were German businesses, travellers, and emigrants; this group includes very definitely not only those who had become naturalized but also second-generation Germans in Latin American countries. Both economic and political pressure were brought to bear, forcing these people, willingly or not, to become missionaries for the Nazi gospel. With the assistance of these groups, secret agents formed Fascist clubs, developed Fascist ideology, and fomented uprisings. They tried to keep the ruling cliques friendly to the Fascist powers.

32 Duncan Aikman: All American Front, (1940), p. 239.
Subtly, these agents kept the fires of nationalism burning, brewed hatreds between neighboring states, and kept the problems of race, class systems, and economic dependence simmering always. They encouraged the aristocratic elements of Latin American countries to resort to the "Franco" methods of government. German transportation agencies tried to control means of communication and to acquire sites for possible air bases when needed. Through military missions, trips to Germany for military officers, and infiltration into the armies themselves, Fascist ideas were indoctrinated. Widespread espionage systems were set up to defeat in advance any Pan American efforts for defense, and, more than likely, a huge Fifth Column was in operation.

Most Americans have come to see that even if there is little danger of serious armed invasion of these shores, our way of life and our ideas can be challenged in our own hemisphere. In regard to this thought, just before the United States entered the recent war, Dexter Perkins claimed:35

There is not the slightest doubt that German propaganda agents have been and are at work in several of these states; it is equally certain that if Germany were to prevail in the present war, she would turn her early attention to economic and ideological conquests in Latin America.

In such a case, then, it is easy to see why it is always necessary for us to maintain cooperation and understanding with our neighbors to the south.

For example, think what our position would be if ten or fifteen of the Latin American countries came under the control of a totalitarian power as Spain was before World War II. With slave labor at its command, such a government could offer very profitable business to Latin American producers. Could we compete with them? Likewise, how would we counteract the ideas brought in by thousands of technicians and advisors who would very likely follow such business? Our hold on the Panama Canal would be very weak in such a case. And, the United States would find it hard to devise any reason for interfering when elections would undoubtedly show that the people of these countries preferred a set-up which seemed more advantageous to them. It is easy to remember how great the majorities were in Austria before the German putsch in that country. In the event of such activities as these, we cannot afford merely to hope. Positive action is necessary. And, a point to bear in mind is that our bulwarks must be democratic in procedure. In the interest of truth, justice, equality, and freedom, there can be no better approach than through understanding the cultures of each other.
Results of ideological struggle.--The picture as just painted may not be quite so dark; some say the Nazi menace was greatly overdrawn, certainly it is of little importance in Latin America today. One of the best students of Latin American countries, E. G. Inman, holds that even "With both Europe and North America engrossed in their own problems, Latin America is strong enough in her own right to discourage efforts to superimpose cultural ideas from outside." 34 Truly, tolerance is one of the greatest virtues of Latin Americans. They have interested themselves and have hospitably received European cultures of various concepts and other ideologies from all over the world. They have accepted political thought from England, France, Russia, Germany, and the United States; social ideals and religious creeds have come from all these foreign states; yet all the while the Latins manage their affairs just about as always, picking and choosing from all the propagated ideas and improving their own particular conditions in their own ways.

That Latin Americans had ideas of their own about fascism is shown when reaction to some of the fascist practices began to cause definite opposition by 1938. The Brazilian government abolished the colored-shirt Integralistas that year and refused to receive Herr Hitter, the German repre-

sentative who was implicated in the activities of that group. Both in politics and economics, public opinion and government policy began to agree much more with that of the United States. In Chile the presidential elections of 1937 and 1941 showed popular faith in liberal government. Uruguay tightened restrictions on all non-American cultural activities. Although Argentina had become notoriously neutral, she asked the recall of the German Ambassador, von Thurmann, for undercover activities. Throughout nearly all Latin America, schools, publications, and public meetings using foreign language or receiving foreign subsidies were prohibited. All during the war strongly rightist governments, which were set up and were anti-Pan American in spirit, stayed in power for very short periods only. Results now demonstrate the Nazis made an error which North Americans have often been guilty of: their assumption of race purity and Nordic supremacy will never be widely accepted in Latin America.

Even before the United States entered the war, Brazilian, Chilean, Argentine, and other newspapers vigorously attacked Nazi methods and misrepresentations, and there were public demonstrations against the Axis. Of interest was the humorous Costa Rican reception of an Italian cruiser on a good-will tour in 1939, when

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the people maintained a stony silence and dressed in mourning during the visit.

We will be quite successful if in the future we can feel that our inter-American conferences are as complete as that in 1940, when, after the meeting at Havana, Hull was able to say, 37

The spirit of unity and solidarity has been likewise strengthened by the action of the conference on projects relating to subversive activities. I refer especially to the attitude toward propaganda designed on the one hand to stir up dissension in the Western Hemisphere by beguiling and misleading the people, and, on the other hand, to intimidate them by express or implied threats of what may happen if the American republics fail to recognize and to take into account the foreign purposes and policies of certain foreign countries.

Latin Americans consider cultural pursuits as a principle raison d'être. It is known that Germans understood this and entered into such activities in Latin America with appreciated zeal. Pointed failure of most North Americans in the southern countries to consider this phase of Latin American life has been one of the great barriers to more pleasant relations. Even the public of the United States had little interest in our neighbors at first; but as more facts have become known, the people as a whole have begun to show dislike for imperialism and some of the unwise policies of the past. This is shown by one author: 38

37 Department of State: Bulletin No. 1486, 1940.
At last the Latin Americans, who had looked about for a bulwark in vain, found an effective shield. It was the sentiments of the People of the United States, their democratic idealism and their attitude toward big business and high finance.

Through cultural understanding between the populations of the American countries, we can build still stronger foundations for cooperation. Now that this war has ended, the whole world is more interested in bringing about international peace than ever before. Cultural nationalism is one of the faiths which must be changed before this is possible. With the beginnings already made in our hemisphere, and if our programs for cultural understanding can go far enough, the Americas may yet become the example on which the world may base its plans. It is clear that the new policy has had some success and that it was begun none too soon. Yet this success is not complete. On further investigation of our governmental organizations and allied institutions which are involved in improving cultural understanding, it is easy to see the broad basis of this policy and the obvious provisions for enlargement and continuation.
CHAPTER IV

PROGRAMS FOR CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

Previous Interchange

Development of interchange.--The earliest cultural interchange was really a mixture in what is now the American Southwest of the cultures of Spain, Mexico, and the United States. Today the influence of Spanish cattle, horses, architecture, and Mexican handicraft, art, and customs can be seen in the everyday life of our people.\(^1\) For many years, however, there was very little cultural exchange other than that which occurred where the people happened to be in geographical contact with each other. The only interchange otherwise was through the regular channels of international relations.

For a moment it may be interesting to wonder whether Roosevelt knew the far-reaching aspects of the short paragraph in his first inaugural address when he declared his intention of dedicating the United States to the policy of a good neighbor. For years a small group of literati, who had become interested in such matters through travel and special study, had advocated these attitudes, but there was very little public demand for them. Nevertheless, with-

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\(^1\) C. A. Thomson, Bulletin of the Pan American Union, September 1939, pp. 486-489.
in four short years that policy was resounding through the Americas. In four years a broad cultural program was being planned to further the new policy by setting up government agencies, unofficial organizations, and special fields of cooperation.

Pan American Union.--The Pan American Union was the first organization to see the need for cultural relations and, more than thirty-five years ago, began its program with the first Pan American Scientific Conference at Santiago, Chile, in 1907-5. The broad purpose of the meeting was to spread the knowledge of American ideas and make the culture of each American country the heritage of all. Other Pan American conferences in the field of cultural understanding include the meetings of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History at Rio de Janeiro in 1923 and in Washington in 1929; and the Inter-American Conferences on Education, the first at Havana in 1930, and the second at Santiago, Chile, in 1934.2 The last of these meetings was the Havana Conference on Cultural Cooperation which met in November of 1941. This conference was the first on the specific subject of cultural relations as a whole. At Havana nineteen of the Pan American countries met and pledged unanimously to work for hemispheric

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solidarity through cultural understanding in literature, science, art, music, and education. The general plans for promulgating this program were discussed and clarified. The delegates decided, moreover, to invite the International Institute of Paris to move its museums and collections to the New World for the duration of the war. 3

The Pan American Union has considered these cultural matters so important that the Section of Education was created in 1917, but its early efforts were kept strictly within the field of education. This arrangement resulted from a recommendation of the Second Pan American Scientific Conference of 1915. By 1929 it was necessary to change the name from Section of Education to the Division of Intellectual cooperation in order to better describe its many sections which are under the direction of Concha Romero James. The new scope of the Division can be well-demonstrated by a look at its files which have headings for activities under archaeology, art and artists, bibliography, congresses, education, letters, practice of professions, societies, and treaties on intellectual cooperation. 4

Within the Pan American Union, there is also the Columbus Memorial Library, a reference center of approximately

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3 School and Society, December 27, 1941, pp. 623-625.

4 C. R. James: The Pan American Union in the Field of Cultural Relations, mimeographed, (1941).
100,000 volumes and pamphlets which maintains information about libraries in the various countries and keeps bibliographies on subjects connected with American problems. The Division of Travel helps tourists plan itineraries and works with motion picture makers to film and distribute travel pictures of the Americas. There is also an Inter-American Commission of Women which, besides other interests, aids cultural cooperation. The Pan American Sanitary Bureau is interested primarily in the prevention of the international spread of communicable diseases and also in the maintenance and improvement of the health of the people of the twenty-one republics. It acts as a consulting body at the request of national health authorities, carries on scientific studies, and publishes a monthly bulletin.

**Government Programs**

**Congressional approval.**—The nearly unanimous hemispherical interest in intellectual cooperation is shown in the signing of the Treaty of Inter-American Cultural Relations at Buenos Aires, December 23, 1936. The treaty provided for:

- exchange of professors, teachers and students among the American countries, as well as by the encouragement of a closer relationship between unofficial organizations which exert an influence on the formation

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of public opinion... to bring about greater mutual knowledge and understanding of the people and institutions of the countries represented and a more consistent educational solidarity on the American continent...

On June 23, 1937, United States ratification was advised by the Senate; the treaty was signed by the President on July 15, 1937, deposited with the Pan American Union at Washington, July 29, 1937, and finally proclaimed by the President on September 15, 1937. That year other American republics which ratified and deposited the convention were Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, and Venezuela. In the next year two additional countries, Paraguay and Colombia, ratified and deposited the convention. Mexico's ratification in March, 1941, brought the total number of countries participating to fifteen, and in 1944 the sixteenth was added when Bolivia signed the pact.

On July 27, 1938, Congress passed H. R. 5835 which declares:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that in order to render closer and more effective the relationship between the American republics the President of the United States is hereby authorized, subject to such appropriations as are made available for the purpose, to utilize the services of the departments, agencies, and independent

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6Department of State: Bulletin No. 1594, 1941.
establishments of the government in carrying out the reciprocal undertakings and cooperative purposes enunciated in the treaties, resolutions, declarations, and recommendations signed by all of the twenty-one American republics at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace held at Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 1936, and at the Eighth International Conference of American States held at Lima, Peru, in 1938.

Before proceeding further, it is important to note that two principles operate in maintaining peace in the New World. The first of these is the similarity of ideology in the Americas in the desire for peaceful international relations. This desire is not something tangible that can be easily measured or ratified by the Pan American countries and deposited in Washington. This belief is based on public opinion which has been changed considerably by the Good Neighbor Policy; and the feeling is of great importance in relation to the second principle. That principle is embodied in the very definite and multilateral treaties of the past twelve years which bind the Americas into the Pan American Union.

Founded on the thesis that peace and orderly progress are best grounded upon the mutual understanding of the fundamental social, political, and economic ideals among peoples of all nations, the exchange program is designed to make available to the peoples of the other American repub-

lies a more accurate knowledge of the progress of science, the humanities, and the technology of the United States and to attain a similar diffusion in this country of the intellectual attainments of the neighboring peoples.

Department of State.--Within the Department of State is to be found the framework of the whole program, yet cultural understanding is definitely not a government undertaking. The purpose of the government is to lead, suggest, and assist the work of private agencies throughout the country. A program of cultural understanding between peoples of sovereign states can be accomplished only in such fashion; it must come from all levels of the public itself. The activity must be an educational program, in that it is training the citizenry in the development of a truer and more realistic understanding between the neighbors of the Americas.

In carrying out its duties regarding the cultural program, the Department of State collaborates with the Office of Education and other government departments and agencies, the Pan American Union, colleges, universities, and other educational and cultural organizations. To begin these activities, Cordell Hull sent invitations in the fall of 1939 to approximately a thousand leaders and agencies in the fields of art, music, education, communication, and publishing to come to Washington for conferences to plan the pro-
gram. The response to this invitation showed that all over the country the people were becoming increasingly interested in cooperation and felt that the cultural program was an important project.  

The Division of Cultural Relations was organized in the Department of State on July 27, 1936. The main purpose of the division is to develop friends abroad for the United States through a deeper understanding and appreciation of the best culture of this country and to aid in similar activities by other countries. Although this activity was at first involved only with inter-American countries, it has broadened to include China, Africa, and the Near East. Most of the effort to this date, however, has been in the Latin American countries.

The Division, since it is an official agency assigned to this work, is interested in the coordination of the activities of the important private organizations and institutions engaged in intellectual cooperation. The belief is held that the principal responsibility for cultural understanding should belong to private groups; therefore, government agencies are only to aid and be a clearing-house for such interchange.  

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8Department of State: Bulletin No. 1441, 1940.
9Department of State: Preliminary Survey of Inter-American Cultural Activities, mimeographed, 1939.
is a small section with a very narrow budget. By December, 1944, the name of this department had been changed to Division of Cultural Cooperation.

The main functions of the Department of State have become the sponsoring of interchange of students, teachers, and outstanding leaders in the fields of education, literature, journalism, music, medicine, architecture, archaeology, and art; the cooperation with private organizations interested in developing inter-American activities; the interchange of educational motion pictures; and cooperation with the other offices of the government. It is believed that there is a definite public interest in Latin American relations in this country and in the other countries of the hemisphere.

Probably better than any other one method for developing cultural understanding is the exchange of students and teachers among the nations of the Western Hemisphere. Student exchanges were halted in 1943 for the duration of the war; but it is interesting to note that if all the ratifying governments send the complete quota allowable, there will be a good-sized group of approximately a thousand ambassadors of good-will trooping back and forth between the Americas each year. The methods of selecting the candidates for exchange will be taken up in more detail under another heading.
The work of the Department of State had little more than just begun when an interesting appointment was made in a new office which was to take over a great amount of the work to be done. Following an extended trip throughout Latin America, Nelson A. Rockefeller, with the assistance of several friends, developed an idea for improving relations with Latin America through cultural understanding and presented it to the Department of State. Rockefeller's ideas were so good that on August 16, 1940, he was appointed by the President as Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics under the Council of National Defense. The Coordinator's office, as an emergency agency for the express purpose of improving Latin American relations, was somewhat different from the Division of Cultural Relations. The Division had the responsibility for long-range planning and acted as an agent between the Coordinator and the Foreign Service of the United States. Due mainly to Rockefeller's energy and the success of his office, the work grew broader and more important than could have been expected at first. Rockefeller brought with him to the Coordinator's office his great experience as a coordinator in private life, a great many valuable contacts for this type of work, a full knowledge of Latin America, and a sincere interest in cooperating with
other government departments engaged in similar activities. One of the first important procedures of this office was the preparation of a blacklist of Nazi organizations and affiliates. The availability of this list was a great help in stamping out racist undercover activities. This first step was immediately followed by the organization of radio programs for prompt translation of important speeches into Spanish and Portuguese. There was a press bureau for the purpose of getting government statements translated and shipped promptly to Latin America, and soon there were thirteen short wave radio stations competing with Nazi and Japanese propaganda. The Coordinator's office published En Guardia, a slick-paper monthly magazine which went to approximately 175,000 influential Latin Americans. By the latter part of 1945, this commission had been re-named the Office of Inter-American Affairs. Rockefeller, who was transferred to the State Department proper, is no longer the coordinator.

Inter-Departmental committee on cooperation.-- On seeing a list of the government agencies which are members of this committee, it seems at first that practically the entire government service is involved. The Inter-departmental Committee was established in May, 1936, at the suggestion of the President for the purpose of drafting the program for

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10 *Life*, April 27, 1942, pp. 80-84.
cultural understanding and providing for the cooperation of all government offices wherever necessary. The Committee is composed of representatives of the United States Departments of State, Treasury, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, Justice, and Labor, and the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution, the Federal Communications Commission, the United States Maritime Commission, the Export-Import Bank, the Civil Aeronautics Authority, United States Tariff Commission, Federal Security Agency (Public Health Service, Office of Education, and United States Film Service), and the Federal Works Agency. Thus, the Committee has at its disposal the skill and techniques which federal offices have developed through many years of service. By using this knowledge, the group is able to carry out the broad program of cultural relations.

There are several principles which guide the Committee in its procedures. First it is believed that the program should be composed of enough varied projects in economic, social, scientific, and intellectual pursuits so that it will reach a broad number of people in all walks of life in the countries to the south. Secondly, the Committee holds that each undertaking should be cooperative with all other American countries. Third, no phase of the program will be allowed appropriations for which any other government agency has been denied. In the fourth place, the plans of the
Inter-departmental Committee do not include any work which is directly a function of a department which is already established. Finally, it is agreed that all closely related activities will be grouped together and there will be no duplication of the functions of any other private or governmental organization. As can be seen from the above, Nelson Rockefeller's spirit of cooperation was definitely necessary. 11 Some of the activities under the scientific and technical program include the following: the development of vital statistics of the Western Hemisphere, sanitation cooperation in control of diseases, researches in anthropology and labor standards, organization of agricultural experiment stations for development of complementary agriculture production, studies of deep-sea fishing problems, programs for rubber cultivation, research on tides in Central and South America, and the development of weather forecasting in the other American republics.

Other agencies.--Within the Library of Congress, the Hispanic Foundation was opened in July, 1939, becoming another medium for government sponsorship of cultural relations. One gallery of the Library contains a reading room, private study enclosures, and approximately 75,000 books which were made possible through donations of $120,000 and

11Department of State: Inter-departmental Committee on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation, 1945, p. 2.
certain congressional appropriations. The aims of the Foundation include the building up of a collection on Hispanic culture, organizing it for reference purposes, and making it available to students of all nations. Depending on resources, more books, periodicals, and photostats of rare books will be purchased.

Still another interested agency is the National Museum. The Smithsonian Institution has some Latin American services in the distribution of its publications to other institutions and libraries, and its specialists in the field of science work and travel in the other American republics. These Smithsonian experts go into all parts of Latin America and keep up correspondence with scientific workers there. Since 1918 there has been a Smithsonian observatory near Calama, Chile, for observation of solar radiation. The results, used in interpreting weather data, are dispatched to interested groups in Chile, Argentina, and Brazil. The Bureau of American Ethnology is also a part of the Smithsonian Institution and has conducted excavations in Mexico over a period of years.

The United States Office of Education, which is a part of the Inter-departmental Committee on Cultural Relations, has some special functions of its own that do not come under the direct supervision of the Committee. Booklets have been
written explaining how universities, colleges, and individuals are affected in the program for cultural understanding, and this office has set up a committee to judge the applications for candidacy in the exchange program. There are special files and information service, supervised by a Latin American specialist, for the purpose of answering questions regarding the exchange of professors, students, and important leaders in various cultural fields. The Radio Division began its first work in this program in the early part of 1936 with a program called "The Brave New World," a dramatization of the history of the Latin American republics. There was another, "Americans All—Immigrants All," in which one section stressed the hispanic heritage of the American people. Both of these were recorded and offered for the use of schools and other educational institutions.

Unofficial Exchanges

Interested groups.--It is to be remembered that the government organizations we have just discussed are to be mainly a framework and a foundation for the cultural program which will assist and direct to a certain extent the establishment of sound and effective activities of the educational, intellectual, and cultural institutions of the country as a whole. It will be remembered that a full survey of the most promising fields of cultural relations was made at the invi-
tation of the Secretary of State. There were meetings of leaders in education, public health, art, music, publications, journalism, and library science in which a beginning was made in the coordination of effort and the projection of new activities. These people came from all sections of the country. It was their unanimous decision that the proper functioning of a program for cultural understanding should be left in the hands of the whole people through various governmental agencies. This government activity was to be mainly the assistance and direction of private institutions that develop or study those phases of our society which, becoming public information abroad, will bring about the greatest understanding.

That there is a very broad base for such understanding and a deep interest in Latin American affairs is demonstrated in a publication of the Department of State: *Preliminary Survey of Inter-American Cultural Activities in the United States*, printed in 1939. This survey lists seventy-eight different organizations, which are both primarily and incidentally concerned with cultural cooperation in the Americas. Also, the interests of sixty-four educational groups which have activities in the program of cultural relations are discussed. A complete list of these organizations would be tedious and out of the question here, but a short listing of representative groups will serve our purpose by giving an
understanding of the scope and aims of them all. They are as follows: (Those primarily interested)- Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, Inter-American Friendship Center, The Good neighbor Forum of Central Y.M.C.A. College, Pan American Student Forum, Argentine-American Chamber of Commerce, Peruvian Information Bureau, R. R. Grace and Company, and Pan American Airways; (Those incidentally interested)- Council of Foreign Relations, Foreign Policy Association, League of Nations Association, World Peace Foundation, University of Chicago International House, American Association of University Women, National Society of Daughters of the American Revolution, and Rotary International. In the field of education there are the endowment foundations: Guggenheim, Rockefeller, Rosenwald, and Carnegie; and there are colleges and universities which have regular Latin American scholarships or operate summer seminars in Latin American countries: Mount Holyoke, University of Texas, Texas State College for Women, North Texas State College, University of Miami, University of Michigan, Southern Methodist University, and George Washington University. Probably since this writing, other colleges have begun such programs.

Since it would be impossible to discuss the work of each of these institutions, and since the above list of
titles may be somewhat vague, a few examples will be chosen representatively and examined more critically.

The Committee on Cultural Relations of Latin America.--This group has two intellectual leaders, Stuart Chase and Hubert Herring, as chairman and executive director respectively. It was founded in 1926, "to create a more intelligent and friendly understanding of Latin American affairs throughout the United States, toward the end of uniting the democratic forces of the Western Hemisphere."\(^{12}\) For the thirteen years preceding the recent war, Herring operated Latin American summer seminars: fourteen in Mexico, two in the Caribbean area, three in Guatemala, and one associated with the Eighth Pan American Conference at Lima. Latin American leaders were prevailed upon to deliver special lectures and conduct round-table discussions. Many field trips provided beneficial illustrations of these discussions.

Pan American Student Forum.--Centered in Dallas, Texas, the Forum has fifty-six chapters in ten different states and is interested primarily in promoting inter-American goodwill in high schools. Operating individually, the chapters develop study programs on Latin American countries, and, as extra-curricular work in their schools, they organize

\(^{12}\) Department of State: Preliminary Survey..., 1939.
activities for the benefit of Latin Americans who live in the United States.

Foreign Policy Association.—This institution, in New York City, lists its purpose: "To increase the interest and understanding of American citizens in international affairs." Occasionally, public forums on the subject of Latin American affairs are held in New York and branch cities. Beginning in 1939, the Association planned for a much more comprehensive program on Latin American subjects and organized a Latin American Information Service headed by John I. B. McCulloch.

Chicago International House.—Although the main purpose of this institution is providing educational facilities for the promotion of good-will and understanding of students among various nationalities and races, there are special functions regarding Latin America. These functions include lectures by authorities on Latin America and entertainment of distinguished visitors from that area. The exchange of professors and students is promoted whenever possible, and there is cooperation with other organizations interested in Pan Americanism.

Rockefeller Foundation.—The Foundation was chartered in 1913 for promoting the well-being of mankind throughout

13 Ibid.
the world through the advancement of knowledge. In the field of Latin American affairs, more than $9,500,000 has been appropriated mostly for the study and control of yellow fever and for public health work in general. Recently, the stimulation of cultural relations has been considered an opportunity to provide a direct contribution to inter-American understanding. Two special sections of the Foundation, the Humanity and the Social Sciences, take care of this work. The Middle-American Research Institute of Tulane University and the Handbook of Latin American Studies of the American council of learned societies have received contributions for their specific inter-American projects in the humanities. Money has also been appropriated to the Children's Literature Section of the Inter-National Bureau of Education at Geneva for including Latin America in its operations. This will mean the adoption of a survey of literature for children in these areas and book lists for each country showing the contents of the books and the age of the children for which they are suitable. Likewise, books will be recommended for interchange among countries and for translation.

The Social Sciences section of the Foundation has granted funds to the American University in Washington for the special development of a Latin American program. This program is to include in-service governmental training for Latin American officials and supervision of their studies.
This program also calls for its director to visit the countries to the south and explain the resources of the American University for teaching public administration. In 1939 two of the approximately sixty annual fellowships in the Social Sciences granted by the Foundation were offered to Mexicans and one given for study in South America. Over a period of time the Rockefeller Foundation has provided for several such fellowship studies in Latin American countries.

When it is considered that there are perhaps a hundred times as many institutions engaged in this work as have been discussed here, and that each one of them is doing its own particular bit to increase understanding between the American countries, it is evident how tremendous and vast the movement has become. Yet this is not all of the program. From the next discussion of the various fields of cultural understanding, we can get a further and clearer view of the activities.

Special Fields of Cooperation

Government exchanges.--For many years students from the United States have gone abroad for study, but it was only in 1940 that the government began sponsoring the exchange of students, teachers, and professors for the purpose of rapidly increasing the number of them each year. In the work of international educational exchanges, the United States
started very late in comparison with Great Britain, Germany, France, Spain, and Japan. This exchange was begun for the primary purpose of implementing the cultural understanding program, thereby aiding in the improvement of inter-American relations. 14 This is not to say, however, that there had been no exchanges of this sort in the past, for the private universities and institutions of the country had been carrying on their own programs for many years. These programs of the private educational groups will be discussed in a later section.

Our government exchange program is based on the Treaty of 1936, signed at Buenos Aires, in which there was a special convention that provided for each of the ratifying governments to send two graduate students annually and one or more visiting professors every two years to each of the other signatory states. The Treaty specifies that the government which sends the students or professors shall be responsible for the travel expenses, while the host country will bear the expense of tuition, food, and housing.

In choosing the candidates for the student and teacher exchange, five names are chosen from the complete list of applications and are sent through regular diplomatic channels to each one of the other countries which is a member of the cultural relations program. The American republic
which receives this list of five names, chooses two from the list to be sent the next year. The exchange professorships are chosen in a somewhat different manner. A list is made of all applications of professors available from the most outstanding universities and institutions and is sent to the other ratifying powers of the Treaty every other year. From this list the other countries choose one guest who will aid the program of cultural understanding by lecturing in various cities, by offering a regular course for study, or by carrying on some special research study of his own in one of the institutions of the host country. In regard to the qualifications of the exchange personnel, each person must be of good moral character and intellectual ability and be in good health. The students must be under thirty-five years of age and know the language of the country to which they are sent, while the professors must hold professorial position in a recognized college or university and have done scholarly work in their own specialized fields. The first of the travel grants involved in the program was an appropriation which was approved by the President for the fiscal year of 1940 for $69,000.

Still another type of training in the United States is offered foreign students. Practical training in government in the regular departments of the federal system and techni-
cal work in industrial concerns of the country make up the program of the new system. By the beginning of 1944, more than ninety persons were involved in this plan working in refineries, banks, mines, meat packing plants, rubber plants, telephone companies, and other types of business. During 1943 twenty-four students from the countries of the Hemisphere were in the United States in a study program in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and the Rural Electrification Administration offered field experience for eighteen more of our Latin American neighbors. At the end of 1943 the Department of Agriculture had chosen thirty-five agriculture technicians to study agricultural extension work in state and county offices. From the same source, we learn that in 1943 the United States Weather Bureau carried on a six-months training course in Medellin, Colombia, for meteorologists and climatologists in Latin America. This course was attended by approximately two hundred persons. Further, the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, set up by the Office of Inter-American Affairs, invited and brought to this country more than 250 guests for the study of health problems, and the Department of State approved over 130 more to study government policies.

15 Ibid., p. 14, 15.
The decision of the signatories of the Treaty to provide for the exchange of leaders of the professions and the arts produces still another phase of the exchange program. This procedure is a travel-grant program calling for these leaders to lecture in the countries of the Pan American Union for the purpose of bringing about a better understanding between the peoples. United States consular and diplomatic officials have chosen persons from a wide circle of occupations and interests and recommended that these authorities be sent to our country for visits of from three to four months. The leaders from the countries of our neighbors include lawyers, educators, government officials, writers, publishers, sociologists, economists, teachers of the English language, scientists, and technicians.\(^\text{16}\)

It is to be remembered that these exchanges make up only one part of the government’s program for the stimulation of cultural understanding in the Americas. It is true that a broad exchange system is probably the best of all ways to develop intellectual cooperation, but it is a fact that there are many other effective ways of doing the same things.\(^\text{17}\)

Libraries and cultural institutes.—Even before the war began in 1939, there were eight cultural institutes in cities

\(^{16}\text{Ibid.}, p. 16.}\)

\(^{17}\text{Bulletin of Pan American Union, August 1944, p. 421.}\)
of the other American republics for the purpose of promoting better understanding with the United States. By 1945 there were twenty-two of them. These organizations have become educational groups which operate English classes for the public as a whole, maintain good-sized libraries, keep collections of recorded music, and furnish auditoriums for lectures and films. United States Foreign Service personnel report that these institutes have furnished a very satisfactory means of developing better cultural relations. For example, it is estimated that the English classes of these groups reached more than 12,000 persons in 1945, persons who were usually of the white-collar class. Moreover, several of these cultural groups also provided classes in Spanish and Portuguese for Americans in that foreign locality. Other features of the institutes include motion picture exhibitions, recorded music concerts, displays of art from the United States, publishing monthly magazines, developing social contacts between residents and North Americans, sponsoring lectures, distribution of pamphlets and literature, and, in general, serving as a clearing house for all types of information and activities which promote better understanding.

The first of these cultural institutes was the Instituto Cultural Argentino-Norteo Americano of Buenos Aires, which

Department of State: Cultural... Program, (1944), p. 23.
furnished the model from which the others were patterned.\footnote{19} The União Cultural Brasil-Estados Unidos was founded in São Paulo in 1938 for the purpose of promoting better understanding between the United States and Brazil. It is an extra-curricular activity of the University of São Paulo and is governed by an advisory council of twenty members, including the American Consul-general of that city. The group is composed of students and graduates of Brazilian and North American universities, intellectuals in general, and businessmen. These are two examples of this type of organization which closely resemble all the others. There are, however, other bilateral arrangements among the nations to the south of us. Colombia has an officer dealing primarily with intellectual cooperation assigned to its embassies. Another organization is the Association of American Writers and Artists, located in Havana, which participates in the promotion of cultural understanding through America, their monthly magazine. At the commemoration of American Culture Day in Havana, October 13, 1938, news of the establishment of twenty cultural institutes within the American Hemisphere was announced.

There are also quite a few of the same cultural groups located within the United States which operate according to the same purposes as those already discussed. These may be

\footnote{19}{Department of State: Bulletin No. 1441, 1940.}
found in Boston, New York, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and more than twenty other key cities throughout the country where private citizens have organized Pan American study clubs for the purpose of increasing their knowledge of Latin America. In the summer of 1945 the St. Louis institute promoted a three-day program of cultural understanding. All civic and educational groups in the city participated, and it was estimated that more than 2,000 persons heard speeches by both Anglo and Latin Americans on the problems of understanding. Those attending saw special movies, looked over representative book lists, read posters, and were given pamphlets. All of these materials aided in developing and encouraging improvements in understanding. 20

Exchange libraries in Latin American countries, sponsored by the United States, are very similar to the cultural institutes in their programs and purposes. By the end of 1943 three such libraries had been established; one in Mexico, one in Nicaragua, and another in Uruguay; and our government aided in resupplying the National Library of Peru when it was damaged by fire. 21 The oldest of these institutes is the Benjamin Franklin Library in Mexico City. It


has an estimated 8,000 volumes, has special rooms for children, provides weekly motion pictures, and sponsors lectures by visiting Americans. The motion pictures are educational in nature, including such subjects as health, agriculture, industry, schools, and sports of the United States. The movies provided in these libraries and cultural institutes have claimed an estimated audience of three million persons monthly.\textsuperscript{22}

At first our government hesitated to offer financial assistance to these organizations which have just been discussed, because the great value received from the work of these institutes was to be found in the local financing, support, and direction of each group. In competition with European countries, however, it was found that to bring the standards of United States groups up to par larger financial outlays would have to be provided. The government funds that were provided were used in the purchase of books, motion picture equipment, and other expensive equipment, and the responsibility for the direction of the clubs was still centered in local personnel. In 1943 approximately $1,53,000, which was nearly half of the total operating budgets, was provided by the twenty-two cultural institutes themselves.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{22}Bulletin of Pan American Union, August 1944, p. 423.

\textsuperscript{23}Department of State: Bulletin No. 1441, 1940.
It can be seen from the preceding paragraph that the work in this field, though haphazard, has been successful where it has been in operation. Perhaps some stimulation is going to be necessary, at any rate, it is evident that much good can result for cultural understanding from these groups.

Books and periodicals.--The printed word is perhaps the most easily understood of all methods of communication, and certainly writing is of great value in improving cultural cooperation. Archibald MacLeish believes that writers are very important in the world's present condition.  

... the writers of our time... must undertake to reduce to sunlight and recognition the shadowy chaos of our world;... for it is only by seeing their experience of the world for what it is—however terrible—that men can act upon it.

Perhaps he is correct, at least his ideas definitely fit into the programs for intellectual understanding. Much has been done in the field of writing, still much more remains to be done. The Publishers’ Weekly adds still another thought: "It is clear that books and periodicals, if they represent us as we are, can become not only a source of commercial profit but also a tool for friendlier understanding between us and our neighbors." The fact remains, however, that we have seen few of the books written in the other

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American republics, and they find very few of ours on their bookshelves.

The interchange of books which mirror national life and customs was one of the first problems of cultural cooperation to be approached by the countries which ratified the Buenos Aires treaty of 1936. In 1938 cooperating with the Department of State and foreign service personnel in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and Rio de Janeiro, thirty-two United States publishing companies provided exhibits of more than 2,000 books in each of those cities. The interest was so great that over 1,000 persons visited the collection daily in Buenos Aires, and the exhibit had to be held over for an extra period in Rio de Janeiro. After the displays in each of the cities, the books were either donated to the public or placed in public libraries. 26 Several of these touring exhibits have made the rounds of the Latin American countries.

In a space of approximately three years, it was found by a publisher's committee which made an investigation in the southern states that the demand was much beyond the export estimations of the publishers. It was found that the greatest need was for a dual exchange of books; also the twenty varying import systems and taxes on different types of bindings and materials of books, plus the relative high cost

26 Department of State: Bulletin No. 1441, 1940.
of American books, made commercial exchange a difficult matter. Another of the problems involved is the lack of good translations into Spanish and Portuguese.

Still another phase of the distribution of books from the United States in the southern countries is the program of our government itself. In this case the idea was to make the books of this country better known in the south by sending books in the English language to representative libraries in Latin American states. The libraries were chosen according to their ability to make good use of the books, their known facilities for service, the ability of the librarian of the institution, and the importance of the library. There were 500 libraries selected, and each of them can choose what is wanted from a list of 1,279 books from the United States. In addition to the book distribution, these libraries could ask for periodicals also, and by the close of 1945 there were requests for 579 papers and magazines from this country.

Within the last few years, nearly all of the magazines of this country have contributed to expansion of the cultural cooperation program by printing articles which develop greater understanding of our neighbors in Latin America. There are several magazines or bulletins that deal primarily with

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27 Department of State: Cultural... Program, (1944), p. 36.
28 Ibid., p. 32.
Pan American problems or are printed in Spanish and Portuguese for the express purpose of developing understanding of North Americans in southern regions. Among these periodicals we find the Bulletin of the Pan American Union, The Hispanic American Historical Review, The Inter-American Quarterly, The Revista Iberoamericana, Spanish and Portuguese editions of the Readers’ Digest, and the special airmail edition of Time.

Another part of this discussion of printed communications is the exchange of news and feature stories to be found in the daily newspapers. As Collac, publisher of the New York edition of La Prensa, has declared:

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The daily paper is the most able resource that both the government and people can find to express their purposes and needs, and as a promoter of more friendly relations by the abolition of misunderstanding, ignorance, and prejudice.

American information from Latin America depends on a half-dozen large newspaper services such as United Press, Associated Press, International News Service, and the New York Times Service. Straight, or “spot,” news comes to us from these sources, but perhaps more important than that type are feature stories which find their way into United States Sunday papers and some dailies, dealing with descriptive, historical, archaeological, political, and social articles on particular Latin American countries. Naturally, it is hard

to measure exactly how much good comes from stories in newspapers, how much travel is encouraged, or how much understanding is improved; however, it is interesting to note that contributors of such articles, including those from the United States in Latin America, are respected enough to have served on inter-American exchange committees and to have assisted in the formation of research organizations to promote Pan Americanism. These writers form some of the strongest ties between the Americas. Regarding North American news connections, Carl Crow has made some interesting statements which help show the importance of news services to any cultural understanding program.30

We do not need to counteract German propaganda. Government money could never build up an organization to equal the commercial efforts and advantages of neutral and truthful American news agencies, feature syndicates, publishers, and moving-picture producers. These are honest, and dependable products.

Although this quotation was pointed directly at combating Fascist propaganda, it is easy to see how it still holds true today.

The recent war interfered greatly with the delivery of many of the magazines and newspapers that the United States had been shipping abroad. So true was this that in 1943 the Office of War Information provided for the publishing and editing of Science News Letters on eleven different subjects:

30 *Living Age*, June 1941, p. 331.
agriculture, astronomy, biology, economics, engineering, geology, medicine, ophthalmology, physics, psychology, and veterinary science. Each of these letters was under the supervision of a recognized professional organization and was thoroughly accurate and reliable. The Department of State distributes the letters and thus fills a definite need.

**Educational programs.**—For many years in the field of education, there have been provisions for the study and development of understanding of inter-American affairs, but it is only recently that there has been any pronounced increase of broad interest in such matters. In 1943 the Inter-American Educational Foundation was organized through the assistance of the Office of Inter-American Affairs for the purpose of carrying out cooperative projects in the development and improvement of education in the Hemisphere. This organization is primarily interested in education on the levels of elementary grades through that of teacher-training institutions and especially in the fields of sanitation, health education, and vocational training. Joint programs are brought up under this project, educational authorities are loaned between the countries involved, and funds are contributed to the central office by each government. This is mainly a clearing-house organization in matters of theory and planning for educational improvements.

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31 Department of State: Cultural... Program, (1944), p. 54.
Of all the barriers to the cultural understanding program, difference of language is probably the greatest. Understanding this, governments and educational systems have provided for the teaching of English, Spanish, and Portuguese throughout the American Hemisphere. The government of the United States has tried to encourage the study of Spanish and Portuguese in this country and to stimulate the learning of English in the countries of our neighbors through cultural institutes, schools, radio programs, libraries, motion pictures, and travel grants. Learning a foreign language, however, can be effective only when it is begun at an early age and carried through several years of study in public school systems. In more than half of the Pan American countries, English is a required subject and in the others is the favored elective foreign language. In the last few years Spanish has become the leading foreign language taught in United States colleges and universities.\(^{32}\)

The teaching of Spanish is considered very important in the State of Texas, and the state program has gained fame even in faraway La Prensa of Buenos Aires. The Texas system was begun in the public schools of Corpus Christi and provided for the teaching of Spanish, customs of Latin Americans, and inter-American friendship through Pan American Clubs to

\(^{32}\)Ibid., p. 33.
approximately 8,000 pupils from the first through the twelfth grades. The primary aim was to learn to speak and think Spanish naturally. Beginning as it does with the very first grades, and directed by E. E. Mireles, a Latin American citizen of the United States, the program has an excellent chance for success.\footnote{33} The program of the Texas State Teachers Association for 1941 dealt exhaustively with the plan and resulted in its being adopted by the state as the example for a statewide program of teaching Spanish in all the public schools.\footnote{34} The spread of teaching of Spanish became phenomenal: in the school year of 1942-43 there were 225,000 Texas school children enrolled in Spanish courses.\footnote{35} Portuguese has increased in popularity also, for in 1943 the number of colleges teaching it increased from thirty-eight to seventy-five. This development in the study of foreign languages and customs will have a profound effect in the understanding of the citizens who will come of age in the next ten or fifteen years.

It can be noticed that information in some textbooks is not always truthful, and it sometimes leads to fallacious ideas. The revision of such textbooks was the subject of one of the agreements reached by the American countries at the

\footnote{32} Interview, E. E. Mireles, November 3, 1941.  
\footnote{34} \textit{Texas Outlook}, November 1941, p. 16.  
\footnote{35} Department of State: \textit{Cultural... Program}, (1944), p. 55.
Seventh International Conference of American States held at Montevideo in 1933. This agreement was not ratified by the United States, because the federal government does not control the material placed in textbooks; however, when requested by many educators from all over the country, the Office of Inter-American Affairs assisted the American Council on education in a study of materials in American textbooks. This study resulted in the decision to revise books where necessary and to encourage city superintendents to promote cultural understanding in their systems.

There is another educational program which aids in the promotion of cultural cooperation to be found in New York City. This is a student exchange plan, established in 1941, with all municipal and private colleges and universities participating. Twenty scholarships are offered for a year's advanced study in one of the professions. When it is realized that there are many more schools and universities all over the United States which provide similar programs, it can be seen that foreign scholarships, too, are important in aiding understanding.

One of the most interesting experiments in inter-American relations was begun by the University of Pennsylvania. 37


Instead of sending students to some of the Latin American countries, the school transferred part of the regular summer classes to the University of Brazil. Twenty-nine students and two teachers were in the group which lived for six weeks in Brazilian homes. A little later, the Texas State College for Women and North Texas State College began the regular operation of part of their summer schools in towns of neighboring Mexico.

In the preceding discussion of educational activities in the cultural understanding program, only representative plans have been examined. When one considers as a whole these exchanges of students, the Pan Americanism taught in Spanish and Portuguese classes in colleges and public schools, the prospects for continued progress of bi-lingual studies in grades below the college level, the transfer of summer sessions from the native country to a location in one of the neighboring nations, and the use of radio and motion pictures in teaching foreign languages, it is easy to see the broad scope, interest, and basis for rapid improvement in cultural understanding.

**Other activities.**—No discussion of the programs for cultural understanding is complete without a survey of the work done through the medium of the arts: music, painting, radio, and motion pictures. A great many of the leaders
in these fields were present at the first conference called by Hull in the fall of 1938 for the purpose of examining the possibilities for development of intellectual understanding.

In the realm of art and painting, exhibits were planned by the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in late 1940 for the purpose of letting art do its part in improving international understanding. For instance, in 1942, three exhibitions which had travelled over 50,000 miles through Central and South America returned to this country after having been inspected by more than 218,000 people. This planning of exhibits was transferred to the Department of State in 1945, which may show the importance of these demonstrations. This program is not altogether a one-sided plan either, for displays of the art of the other countries of the Hemisphere are on similar tours bringing about a well-rounded understanding of the effort of all countries in this field. For example, in Chile the Instituto de Informacion Campesina of the Junta de Exportacion Agricola assembled sketches by some of its rural children for an exhibit at the International Conference of the New Education Fellowship at the University of Michigan in 1941. Another demonstration of the interest in these exhibits was the first anniversary of the

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38 Department of State: Cultural... Program. (1944), p. 39.
39 Department of State: Bulletin No. 1441, 1940.
American Library at Managua, Nicaragua, in 1943 when there was a display of eighty reproductions of such artists from the United States as Thomas Hart Benton, Grant Wood, and Steuart Curry. The exhibit was viewed by something like 3,000 people in a ten-day period. It is interesting to note, too, that many artists have been included in the government's grants for travel and lectures by outstanding leaders not only from this country but also from the other states of the Americas. It is quite easy to see that the United States is interested in showing the fallacy of the contentions of enemy agents that the Colossus of the North is very great in the field of economic progress and industrial technique but lacking in culture.

The plan for cultural understanding is, of course, for the purpose of developing knowledge of the social systems of the American countries so that misrepresentations, such as that just mentioned, will be laughed-off in the future. Music is another of the fine arts that has been making the circuits of the Americas in the interest of understanding. In 1940 the All-American Youth Orchestra made a good-will tour of Latin America. The members of this orchestra were chosen by Leopold Stokowski from all the young musicians of the United States. They gave nineteen concerts which were received enthusiastically and undoubtedly made many friends for

40 Department of State: Cultural... Program, (1944), p. 39.
America. The next year the Yale Glee Club made a tour also, and a congressional subcommittee, which traveled the same route several months later, reported that the Club should be put at the top of the list of successful good-will missions. The prices for seats at the performances were kept very low so that this type of music, which is often restricted to the privileged classes only, could become another bridge for gaining understanding by the people as a whole. The Library of Congress has made several albums of representative music of Latin America and a full collection of sheet music, both of which are for general distribution. The Office of the Coordinator aided in the formation in 1941 of the Inter-American Music Center as a part of the Pan American Union. This section has made studies of the music of the whole hemisphere and incorporated its findings in pamphlets for distribution to anyone wishing information. Music loan-libraries have been set up in all the twenty-one republics for the purpose of furnishing sheet music, recordings, and books on music to radio stations, schools, and symphony orchestras which request them. It is to be remembered also that art exhibits, music recordings, and motion pictures find places on the

41Goetz: op. cit., p. 212.

42Department of State: op. cit., (1944), p. 42.
programs sponsored by cultural institutes interested in bettering cultural cooperation.

The program for cultural understanding has gained much from motion pictures. Movies are both educational and informative, and they minimize differences in language, or can do so, as well as any type of communication. In fact travel pictures can correct many of the strange ideas nations have of each other. "The Cultural Relations Division did not invite Mickey Mouse and Popeye to its conferences, but they have become ambassadors of good-will for us in Latin America." Many thousands here in the United States have seen "The Adventures of Chico," filmed in Mexico, and laughed and learned from its story. The International Film Bureau and the Society for Visual Education, of Chicago, and the Cinegraphic Corporation, of Pasadena, are commercial businesses engaged at the present time in making educational industrial, and technological film for export to foreign countries. Such companies, those of Hollywood, and the United States Government are the main agencies involved in making and distributing films that do great work in developing appreciation and understanding of our culture. "Since 1941 the United States Government has become one of the world's largest exhibitors of 16-mm. educational films." These movies were exhibited

43 Goetz: op. cit., p. 216.

44 Department of State: op. cit., (1944), p. 47.
in forty-two countries, including all the Latin American countries. The technique is to show films which describe the United States, hold the program in a plaza or outdoor market-place, and advertise fully so that the largest possible audiences will be obtained. It was estimated that the total audience for 1943 was over 17,000,000 people. Subjects include all types of topics such as rural electrification, building of dams, symphony orchestras, the oil industry, military activities, dentistry, agriculture, public health; and also such subjects with a wider appeal as sports, geography, and travel.

Until 1941 the United States was far behind all other countries in the use of short wave radio in international broadcasting. This type of radio is the only means of communication which is not subject to censorship, and it has the magnitude and speed for mass work. In telling foreign countries of the culture, purposes, and background of the United States, we began with a late start and none too soon; because in 1941 when the Axis nations were building public opinion in opposition to democracy in Latin America, United States programs to counteract this propaganda averaged only a half-hour a week. Since then much has been done to remedy the situation. The Coordinator and the Office of War

Information have been very interested in the matter and have produced many radio programs on our scientific achievements, art, great citizens and history, and music. Teachers have been sent to the Latin American countries to train both radio talent and radio technicians for the purpose of promoting pro-united states broadcasts and for re-broadcasting programs from this country. Besides these activities, the larger studios make recordings and send them to major Latin American cities for re-broadcast to the smaller towns.

In this chapter we have seen how the United States has carried out its obligations in the Treaty of Buenos Aires of 1956 which called for the development of intellectual cooperation. Even though many private institutions had been engaged in similar activities for years, it took the work of the Department of State through its various sections to coordinate and stimulate the program as needed. Now the United States has the basis, the foundation laid for continuing the plan. Of course, this is not to say that the program is complete, that we can now rest, even temporarily, on our laurels since the war is won and we have friends in Latin America. Now the work has just begun. More than ever before, the program must be successful. We have seen in the short time since the end of the war what we have realized all along. It is going to be harder, in a different way, of
course, to gain from the peace that for which the war was fought. Likewise, it must not be concluded that the programs for cultural understanding are completely successful. There is much that remains to be done, there are many criticisms of the program, and there are many suggestions for its improvement. These suggestions and criticisms are the subject matter of the next chapter. Finally, it must be remembered, a cultural exchange program is a long-range procedure. Ideas and understanding face a great barrier in the ideas of cultural nationalism which still exist and harass internationalism. The world will not be made over in a day or a year. The population of the world needs education and time to get used to what it learns. Cultural understanding can provide the education and tools for learning to get along with others.
CHAPTER V

ENLARGING THE PROGRAM

Latin American-Anglo American

Latin American problems.--The inter-American cultural understanding program is hardly an unqualified success, as a reader can see from a study of the contents of the preceding chapter. Indeed, unqualified success was not expected, for the cooperation program includes several committees which study changing needs and make suggestions for improvements. This anticipation is necessary, for there have been hundreds of criticisms and suggestions. Any program that includes as many activities as this, and which is advertised so widely, will have articles written about its work in nearly all the magazines and newspapers of the country. Representative criticisms and suggestions for improvement of the intellectual cooperation program are to be examined in this chapter.

However, before one can evaluate properly the criticisms of the program, it is important that he have an understanding of some of the vital problems of Latin Americans which must be considered in the operation of the program. There are certain conditions which are problems in nearly all of the countries to the south. These difficulties grow out of class systems, the position of the Church, race
problems, economy, and an ingrained idea of classic nationalism. Any student of Latin American affairs has heard of these problems over and over again. They are basic. A short description of each will show the main factors influencing cultural understanding.

It is important to note at the beginning that the history of the Latin American countries has not reached the same stage as that of the United States. Where the nineteenth century was the great era of increasing recognition for the United States, it was a period of isolation for Latin America. These countries to the south were politically retarded, and countless revolutions occurred in which the ruling classes fought among themselves for leadership and for the privileges of exploitation. Although there were democratic forms of government in these countries, there was little democracy; moreover, the constitutions of the countries were changed after nearly every revolution, and, even after their change, they were not observed in many instances. Considering the conditions in Latin America, one author has made a pointed observation:

...for history in the United States is primarily the study of conditions which the nation has left behind. In Latin America history is a pattern of living which, generation after generation, through all the technological and political changes from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, has been zealously repeated.

One of the problems that faces Latin Americans today grew out of the old Spanish latifundia system, causing the establishment of a landholding aristocracy which became and remained the ruling class. Even now, there is little evidence of a definite middle class. In Latin America one is usually a member either of the extremely small, wealthy, landed group or of the vast, impoverished, uneducated group of industrial workers, migratory farm laborers, or semi-feudal sharecroppers who live on the great haciendas or estancias. When we hope for a strong and cooperative Latin America, we forget sometimes that the majority of the Latins are illiterate and are susceptible, therefore, to all kinds of "isms." One writer cautions us to remember the following:

Unless the dark little man in the patchwork pants can be made into a productive, consuming, thinking citizen, a healthy, self-sustaining Pan America is impossible.

In the description of the class system to be found in Latin America, we find that that picture is also a discussion, and an indictment, of the economy of the region. Likewise, it should be noted that industry is developing but slowly, and agriculture has most of the drawbacks of southern United States' one-crop systems, peonage, and absentee ownership. The United States will find many ways in which it can be of assistance to our southern neighbors,

3Michael Scully, Readers' Digest, August 1940, p.56.
particularly in matters of industrial growth and agricultural improvement.

The Catholic Church, according to many, was also a means of aristocratic control of the masses of the people and was almost the only evidence of culture among the underprivileged groups of the population. 4 The Church set up a system of form and display and became the esthetic ideal through centuries of tradition. It is hard to see how a foreign culture could have been imposed so successfully on such a large indigenous populace other than by religious schooling and mystification. In some of the countries of our neighbors, the Church is still paramount in all affairs; in others it is losing some of its economic and political power; while in Mexico, as a phase of the social revolution there, its influence has been divorced completely from all affairs except the ecclesiastical. One important point to remember, in this question of the Church, is that these southern nations are still predominantly Catholic, and sometimes they disapprove of Protestant missionaries from the United States coming into Latin American countries to convert the people.

The race question in Latin America is quite different from that in this country. In regard to this problem,

4D. Aikman: op. cit., p. 28.
5Catholic World, July 1943, p. 236
John Gunther found that one of his Brazilian friends had a very apt observation showing the difference in Latin America and the United States. "The great difference between North and South America is that you North Americans brought your wives with you." There is a racial melange in Latin America due to mixture of Indians, negroes, and whites. Where we in the United States have a melting pot of nationalities, the Americans of the south have a racial problem that is still unsettled. It is said that in Brazil, when you travel from Rio Grande do Sul northward along the coastline to the boundary of the Guianas, you can find all the gradations of color from white to black. In this problem there are social and political sensitivities of a grave importance surging very near the surface. All of the Latin American countries, however, do not have the same conditions. In Argentina and Uruguay there is a greater ratio of whites to negroes than there is in the United States. The Indian becomes a great addition to the population in some areas of Latin America. These sections are usually in the mountains and remote areas of the countries. The negroes are found in greatest numbers in the tropical coast areas, and the whites and mestizos usually keep to the cities and industrial localities. One of the best authorities on

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this subject puts it this way:

The Caribbean contains two great racial basins: the West Indies, where negro and white meet and mingle; and the Central American area, where Indian and white meet, mingle, and forswear the consequences.

The western State System has taken hold of the Latin American countries, like other countries of the world, so that they are pronouncedly nationalistic in much of their thinking. The nationalism of a country is an important factor to keep in mind in any dealings with that country. This is true, because each real national unit regards itself as superior to all other states and holds its culture to be the best. No matter how sound this idea is, some statesmen carry out their duties as if the opposite is true and are surprised when their activities are resented.

Problems of understanding.—Differences in social customs, in mores, habits, and ways of thinking between North and South Americans cause many problems in the development of a well-rounded cultural understanding program. Some of these different ways of thinking will be examined here to show the barriers to cooperation and some of the pitfalls to be avoided. Duncan Aikman believes that we consider the Latin Americans to be very much like ourselves, when that is correct only in a limited fashion. This author feels

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7C. C. Griffin: *Latin American Culture*, (1940), p. 24

8D. Aikman: *op.cit.*, p. 28.
that there are great differences in history, economics, culture, and politics, because in these fields the Latin Americans have based their ideas on very different foundations. Likewise, when we attempt to help them in problems allied with these fields, they accuse us of bigotry in assuming that we can do so. Not only do the Latins feel themselves different in these matters, but they consider our values too materialistic, raw, unartistic, and unsouth; nevertheless, it is the understanding of differences, not criticisms of those differences, which will allow us all to smile at each other's dogmas. Tolerance we must seek. No one is always altogether right in principles that must be considered in different lights. For example, where Latin Americans feel that literary accomplishments are a matter of pride and to be displayed, a great many North Americans slight the fine arts and disparage their worth. We say that they take things too seriously, and they claim we are serious about material things only.

There are different social customs that need understanding. Where we in the United States make friends very easily, and sometimes thoughtlessly, Latins usually feel that people must be intimate for years and have many bonds of common ties and obligations before they can enter the sacred circle of a friend's family. As for citizens of North America, travelling or staying in Latin America for

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Ibid., p. 99.
business or pleasure, no matter how well-recommended they may be or how close their professional relations may be with Latin Americans, they will likely find themselves unable to pass the barriers of family society. North Americans are likely to consider these customs somewhat snobbish.

Nepotism is another practice that is hard for us to understand. Most professional men take their sons into their practice, and relatives, whose connections are very distant, can expect to find places in the businesses of cousins and in-laws. It is said that government employees measure their political power by their ability to use their positions to secure grants for their friends and relatives.

We will be irked sometimes by still another chronic outburst in the countries to the south. Many Latin politicians find an attitude of defiance to the United States very successful on certain occasions. Such activities are likely to come after a period of smooth relations with one of these countries. At least, fiery declarations of independence from the bankers of Wall Street seem to breed prestige with constituents.

There are many importations from the United States that irritate Latin Americans. In the first place, high pressure methods of helping the other American countries in their problems and sending too many representatives of our government, who sometimes have a holier-than-thou attitude,
are bad procedures. All these things hurt United States policy in Latin America. That, an understood principle in dealing with foreign countries, is often neglected. North American companies operating in the south find themselves disliked when they become superior in attitude, meddle in local politics, use their diplomatic pressure, or become arrogant and consider all Latins as "natives." It is found, likewise, that many companies consider the leisurely methods of Latin Americans to be indolent, hence, they seldom employ local citizens for important positions.

Improvement of the Cultural Program

Criticisms of the program.-- It is quite true that the problems of understanding, where no provision is made for their correction, become criticisms of the program. It is a fact, also, that most of the criticisms have a just basis and must be considered if the cultural program is to be successful and is to grow broader. One of the greatest problems of our relations in cultural cooperation, one that has been criticized severely, is the establishment of "gringo colonies" which are very restrictive and which vociferously deny neighborliness. "Old Latin American hands" often

10 "Balance Sheet of the Good Neighbor Policy," Readers' Digest, June 1944, p. 56
instruct newcomers, who are suspected of being too friendly, that the local people will respect these new arrivals more if they stick to their own people and keep their distance. Furthermore, there are too many of the Undenses in these colonies who make no effort to learn Spanish or Portuguese or to become acquainted with the customs, habits, and social forms of the southern countries.

Another criticism that has been made is that the United States has sent too many good-will missions to Latin America, and our government has done too little of constructive value. Efforts to help and "save" Latins have come from all levels of public and private life from representatives of big business to the Communist Anti-Imperialist League. Carleton Beals makes this statement:

Liberals, missionaries, concessionaires, newspaper-men, bankers, sugar-growers, airplane companies, radio corporations, Presidents of the United States, chambers of commerce, Rotary Clubs, students, women, pacifists, ... have flooded Latin America with saccharine words of friendship with the 'true' facts about our neighbors.

Continuing in the same line of thought, Time reports John Gunther's finding that the Latin American name for United States cultural ambassadors became "Sixth Columnists."

These are criticisms which require corrective response in action.

13 Pan America, (1940), p. 175.
14 "Too Much Culture," Time, November 3, 1941, p. 95.
The *New York Times* says that not only are there too many schemes and too little unification of them but also Nelson Rockefeller, who was the Coordinator of Cultural and Commercial Relations with the Other American Republics, made a grievous error in his first few days of office.

It was stated that Rockefeller started on a $600,000 advertising program in Latin American papers to encourage travel in the Americas and to counteract Nazi subsidation of publishers, but the advertisements got into the wrong papers, had the wrong approach, and were doing more harm than good. Immediate change was requested by State Department officials in all the twenty southern nations. It does seem fair to say, however, that this hasty and ill-advised action was remedied almost at once, and the Coordinator's office cooperated more fully in the future so that there were no recurrences.

**Suggestions for the program.**—Closely allied with criticisms of the program are the suggestions for improvement in cooperation and the needs which are claimed to be necessary. Among the many needs, perhaps the first should be a psychological approach for the program as a whole and for individuals who are involved in operating the activities. There are three stages in the difficult art of adjusting cultural relationships. The first stage is to act as if

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you agree with people much more than you have any feeling of sympathy for them. The second step is to pick out the ideas of the other people which you actually do approve of, and the third process is a sort of cold-blooded imagination that you actually understand the phases of the other's character and gradually convert this imaginary feeling into a definite and real habit of thinking. In connection with this psychological approach, it is interesting to note one author's suggestion for understanding. He believes that people should become so conscious of understanding among the Americas that breakfast table conversations in the average homes of the Hemisphere will give evidence of sincere belief in inter-American unity and that such belief will not change the culture of any people but will be a means of economic and social growth.

Another of the first things to revise in improving cultural understanding is our tariff policy. Any program for Pan American cooperation must show realization that economic relations are of paramount importance. Countries pay for imports only through exports, otherwise disaster results. Year following year of excess imports and of standing debts cannot either increase purchases of North American commodities or assuage inhospitable feelings. We

must accept Latin American goods when we lend them money, and we must realize the facts of world trade in relation to Latin American affairs. It is said:

Wisdom in this connection means the avoidance of any semblance of economic penetration, or of control, or of political domination. This means more trade, not less, but it also means less isolationism because the trade of the Americas has always been in considerable degree triangular.

Beals has some interesting ideas on Latin American trade, which were written just before the United States entered World War II, but which smack of ultra-nationalism today. He believes that the United States should quit protecting inefficient industry and agriculture; and there should be leadership of private capital into more strategic channels for national welfare, organization of national buying by private groups, building a new western front with a definite policy of strategic materials, carrying on more basket-marketing abroad, and maintaining a flexible trade system based on definite aims regarding products, industries, and countries. In regard to American businesses which are located in Latin America, it is important to remember the caution stated by Ybarra.

Anyone doing business down there should first base his campaign on a realization that men in each of

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19 Beals: op. cit., p. 326.
the twenty republics south of us have special characteristics... and should, therefore, be approached in a way implying a comprehension of all these items.

It is of greatest importance to base the cultural program on public opinion. When we speak of understanding the cultures of our neighbors, briefly, we mean knowing how their customs, habits, morals, and beliefs affect their actions. This is based on public attitudes, and public opinion after all is the final basis for diplomatic policies. Therefore, intellectual cooperation must be based on a study of the problems facing cultural understanding. This study is just as necessary as it is for other problems of international relations which become part of public opinion.

Aikman and Carr both believe that what is realistically needed is a policy which, while recognizing certain dictatorships as inevitable, will cooperate in the development of conditions in Latin America which will render the dictators dispensable. Such a plan would include support, stimulation, and probably help in financing methods of raising the standard of living among the masses of the people of Latin America. These writers believe that a country's credit could be determined by that government's interest in increasing public purchasing power. Penetration of this

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22 Aikman: op. cit., P. 211.  
nature would be profitable for both North and South Americans alike. United States advisers on education, agriculture, social service, industry, labor, taxation, and a host of other subjects have been of help already and can do much more to stimulate better inter-American relations. Democracy itself is aided when literacy is stimulated, health conditions improved, and living standards raised.

Another consideration is the fact that there must be a new candor, a clearing of the air of public and private nonsense, in our dealings with the Latins. Marti's contributions are good examples. His writings in the Spanish-American press, which dealt with the economic, political, cultural, and social life of the United States, demonstrated that attitude. This author's technique could be emulated quite properly today; for although he was gratifying in many eulogistic comments, still he found much to criticize in greed and injustice. He upheld the noble aspects of our characteristics, praised democracy, yet condemned our evils. An attitude of this nature can be developed by the use of realistic educational motion pictures on the adult level, educational institutes and libraries, and forum discussions. As stated before, tolerance is the main principle of

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25 Edith Ware, International Conciliation, April 1942, p. 252.
understanding as a basis for getting an appreciation of the cultures of others. To acquire tolerance and appreciation of others, we need broader learning so that we can see the inconsistencies and inequalities in our broad humanitarianism. Harper's deals with the adverse reaction to Roosevelt's meeting dictator Somoza at the station in Washington with full military honors by saying that this is typical of current North American affection. No one can call such policies candid, to say the least. New York businessmen, dependent on Latin American trade, stage banquets when celebrities arrive, and further, 26

when an enthusiast for good will sights a Latin American, he is apt to become incoherent and mumble about souls, dreams, and spirituality of Latin American culture. If any rude fellow suggest the opposite mentioning that some republics are badly run and rough on their Indians and workers, he will be checked as though he had said 'damn' in church.

Aikman 27 and Holdridge 28 both make a special point of the fact that it is very expensive for Latin Americans to travel either to or in the United States. Travel is a major problem in the development of cultural understanding, primarily due to the great differences in the exchange ratios of currencies and also due to the relatively much higher prices in the United States. There is no doubt that some

26 Harper's, September 1939, p. 367.
27 Aikman: op. cit., p. 167
of the most effective information about this country would be that told to other Latinos by their own countrymen who have vacationed and travelled pleasantly in this country. Where an American can wine and dine a party of four or five persons in most Latin American cities for a very reasonable sum, our neighbor in the United States can expect it to cost him something like a month's wages for a similar evening. Travel expenses themselves are just as high. It is true that the steamship and airlines furnish transportation at reduced rates for students, lecturers, and distinguished visitors coming to this country in the exchange programs or for study; but there will have to be a great influx of tourists from the southern nations before there can be any great number of people coming to see the United States to carry back the interpretations necessary for the growth of cultural understanding. We still need some plan to stimulate travel of this nature.

Likewise, there are improvements that can be made in the cultural program as it is now operating. In the first place, the Office of Inter-American Affairs should make its appeals to the people of the southern nations, rather than to the governments, using local newspapers and native magazines. This action will decentralize publications from Washington where, by the way, the Office of Inter-American
Affairs could use more Latin American advisers. Another point to consider is that still more can be done in the matter of learning and using foreign languages. Perhaps studies could be based on a language and geography approach in the public schools so that there will be a wider spread of information in the United States. We might try to develop a greater exchange program, for Latin Americans find it difficult to compare foreign colonies in their lands with the friends they have made in American schools. Another fact was discussed by John Erskine on his return to this country after a cultural relations lecture tour of Uruguay and Argentina. He said that special lower prices, less expensive bindings, and lower postage rates will greatly increase sale of United States books. "Bookstores are new businesses in Argentina." Of great importance is the recent, seemingly temporary, appointment of cultural relations attaches for United States embassies in Latin America. These appointees, if chosen carefully of the best qualified representatives of American culture, can do a great good for cultural understanding.


32 Department of State: Cultural Cooperation Program, (1944), p.60.
For all the criticisms and suggestions for improvement, the cultural cooperation policy is having undoubted success; therefore, it seems fitting to close this discussion with a quotation from Ybarra.33

When Brazilians read of another sudden flare-up of bad feeling... they simply smile, shrug their shoulders, chuckle 'The Yankee Peril again' and go on sipping that blend of midnight and dynamite known in Brazil as after-dinner coffee.... And this Brazilian attitude is becoming increasingly common in the Spanish-speaking, Spanish-thinking American republics.

Conclusions

The cultural program as a whole.—In conclusion, it is important to realize that "Men become and remain friends through sharing, not bread alone, but also the fruits of the spirit and the intellect."34 The cultural relations program will assist in such sharing. At this particular time, the nations of the world are especially interested in United States culture to learn how a country could be so successful at war without being militaristic, still keeping democratic principles. Other states would like to know the moral and intellectual standards which have caused our social system to develop, and those countries expect a corresponding interest in their ideals. As we have seen,

the cultural program provides an organized procedure for the spread of such information.

In the discussion of the cultural relations program, we have found that a stanch grounding for inter-American cooperation is developed in the better understanding of the cultures of the neighbors of the American Hemisphere. Realization that such culture includes the everyday characteristics of national life shows that knowledge, banishing ignorance and misunderstanding, must be the carrier of our successful ideals. We have seen how United States policy toward Latin America has changed from the unilateralism of Monroe's Doctrine to the multilateralism of the Good Neighbor in answer to the challenge of Fascist ideology. That cult of Machiavellian politics challenged the idea of democracy in Latin America and the world. Here in the New World we were confronted with these Nazi fallacies; and in democratic tradition we answered, not with propaganda, but with programs for intellectual growth by reciprocal increase in knowledge of each other, confident in the strength of truth. Where our programs in the past have been backed by small government offices with appropriations of thousands of dollars, some Nazi expenditures reached millions in single consulates. Our procedures are based on public interest and approval, the enemy's was insidious, controlled for a government's ideas. We have outlined and discussed the
policies and activities of the government and institutions of the United States in their relations with the cultural program, and we have seen the representative criticisms of the plan and suggestions for its improvement.

Now, for all the disasters of the past decade, we do find encouragement. Knowledge and intelligence have driven back the frontiers of ignorance. "Fallacies and dogmatisms are no longer received quite as easily as they were fifty years ago."35 It is really militarism and not culture systems that runs in a vicious circle, because nothing in culture is ever lost.36 The centers of culture may shift or coincide, while militarism cannot exist without enemy or plunder. A military power with no more goals can only turn on its various parts with nothing more than revolution and dissolution in prospect. If we give special emphasis to a program for the development of culture through intellectual understanding and cooperation, then, we assist progress and destroy militarism.

These statements are not to say that culture is the foundation on which all prospects for international goodwill must be based, but, through cultural understanding and its inculcation through education, a focal point can

be reached from which more effective international cooperation can be expected. Only under political systems which grant, or seem to grant, freedom to create and change is there likely to be found the spirit of growth in which men can take hope. Brute force is self-defeating in the end. A noted author says, "Technics and science demand autonomy and self-control, that is, freedom, in the realm of thought."\(^{37}\)

For example, in World War II the Pan American nations demonstrated their interest in maintaining that freedom, and one of the first acts of the Havana Conference on Cultural Affairs in 1941 was to invite from France, where that freedom was no longer allowed, the International Institute of Paris to make Havana its home for the duration of the conflict.\(^{36}\)

By the time of the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations, the American countries had become accustomed to activities developing cultural understanding. At the Conference, for example, the delegates were offered the opportunity to learn something about this country during their visit. Representatives of the Division of Cultural Cooperation of the Department of State operated this activity,

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\(^{38}\) *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, January 1944, p. 56.
meeting delegates and setting up information services in San Francisco. Arrangements were made for the foreign representatives to observe United States culture in public health institutions, research laboratories, industries, schools, police courts, civic meetings, and fine arts programs. Special side-trips on the way to San Francisco were made around Washington and New York City to investigate American universities and view public administrative operations. In San Francisco private citizens were hosts to the delegates so that these representatives of foreign peoples could get an idea of United States home-life. There is no doubt that this program of hospitality developed interest and made many lasting friends for our country. 39

Thus, we come to the conclusion that understanding, understanding of the cultural manifestations that form national concepts, is vital to a worthwhile approach to diplomacy. If the past twenty years have shown us anything at all, they have demonstrated that selfish economic-nationalism leads to world inferno.

Cultural understanding and world peace.--Cooperation especially between nations, is difficult. It is only natural to attempt to force submission rather than to submit. 40

39 "Cultural Cooperation at San Francisco," Department of State Bulletin, July 29, 1945, pp. 139-142.

Nevertheless, cooperation must include accepting the ideas of others, to a certain extent, as well as getting others to accept your own; and it is for modern nations to surpass their predecessors not only in security but also in greater human living in all respects. For this reason, we of the Americas have the power to grow into the necessary conditions for cooperation more easily than those countries with ideologies "that have hardened into shells of individualism around cores of ancient eminence."\textsuperscript{41} We are nations of people who grow strong on problems which tax our energy and ingenuity. Now that our minds are set on definite goals, we will bypass tensions by heeding individual idiosyncrasies and taking differences of opinion into careful consideration. We will banish anti-Americanism. As one writer says,\textsuperscript{42}

\begin{quote}
If this administration at Washington, and its successors, do a really good job of spadework, I feel sure that in years to come American visitors to Latin America will feel that sporadic warnings against the 'Yankee Peril,'...belong to a dying era: that they represent a futile attempt to resuscitate,...something which belongs irrevocably to the dead yesterdays of misunderstanding.
\end{quote}

In the Americas, then, we have work to do. We want to cherish and maintain our culture in its youthful form, ever-changing as our needs grow, for it must be remembered that

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\textsuperscript{41} Robert Briffault: \textit{op. cit.}, p. 365.  \\
\textsuperscript{42} T. R. Ybarra: \textit{op. cit.}, p. 321.
\end{flushright}
a static culture is a dead one. Our aim should be to develop in each person the fullest possible degree of knowledge. There will be no imposition of culture on nations, though culture characteristics naturally will be influenced by closer contact with others; however, additions will be those which best fit and enrich native cultures. None of the American countries has reached cultural, economic, social, or political maturity; therefore, we can expect much while working toward that end. As the Chairman of the Brazilian Committee of Intellectual Cooperation says:

The purpose of this cooperation is to work for the progress and the development of everything pertaining to the intellectual and moral life of the Americas, keeping always clearly and definitely in mind that this progress is part and parcel of that of all humanity.

The greatest contributions of the Pan American nations in international relations have been in the fields of peaceful collaboration and international organization. These developments attract less attention than successful warfare; but the achievements of peace have enabled the American countries to show a united front in times of international crisis, and, ultimately, these peaceful tendencies will be in greater demand and more necessary than other international characteristics. There is evidence to support these ideas in

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43 University of California: op. cit., p. 109.
44 Bulletin of Pan American Union, April 1940, p. 327.
45 Pan American Union: Inter-American Cooperation, (1941), mimeographed.
the results shown at the Conference of Chapultepec and at the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations. At the Pan American Conference in Mexico City, called the Conference of Chapultepec, the American nations still saw the need, even though the war was nearly over, for cooperation in political, economic, and social relations. Rather than nullifying world cooperation, the solidarity of the American Hemisphere may be a regional form of the height of realism in international relations and thus be an impetus for worldwide cooperation. 46

Our programs for cultural understanding are a basis for cooperation in the Americas, but not for the Americas alone; because the horizons of culture are so limitless that we could no more continentalize culture than we could nationalize it. 47 We want to use cultural understanding for the purpose of keeping the world sure of the gifts of tolerance, freedom, justice, and equal opportunity.

By using every pathway to understanding, the northern and southern nations can push the spirit of international friendship to a new level and approach the true realms of Pan Americanism. The war, which has brought the continents


47C. C. Griffin: op. cit., p. 8.
closer than ever before in the struggle for democratic ideals, can be the crucible for forging stronger links in the chain of inter-dependence and friendship to stand the strains of post-war reconversion.

Expectantly looking forward to the future, we can well remember the night before Christmas, at the Buenos Aires Conference, when Cordell Hull said: 48

It cannot be fairly said that we are to shut ourselves off in a hemisphere of our own; any such effort would be futile. But it can be fairly said that the principles of conduct upon which the countries of this hemisphere have chosen to stand firm are so broad and essential that all the world may also stand upon them.

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48 Department of State: Bulletin No. 1369, 1940.
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