

## SPANISH LANGUAGE GUIDE

April 1992

### 1. U.S.-SPANISH RELATIONS IN THE 1950s

During the 1950s General Francisco Franco, an authoritarian leader, ruled Spain. Franco took power in 1939 during the Spanish Civil War and headed the Spanish Government until his death in 1975. Franco emerged from World War II as somewhat of an international outcast, having been tainted by reported sympathies toward Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy.

Nevertheless, he maintained firm control of the Spanish Government with his support based on the Spanish armed forces, the Catholic Church, and the Falangist Party. Economic conditions in Spain were relatively poor. Spain, however, was strategically important to United States which successfully negotiated and established overseas military base rights in Spain. In return for use of the base facilities, the United States provided Spain economic and military assistance.

Students undertaking this project can examine the documents and printed materials described below to gain a better understanding of U.S.-Spanish relations during the 1950s as well as to practice classroom language skills on Spanish documents found in some of these files.

- A. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Papers as President (Ann Whitman File), International Series, Boxes 42-43. Six file folders entitled "Spain" or "Spain--Goodwill Tour 1959." These contain letters exchanged between President Eisenhower and General Franco with a few letters in Spanish. Also found in these folders are memoranda of conversations between the President and Spanish officials plus memoranda briefing the President on religious matters and other issues involving Spain.
- B. White House Office, Office of the Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, NSC Series, Policy Papers Subseries, Box 10, File Folder: "INSC 5418/1- U.S. Policy Toward Spain." NSC 5418/1 was a broad statement of U.S. policy approved by the President and National Security Council. This paper provides an overview of U.S. policy toward Spain and is supplemented by progress reports.
- C. White House Office, Office of the Special Assistant For National Security Affairs, NSC Series, Policy Papers Subseries, Box 18, File Folder: "NSC 5610 Report by Interdepartmental Committee on Certain U.S. Aid Programs." This report includes a section containing details of U.S. military and economic commitments and information on the Spanish armed forces.
- D. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Papers as President (Ann Whitman File), Administration Series, Box 27, File Folder: "Nash Report--U.S. Overseas Military Bases (1)(2)." This file contains specifics about the U.S. base facilities in Spain.

- E. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Records as President (White House Central Files), Official File, Box 732, Folders: OF 217 Spain. This contains official correspondence plus routine material concerning civil aviation, economic assistance and other matters with a few telegrams in Spanish.
- F. Papers of James Hagerty, Box 26, File Folders in section on Spain. These materials relate to President Eisenhower's Eleven Nation tour in 1959 which included Spain. They consist of briefing materials, a map, of Madrid in Spanish, and a folder of newspaper clippings in Spanish pertaining to the trip.

Suggested Reading:

Antonio Marquina Barrio, Espana en la Politica de Seguridad Occidental, 1939-1986, Madrid: Coleccion Ediciones Ejercito, 1986. This is a study of Spain in recent world politics written in Spanish by a Spanish scholar who conducted extensive research at the Eisenhower Library. This volume can be used to supplement the files listed above or can be used as a separate project by advanced students wishing to challenge their reading skills.

Brian Crozier, Franco, Boston Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1967. This is an account of Francisco Franco's political career.

## 2. THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR 1936-1939

In 1936 General Francisco Franco led an army mutiny which spread throughout Spain, resulting in civil war. Franco led the rebellion against President Manuel Azanza's government and after more than three years of fighting, took over as head of a new Spanish Government. The war was bloody and was marked by intervention by various foreign countries with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy supporting Franco's rebels by providing weapons and other supplies and the Soviet Union supporting the republican government under Azanza. The war received wide attention elsewhere, as well, including the United States and was graphically described by Ernest Hemingway in his novel For Whom the Bell Tolls. Students interested in studying the impact of this civil war on recent Spanish history can examine several published sources in the Eisenhower Library's book collection.

Suggested Reading:

Hugh Thomas, The Spanish Civil War, New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1961. This is considered a good account of the war and can serve as a good starting point for students. The book contains several useful maps and some illustrations.

United States Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office.

- A. 1936, Volume II, Europe, pages 437-795

- B. 1937, Volume I, General, pages 215-604
- C. 1939, Volume II, General, British Commonwealth and Europe, pages 715-856.  
(No volume for 1938 in Library's holdings).

These volumes contain the official Department of State's record of United States policy toward Spain during the Civil War and include reports on military and political developments, correspondence and memoranda of conversations with Spanish officials and other material. All documents are printed in English. These volumes can be compared with the documentary publication listed below.

United States Department of State, Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945, Series D, Volume III, Germany and the Spanish Civil War 1936-1939, Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1950. This is one of many volumes in a series which published the texts in English of German Government high-level correspondence from the archives of the German Ministry captured at the end of World War II. It is 951 pages in length and contains lists of persons whose names appear in the correspondence plus an analytical list of documents which summarize each item.

### **3. SPAIN DURING WORLD WAR II**

Under Francisco Franco's rule following the Civil War, Spain appeared to be sympathetic toward Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, especially during the early years of the war when the Axis Powers, as Germany and Italy were called, were winning. In October 1940, Adolf Hitler conferred with Franco who refused to enter the War on Germany's side although professing support for Germany. The United States and Great Britain were worried about Spanish intentions and about the possibility of a German attack on Spain aimed at conquering the British fortress of Gibraltar, so strategically located at the entrance to the Mediterranean. The Allies (United States and Britain) also sought to curtail Spanish shipment of strategic materials such as wolfram to the Axis Powers. As the tide of war turned in favor of the Allies Spain seemed to lose its enthusiasm for the Nazis and Fascists and reoriented its sympathy toward the Allies.

When the Allies conducted Operation TORCH, the invasion of German occupied Northwest Africa in November 1942, they viewed Spanish Morocco as a potential threat. Morocco is a kingdom in Northwest Africa which comprises the former protectorates of French Morocco and Spanish Morocco. Spanish Morocco is the northern part of the country and borders the Mediterranean Sea. The Spanish and French protectorates were established in 1912 and lasted until 1956 when Morocco became fully independent. When American and British forces conducted military operations in North Africa, Allied intelligence watched Spanish Morocco carefully and collected data on Spanish activities there.

Students can examine the files listed below to see evidence of Allied concern over Spanish intentions at the time of the Allied invasion of North Africa (Operation TORCH) in November 1942, and plans for occupying Spanish Morocco if necessary. Also of possible

interest are intelligence reports discussing tensions on the French-Spanish border and Combined Chiefs of Staff documents discussing high level concerns over the security of the Iberian Peninsula.

- A. Combined Chiefs of Staff Conference Proceedings, 1941-1945. These consist of bound volumes of minutes and related documents pertaining to meetings of the Combined American and British Chiefs of Staff and reflect the discussion of military strategy at the highest level.

Box 1, ARCADIA volume. This volume covering American-British conferences in Washington from December 24, 1941 to January 14, 1942, contain several references to Allied concerns over possible German invasion of the Iberian Peninsula and considerations of actions to be taken concerning the Canaries and Spanish Morocco.

Box 2, QUADRANT Conference, August 1943, Quebec, Canada. This volume includes discussion of Allied policy toward Spain, a summary of attitudes of European neutrals, including Spain, military considerations of policy, and the text of a Combined Chiefs of Staff policy paper, (CCS 321-Policy Toward Spain.)

- B. U.S. Army: Unit Records, 1940-1950. Unit records for the 1<sup>st</sup> U.S. Armored Division and the 3<sup>rd</sup> U.S. Infantry Division contain intelligence reports assessing the situation in Spanish Morocco. Also included in this material is an article in Spanish and charts showing the parts of the Spanish soldier's uniform with the names of each part in Spanish. Some of the reports are frank and critical in their evaluation of Spain, its capabilities and intentions.

Box 24, File Folder: "First Armored Division: G-2 Order of Battle, Spain and Spanish Possessions, 1942."

Box 24, File Folder: "First Armored Division G-2 Estimate of Enemy Situation, January 1943." This folder includes several reports from the American Embassy, Madrid on Spain and the possibility of German attack on Spain. This provides students a chance to examine intelligence reports.

Box 21, File Folder: "First Armored Division Special G2 Reports 1943". This folder includes chart entitled "Ejercito de Tierra" and contains parts of Spanish officers' uniforms with names in Spanish.

Box 772, File Folder: "G-2 Reference File on Spanish Morocco, 1942-1943" [3<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Division]. Folder contains reports, maps, notes in Spanish and intelligence estimates.

- C. Papers of C. D. Jackson, Box 5. Two file folders entitled "Intelligence." These folders contain intelligence reports on political situation in Southwestern France. The reports analyze the Spanish problem on the Franco-Spanish frontier and discuss the nature of the Spaniards in France. Many of these Spanish groups were opponents of the Franco

regime and were supporting the overthrow of Franco's regime even as the struggle in France continued against German forces.

Suggested Reading:

James W. Cortada, United States Spanish Relations, Wolfram and World War II, Barcelona, Spain: Manuel Pareja, 1971.

Sir Llewellyn Woodward, British Foreign Policy in the Second World War, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1982. This volume in a series of official British histories of the Second World War contains detailed information on Allied policy toward Spain during the war.

#### **4. WORLD WAR II SOUTH OF THE BORDER**

During the war Mexico along with most Central and South American nations declared war on the Axis Powers and contributed a small fighting force to the Allied war effort. Although General Eisenhower was occupied throughout most of the war with his responsibilities in Europe, North Africa and the Mediterranean, one of his army commanders, General Courtney H. Hodges, served as Commander of the Third Army and Southern Defense Command, Ft. Sam Houston, Texas in 1943-1944 before reporting to England in 1944 to assume command of the First United States Army. While in Texas, General Hodges corresponded with Mexican military officers concerning the Louisiana Maneuvers observed by Mexican officers, and ceremonial and other matters. General Hodges' papers contain about 50 pages of correspondence with Mexicans with most of the Mexican correspondence in Spanish. General Hodges' papers also contain a small quantity of correspondence pertaining to Mexico during 1946, immediately after the War, with some of this also in Spanish.

A number of United States units were stationed along the U.S.-Mexican border early in the war. One of these was the First Cavalry Division which, during its border duty, gave up its horses before shipping out to the South Pacific where it fought against the Japanese in the Admiralty Islands and in the Philippines. The Records of the First Cavalry Division contain three file folders of G-2 Periodic Reports spanning the period from February to October, 1942 and covering developments on the border. These reports detail subversive activities in Mexico by German and Japanese agents. This material provides glimpses at hostile cloak and dagger activities just south of the United States and contains names of Mexican cities, streets and individuals plus occasional remarks quoted in Spanish.

Also, as World War II was being waged, planning for post-war economic recovery and stability went on. Eleanor Lansing Dulles, the sister of Eisenhower's Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, worked on post-war financial planning. While the majority of Ms. Dulles's duties involved Europe, her papers contain memoranda and other documents pertaining to financial problems facing Latin America. These provide useful summaries of Latin American economic issues during this period.

- A. Papers of Courtney Hodges, Box 7, File Folder: "1943-1944, Correspondence with Mexican officials"
- B. Papers of Courtney Hodges, Box 9, File Folder: "1946, Mexican File"
- C. United States Army Unit Records, First Cavalry Division series, Box 490, File Folders: "1st Cavalry Division G2 Periodic Reports - 1942 (1)-(3).
- D. Papers of Eleanor Lansing Dulles, Box 10, File Folder: "Board of Economic Warfare General Studies May 1942". This folder contains an outline of problems expected to confront Latin America after the war plus data on Latin American exports.
- E. Papers of Eleanor Lansing Dulles, Box 11, File Folder: "Board of Economic Warfare General Studies." This folder includes a paper discussing international program for national development after the War and covers Latin America. Other folders in this box also contain economic information on Latin America.

## **5. MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES DURING THE 1950s**

During the 1950s the United States' relations with Mexico were normally good although there were disagreements. President Eisenhower sustained a personal interest in maintaining good relations with our neighbor south of the Rio Grande and he held five meetings with Mexican Presidents Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, who led the nation from December 1952 to December 1958 and Adolfo Lopez Mateos, President of Mexico from 1958 until 1964.

Major issues in U.S.-Mexican relations included numerous trade and economic matters, questions over water rights and the flow of the Rio Grande and Colorado rivers (See Project #6), fisheries, commercial aviation, hemispheric security, and the threat of communism. The Library's holdings contain a large quantity of documentation pertaining to Mexico with materials ranging from high level presidential correspondence and memoranda of conversations between Eisenhower and Mexican leaders, to correspondence relating to ceremonial functions, public opinion and to routine acknowledgments. In addition to examining a variety of documentation covering many topics, students can test their classroom language skills on the numerous letters written in Spanish by Presidents Cortines and Mateos plus some Spanish language printed materials, including a book. Potential report topics are abundant for this project.

- A. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Papers as President (Ann Whitman File), International Series, Box 35. Fourteen folders in this box constitute a basic file of correspondence exchanged between Eisenhower and his Mexican counterparts. Typically the correspondence includes letters written in Spanish, English translations, President Eisenhower's responses, transmittal memoranda, and sometimes briefing memos prepared by the Department of State. Also found in these folders are memoranda of

- Presidential conversations on such topics as shrimp fisheries and the law of the seas, balance of payments, commodity problems and other issues.
- B. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Papers as President (Ann Whitman File), International Meetings Series, Box 3, File Folder: "Mexico Trip, February 19-20, 1959." This folder contains schedules, press releases, a partially declassified memorandum of conversation, and at least a couple of Mexican letters in Spanish.
  - C. White House Office, office of the Staff Secretary, Records, 1952-61, International Series, Boxes 10-11. Seven file folders entitled "Mexico" in these boxes cover the period from March 1959 to November 1960 and contain a higher proportion of Department of State briefing memoranda and drafts of proposed presidential letters than do the files cited in "A" and "B."
  - D. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Records as President (White House Central Files), Confidential File, Box 79. File Folders: STATE, Department of (Oct. 1959) (1)(2). This file of briefing papers used in preparation for President Mateos visit to the United States in October 1959, is a good place to examine the wide range of issues concerning the United States and Mexico. Unclassified briefing papers and position papers cover such issues as a dam on the Rio Grande, radioactive waste disposal in the Gulf of Mexico, peaceful uses of atomic energy, the Tijuana sanitation problem, treaties and agreements with Mexico, private investment, the screwworm fly problem, technical assistance, plus general geographical, historical and economic background information on Mexico.
  - E. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Records as President (White House Central Files), Confidential File, Box 79. File Folder: "STATE, Department of Jan-Mar 11, 1960" (1). This contains memoranda documenting Congressional concern over narcotics traffic from Mexico into California. Students wishing to study in more detail the narcotics problem may want to see OF 117-D "Narcotics," Boxes 599-600 in the White House Central Files, Official File and folders on narcotics in the Records of David Kendall.
  - F. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Records as President (White House Central Files), Official File, Box 729. Folders titled: OF 204 Mexico. These contain official and routine correspondence covering many topics, with some letters and printed matter in Spanish.
  - G. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Records as President (White House Central Files), General File, Boxes 822-823, GF-122 Mexico. These seven file folders contain miscellaneous correspondence, much of which reflects public opinion. Of particular note is a book by the Cuban President Fulgencio Batista, written in 1960 after he had been ousted by Fidel Castro. The book was published in Mexico and is in Spanish. It can be used for either this project or the Cuban project.
  - H. White House Office, National Security Council Staff: Papers, OCB Central Files

Series, Box 51. File Folder: "OCB 091 Mexico" (1)-(5). These folders contain declassified outlines of plans by the United States Government to combat communism in Mexico and to otherwise enhance United States influence in the country.

## **6. MEXICO, THE UNITED STATES AND THE COLORADO RIVER SALINITY PROBLEM**

The Colorado River begins in north central Colorado and makes its way southwestward for about 1,400 miles to the Gulf of California. This river drains 242,000 square miles in Wyoming, Western Colorado, Utah, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona, California and Mexico. It forms a portion of the boundary between Arizona and Mexico and the final 100 miles are entirely in Mexico.

This river system has been the subject of numerous disputes among states using its waters as well as a source of friction between the United States and Mexico. The Colorado River is also one of the most extensively controlled rivers in the world with Hoover Dam and other large dams having been built on the river and its tributaries. The river collects mineral concentrates including salt and gypsum and as its waters are diverted by the various dams and irrigation projects along its way an excess of salts remain in portions of the river used by Mexico. Mexican farmers attempting to irrigate from the river have lost crops because of the high salt contents of the water. Consequently, as the states in the Western United States drew upon the river for agricultural, economic and recreational needs, the build up of salts in the reduced water flow became a sore point in U.S.-Mexican relations.

In 1944 the United States and Mexico signed a treaty for the use of the waters of the Colorado, Rio Grande and Tijuana Rivers. Over the years the two countries interpreted the treaty differently, especially as it pertained to water quality. The salinity problem became especially serious in 1961 with the development of the Wellton-Mohawk Irrigation Project. At the same time the availability of excess waters ended. Consequently, the salinity of the waters remaining for Mexican use increased sharply. Mexico protested in November 1961 and during the years 1961-1972 the two countries attempted without complete success to alleviate the problem. Following a meeting between President Richard Nixon and Mexican President Luis Echeverria Alvarez in June 1972, President Nixon appointed former Attorney General Herbert Brownell as his special representative to work on a permanent solution to the salinity problem. Brownell issued his report to the President in December, 1972 and work on the problem continued. To this day, however, the issue of water rights is a politically sensitive one not only between the United States and Mexico but also among the states of the thirsty, but ever developing, American West. The problem involves agricultural and other economic interests, recreation, human needs, and environmental concerns in addition to the international relations aspect.

Students working on this project can examine a detailed file of briefing papers, maps, reports and correspondence which should give them exposure to a national and



international problem of concern to most Americans and Mexicans, alike. The Papers of Herbert Brownell contain 10 boxes of briefing papers, correspondence, reports, hearings, maps, and drafts. These provide historical background to the salinity problem, tracing it back to the early 20th Century. Correspondence as recent as 1978 can also be found in these files. A few key file folders and boxes are listed below.

Herbert Brownell: Papers, Government Service Series, Colorado River Salinity Problem Subseries, Boxes 168-177

Box 168, File Folders: "Briefing Papers" (1)(2). These provide a good overview of the salinity problem as an issue between the United States and Mexico.

Box 169, File Folders: "Miscellaneous Booklets" (4)-(7). These contain environmental impact reports by the Departments of Interior and by the Environmental Protection Agency which examine water quality, vegetation, wildlife and other natural resources aspects of this problem.

Box 170, File Folder: "Miscellaneous Correspondence 1972" (1). Contains report "Irrigacion Y Control De Rios," a report in Spanish by the Mexican Government which includes maps and illustrations, plus a brochure, also in Spanish. This material should test classroom language skills on Spanish using technical terms, in addition to providing documentation from the Mexican viewpoint.

Box 171, File Folders: "Miscellaneous Correspondence 1973 (3)(4). These contain high level messages and memoranda reporting conversations between the United States Secretary of State William Rogers and Mexican President Echeverria, and other Mexican officials and media leaders plus a National Security Decision Memorandum on the problem by Henry Kissinger, National Security Advisor to President Nixon.

Box 171, File Folder: "Miscellaneous Correspondence 1973" (10). Contains letter from Herbert Brownell to President Nixon plus text of International Boundary and Water Commission document in Spanish and English.

Box 175, File Folder: "Report to the President Brownell's Copy" (1). Contains Brownell's report on the salinity problem plus his recommendations for actions to be taken.

Suggested Reading:

Marc P. Reisner, Cadillac Desert: The American West and its Disappearing Water, New York: Viking, 1986. A good account of the use of water resources from an environmental perspective which contains information on the Colorado River salinity issue with Mexico.

## **7. MEXICAN MIGRATORY LABORERS AND "OPERATION WETBACK"**

Before, during and after World War II, many Mexican laborers (Braceros), unable to make

a satisfactory living at home, migrated to the United States. While some of these were admitted legally into the United States under agreements between the United States and Mexico, countless others crossed the border into the United States illegally. Many of these swam across the Rio Grande, thus earning the label “wetback.” Some migratory workers lost their lives in this endeavor while many others were subjected to mistreatment and other hardships once they arrived. This migratory movement was fueled by agricultural problems in Mexico along with a demand by agribusinesses in the United States for cheap labor. The Mexican Government, sensitive about the migratory labor problem, viewed the migration as an indication of Mexico’s social and economic weaknesses. Mexico was also concerned about the treatment of her citizens in the United States and this problem involving human rights as well as economic demands became a sore spot between the United States and Mexico.

Various groups urged the U.S. Government to curb this illegal migration. Critics claimed that the illegal aliens depressed wages, lowered living standards, increased crime and otherwise contributed to social problems in the United States. In 1954-55, the Eisenhower Administration endeavored to round up large numbers of these Mexican aliens and deport them back to Mexico. The Attorney General of the United States, Herbert Brownell, developed plans to carry out this drive, known as “Operation Wetback” and relied on the United States Immigration Service under General Joseph Swing to carry out the mass deportations. The Mexican Government approved of the operation and hoped the United States could maintain control over the border. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service cooperated with local law enforcement agencies in California and other border states to round up aliens. The Service claimed that hundreds of thousands of aliens were apprehended but figures for “Operation Wetback” are subject to question. The operation ended in 1955, the demand for cheap labor by food processors and other agribusinesses in the United States continued and the Mexican alien issue remains an active one today.

Students undertaking this project can examine Cabinet documents plus correspondence, reports, statements and photographs to examine this human rights problem involving the United States and Mexico.

- A. White House Office, Cabinet Secretariat Records, Box 20, File Folder: “CI 12”. Cabinet Information Paper #12 is a report by the Attorney General on the Administration’s “Wetback” and Bracero programs and includes text, a map and charts. This provides students an overview of this issue.
- B. Dwight D. Eisenhower’s Records as President (White House Central Files), Official File, Box 538, File Folders: “OF-124-C Migratory Labor” and “OF-124-C-1 President’s Committee on Migratory Labor.” These folders contain correspondence and reports which reflect Administration actions and policies.
- C. Records of Dwight D. Eisenhower as President (White House Central Files), General File, Box 968, File Folders: “GF-126-J Migratory Labor” (1)-(4). These folders contain a mass of correspondence from businesses and individuals reflecting various opinions on migratory workers.

- D. U.S. President's Committee on Migratory Labor: Records. This large body of records (103 boxes) contains meeting minutes, reports, correspondence, photographs, and other data used by the Interdepartmental Committee on Migratory Labor appointed by President Eisenhower in 1954 to succeed a predecessor committee created by President Truman. The committee's stated aims included reviewing the needs of migrant farm workers, aiding various farm agencies in coordinating more effective programs and services, and facilitating the development of actions designed to promote improved living and working conditions for migratory workers. A few file folders are listed below:

Box 7, File Folder: "Department of Health, Education and Welfare Committee on Migrancy"

Box 32, File Folder: "Bishops' Committee For the Spanish Speaking." Contains brochures and comic book in Spanish.

Box 94, File Folder: "Migratory Labor--Mexican Agricultural Laborers in the U.S." Contains official U.S. and Mexican diplomatic correspondence re work agreements including texts of documents in Spanish plus work contract in Spanish and English.

Box 98, Entire box consists of photographs of children, field hands, living quarters and transportation.

- E. Oral History #154, Joseph Swing, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Service. (77 pages).

Suggested Reading:

Juan Ramon Garcia, Operation Wetback: The Mass Deportation of Mexican Undocumented Workers in 1954, Westport, CT and London, England: Greenwood Press, 1980. This study is based in part on research at the Eisenhower Library as well as at the National Archives.

## 8. PUERTO RICO

Puerto Rico is an island in the Caribbean 3,500 miles in area. The United States acquired it as a result of war with Spain in 1898. Since that time Puerto Rican political debates have centered on the island's future. What direction should this island, heavily dependent on the United States for economic support, go? Should it seek full independence or should it turn the other way and push for statehood within the United States? These questions continue to be asked in Puerto Rico which, at present, is an autonomous commonwealth voluntarily associated with the United States. The island is in the Greater Antilles along the boundary between the Atlantic Ocean and the Caribbean Sea. Its language is Spanish and its religion is predominantly Catholic. During the Eisenhower years Luis Munoz Marin served as

governor of Puerto Rico.

Students choosing this project can examine a variety of documents, some in Spanish, to gain insights into the political issues and personalities in Puerto Rico during the 1950s. Of particular interest are Puerto Rican news articles in Spanish and a file of Federal Bureau of Investigation documents reporting on Puerto Rican political movements.

- A. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Papers as President (Ann Whitman File), International Series, Box 41, File Folder: "Puerto Rico." This folder contains correspondence exchanged between Puerto Rican Governor Luis Munoz Marin and President Eisenhower and others, plus related correspondence including the text in English and Spanish of remarks commemorating Commonwealth Day.
- B. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Records as President (White House Central Files), Official File, Boxes 632, File Folders: "OF 147-F Puerto Rico (1)-(3)" plus "OF 147-F-1 Puerto Rican Statehood." These folders comprise a rich body of documentation covering Puerto Rican affairs in general. Of particular note is correspondence and a memorandum regarding Luis Munoz Marin's meeting with President Eisenhower in October 1957 and some newsclippings in Spanish.
- C. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Records as President (White House Central Files), General File, Boxes 321-322, File Folders: "GF-17-R Puerto Rico" (1953-60) and "GF-17-R-Attack on Congressmen (1)-(3)." These folders contain political correspondence including an 11-page Spanish language Manifesto on Puerto Rican independence by the Puerto Rican Independence Party. Two folders document the shooting of five U.S. Congressmen in the U.S. House of Representatives by Puerto Rican nationalists on March 1, 1954.
- D. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Records as President (White House Central Files) Confidential File, Box 61, File Folder: "Puerto Rican Independence." Contains memorandum on the constitutional aspects of the status of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.
- E. White House Office, Office of the Special Assistant For National Security Affairs: Records, FBI Series, File Folders: "FBI-Puerto Rican Matters (1)(2)." The United States Federal Bureau of Investigation studied political developments in Puerto Rico and apparently watched closely the activities of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico (NPPR) as evidenced by several declassified FBI reports. This file offers students a chance to examine investigative FBI documents and the type of intelligence information they contain.

Suggested Reading:

Surendra Bhana, The United States and the Development of the Puerto Rican Status Question, 1936-1968, Lawrence, Manhattan, Wichita: The University Press of Kansas, 1975.

## 9. THE UNITED STATES AND CUBA

When most people think of Cuba today, they automatically think of Fidel Castro who seized power on January 1, 1959. Prior to this, however, Cuba had been ruled by President Fulgencio Batistay Zaldivar who, himself had seized power in 1952 and was elected to his office by popular vote in 1954. Batista had dominated Cuban politics since 1933 and during the early phase of his political career he was viewed as a reformer. During the mid and later 1950s, however, Batista's image was tarnished as he struggled to resist rising opposition led by Castro. In January 1959, Batista fled the country as Castro took over.

The United States relations with Cuba during the Batista years were primarily military and economic. The United States viewed Cuba as essential to the security of the Caribbean sea lanes and to the safety of the Panama Canal and maintained a major base at Guantanamo. Cuba produced large quantities of sugar and political debates ensued within the United States over the imposition of quotas on importation of Cuban sugar.

The Eisenhower Administration was uncertain about the nature of Castro's government at first and apparently tried to maintain cautious but correct relations. Actions by the government, however, made this difficult to do as Castro imposed a dictatorial regime, ordered the execution of numerous political enemies and imprisoned many others, and increased attacks on the Roman Catholic Church. Castro also became more critical of the United States and established close ties with the Soviet Union and other Communist nations.

President Eisenhower, convinced that Castro was a threat to hemispheric security, approved plans to take overt and covert actions aimed at countering this threat. At a meeting on March 17, 1960, the President agreed to actions which might overthrow Castro's government. The President continued to hold highly secret meetings on Cuba until the end of his administration. The incoming Kennedy Administration then took actions which led to the abortive Bay of Pigs operation aimed at overthrowing Castro. After the defeat of this operation U.S.-Cuban relations smoldered in hostility until a major international crisis was precipitated by the Soviet Union's attempt to install missiles in Cuba in 1962. President Kennedy used diplomatic pressure backed by a naval blockade of Cuba to force the Soviet Union to withdraw the missiles.

Students working on this project will have a wealth of documentation to work with, including a book by Batista written in Spanish for those wanting a challenge. Students interested in intelligence operations have the opportunity to examine some of the few documents in the Library's holdings concerning covert operations which have been declassified. Others can examine more conventional diplomatic correspondence relating to general U.S.-Cuban relations. Material on Cuban refugees is also available and this might serve as a separate project. Key files are listed below.

A. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Records as President (White House Central Files), Official

- File, Box 714, File Folders: "OF 171 Cuba, Government and Embassy of (1)-(6)." The correspondence in these folders, though general in nature, covers the Batista and Castro eras and includes several telegrams in Spanish.
- B. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Records as President (White House Central Files), General File, Boxes 804-805, File Folders: "GF 122 Cuba (1)-(7)." These folders contain a large volume of official and public correspondence from United States and Cuban citizens including numerous letters, telegrams, news articles and statements in Spanish.
  - C. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Records as President (White House Central Files), General File, Box 823, File Folder: "GF 122 Mexico 1960". The specific item to study here is Fulgencio Batista's Respuesta, a 545-page account of developments in Cuba by the deposed Cuban president. The book is entirely in Spanish and can be used in conjunction with other items in the Cuba project or can be taken on as a separate project by advanced students.
  - D. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Papers as President (Ann Whitman File), International Series, Box 8, File Folders: "Cuba (1)-(3)." These folders contain limited correspondence and some interesting items pertaining to Castro including an evaluation of his visit to the United States in April 1960.
  - E. White House Office, Office of the Staff Secretary: Records, International Series, Box 4, File Folders: "Cuba (1)-(7)" and "CIA Policy Paper on Cuba." These folders contain a rich assortment of high level presidential conferences, diplomatic messages, and correspondence focusing on relations with the Castro Regime. The CIA paper has been partially declassified and was approved at the important White House meeting on March 17, 1960. (See next item).
  - F. White House Office, Office of the Staff Secretary: Records, Subject Series, Alphabetical Subseries, Box 15, File Folder: "Intelligence Matters (14)." See the Memorandum of Conference with the President March 17, 1960 for a largely declassified record of Presidential approval of covert actions against Cuba.
  - G. White House Office, Office of the Special Assistant For National Security Affairs: Records, Special Assistants Series, Presidential Subseries, Box 5, File Folder: "1960 Meetings with the President--Volume 2 (2)." This folder contains memoranda of meetings held on November 29, 1960, and January 3, 1961 plus a memorandum dated January 18, 1961. These document meetings of the "5412 Group" which planned covert actions.
  - H. White House Office, Office of the Special Assistant For National Security Affairs: Records, NSC Series, Subject Subseries, Box 4, File Folder: "Cuba (1)-(6)." These contain a series of Progress Reports on Cuba prepared by Department of State plus other materials covering the period from May 1959 to September 1960. These reports survey Castro's actions and other developments during this time.

- I. Merriam, Robert E., Deputy Assistant to the President for Interdepartmental Affairs: Records, Box 4, File Folder: "Cuban Refugees, 1960-61". This file documents the settlement of Cuban refugees mainly in Florida after Castro's rise to power. Included here is a report to the President on the refugee problem, a Cabinet paper reporting on refugees settling in Florida, and other materials covering housing, employment, relief and other human issues raised.
- J. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Papers, Post-Presidential, Augusta-Walter Reed Series, Box 1, File folders: "Cuba (1)-(2)." These folders contain conversations between President Kennedy and former President Eisenhower in 1961-1962 concerning the Bay of Pigs operation and regarding the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Suggested Reading:

Stephen Ambrose, Ike's Spies: Eisenhower and the Espionage Establishment, Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1981. See especially Chapter 22, "Ike and the Bay of Pigs," pp. 307-316.

Stephen G. Rabe, Eisenhower and Latin America, Chapel Hill, North Carolina and London, England. The University of North Carolina Press, 1988. This is a critical account of the Eisenhower Administration's Latin American policies and is based in part on research in the Eisenhower Library's holdings. See especially Chapter 7, "The Castro Communist Threat, 1959-1960," pp. 117-133.

## 10. THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION AND GUATEMALA

Available documentation-will tell only part of the story of U.S.-Guatemalan relations during the Eisenhower Administration. When Eisenhower was elected President of the United States in 1952, Guatemala was ruled by President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman. The Arbenz Regime was viewed with suspicion in the United States because of its social, economic and political policies. For example, in carrying out agrarian reform, the Guatemalan Government expropriated 225,000 acres of unused land owned by the United Fruit Company. This, along with other actions fueled suspicion within the Eisenhower Administration that the Arbenz Regime was sympathetic to communism.

Tensions increased within Guatemala and in June 1954 a coup occurred forcing Arbenz out of the government. After considerable maneuvering, a new regime established itself with Colonel Castillo Armas becoming president. Most scholars now believe that the Central Intelligence Agency, with President Eisenhower's approval, played an important role in this coup but the U.S. Government has not officially acknowledged this. Eisenhower in his memoirs described Armas as "a farseeing and able statesman who enjoyed the devotion of his people." Nevertheless, in 1957, Armas was assassinated and replaced by General Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes. Since that time Guatemala has been ruled by repressive leaders. Did the United States policies toward Guatemala help that country and in turn insure

hemispheric security? Students may try to assess the nature of U.S.-Guatemalan relations by examining documents and by reading written accounts of events. President Eisenhower presented his interpretation in his memoirs, The White House Years: Mandate For Change. This should be compared with Richard Immerman's, The CIA in Guatemala.

Students examining documentation for this topic can study heads of state correspondence (some in Spanish) as well as various memoranda and reports which reflect the U.S. Government's concern over communism in Guatemala and elsewhere in Latin America, even after the 1954 coup.

- A. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Papers as President (Ann Whitman File), International Series, Box 24, File Folders: "Guatemala (1)-(6)." These folders consist largely of correspondence exchanged between Presidents Eisenhower and Ydigoras and include lengthy letters from President Ydigoras in Spanish. Also found here is a report by John Eisenhower on his trip to Guatemala to attend assassinated President Armas' funeral in 1957 plus a CIA report on the situation in Guatemala in June 1954.
- B. Hagerty, James C., Press Secretary to the President: Papers, Box 1, File Folders, "Hagerty Diary May, 1954" and "Hagerty Diary June, 1954". These contain details of U.S. Government actions concerning Guatemala during this period of the coup. See especially entries for June 2, 15, 16, 19, 24, 25, 26, 28, and 30th, 1954.
- C. White House Office, Office of the Special Assistant For National Security Affairs: Records, NSC Series, Policy Papers Subseries, Box 11, File Folder: "NSC 5419 U.S. Policy in the Event of Guatemalan Aggression in Latin America." This declassified National Security Council paper outlines steps for the U.S. Government to take to obtain collective action among the members of the Organization of American States against aggression.
- D. White House Office, National Security Council Staff: Papers, OCB Central File Series, Box 34, File Folders: "OCB 091. Guatemala (1)-(6)." Contains Outline Plan of operations for implementation of U.S. policies toward Guatemala, a list of Communist leaders, and other memoranda.
- E. White House Office, National Security Council Staff: Papers, OCB Central File Series, Boxes 71-72, File Folders: "CB 091.4 Latin America (1)-(7)" for File #1 and (1)-(10) for File #2. These files contain substantial volumes of declassified memoranda of working group meeting minutes, reports, memoranda, and related documentation concerning U.S. Government efforts to emphasize the dangers of communism in Guatemala and to gain support for the U.S. position during the Inter-American Conference at Caracas, Venezuela on March 1, 1954. These papers contain numerous references to Guatemala and reflect U.S. Government plans for the psychological exploitation of the threat of communism in Guatemala and elsewhere.
- F. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Records as President (White House Central Files), Official File, Boxes 723-724, File Folders: "OF 185 Guatemala (1)-(4)." These folders



contain general correspondence including some presidential correspondence with a number of letters in Spanish. Contains some information on economic matters and letters criticizing the United Fruit Company.

Suggested Reading:

Dwight D. Eisenhower, The White House Years: Mandate For Change, Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963. See pages 420-427 for the President's interpretation of events in Guatemala in 1954.

Richard H. Immerman, The CIA in Guatemala, Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1982. This detailed account of the coup in Guatemala focuses on the Eisenhower Administration's fear of communism and describes its use of the Central Intelligence Agency as a tool for intervention. Immerman based his account partly on documents in the Eisenhower Presidential Library and from other documentary sources, interviews and other available sources.

## **11. UNITED STATES, PANAMA AND THE CANAL**

United States relations with Panama during the 20<sup>th</sup> century have centered largely around the Panama Canal Zone. In 1903 the newly independent Republic of Panama signed, under pressure from the United States, a treaty giving the United States control over the canal which was constructed during the next years. The treaty raised questions of sovereignty in the Canal Zone, and these remained a source of conflict between the United States and Panama until President Jimmy Carter successfully negotiated and obtained Senate ratification of a treaty giving Panama control of the Canal in the year 2000.

Throughout most of the twentieth century tensions smoldered as Panamanians believed the United States infringed on its sovereign rights as a nation. Labor disputes arose as Americans in the Zone were paid much better than were Panamanians and the American, not the Panamanian flag, was flown in the Zone. Many Americans, however, believed that the Canal was vital to the United States security and, therefore, the United States must retain control.

President Eisenhower had spent three years in Panama during the early 1920s and apparently held a positive view of the Panamanian people. His Administration was marked by efforts to ease tensions by granting mild concessions to the Panamanians in wages and other labor matters through a treaty and memorandum of understanding approved in 1955. In 1960 President Eisenhower allowed the Panamanian flag to be flown in the Canal Zone for the first time since 1903. This important symbolic act was greeted by outrage on the part of some congressmen and others in the United States who opposed any measures which might weaken United States control. Tensions in Panama continued, however, and rioting occurred in 1964. Eventually protracted negotiations began which led to the Treaty with Panama signed in the Carter Administration. This treaty will result in eventual relinquishment of United States control over the Canal.

President Eisenhower attended a meeting of the Presidents of American republics held in Panama in July 1956. Students undertaking this project can examine a file of memoranda of conversations held during this conference as well as the various materials pertaining to the Panama Canal.

- A: Dwight D. Eisenhower's Papers as President (Ann Whitman File), International Series, Box 39, File Folders: "Panama (1)(2)." These contain a report on Isthmian Canal Plans, memoranda of conversations with Panamanian officials, correspondence between the Presidents of the United States and Panama, and briefing memoranda. This file should provide an overview of U.S.-Panamanian relations.
- B. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Papers as President (Ann Whitman File), International Series, Box 39, File Folders: "Panama July 1956 (1)(2)" and "Panama Chronology July 20-24 1956 (1)-(3)." These folders document the Panama Meeting of Presidents and contain texts of statements in Spanish and in English, a program commemorating the 1826 Congress of Panama, also in Spanish, and memoranda of President Eisenhower's conversations with several presidents of American republics.
- C. White House Office, Office of the Staff Secretary: Records, International Series, Box 12, File Folders: "Panama (1)-(5)," "Panama Canal" and "Panama Flag - September 1960." These folders contain the views of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on the security aspects of the Canal, material regarding the Memorandum of Understanding on wages, a report on incidents in Panama concerning the flag and other issues, memoranda of conferences with the President, the text of the President's announcement on flying the Panamanian flag and a report on reaction to it, and other messages and memoranda.
- D. White House Office, Office of the Special Assistant For National Security Affairs, NSC Series, Policy Papers Subseries, Box 29, File Folder: "NSC 6026 - U.S. Policy on the Panama Canal and Future Inter Oceanic Canal." This is a National Security Council paper stating U.S. policy on the Canal which outlines aspects of the Canal issue, objectives, and possibilities for a new canal.
- E. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Papers as President (Ann Whitman File), NSC Series, Box 13, File Folder: "473rd Meeting of the National Security Council January 5, 1961." The record of this meeting records the high level discussion of and approval by the President of NSC 6026. This item studied in conjunction with item D should provide insights into the formulation of high-level national security policy.
- F. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Records as President (White House Central Files), Official File, Box 884, File Folder: "OF 209 Panama (1)(2)." These folders cover the Canal and other issues in U.S.-Panamanian relations and contain several telegrams in Spanish from Panamanian presidents.
- G. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Records as President (White House Central Files), General

File, Box 825, File Folders: "GF-122 Panama Republic of Panama (1)(2)." These contain a resolution in Spanish by El Club Rotario De Panama plus a good sample of public opinion reflecting nationalistic feelings aroused in the United States by the Administration's mild concessions to Panama. One notable example is the statement by Congressman Daniel J. Flood, an ardent supporter of total U.S. control of the Canal.

- H. Office of the Special Assistant to the President for Personnel Management: Records: Boxes 117-118. Nine file folders on Panama which document in detail the wage system used in the Canal Zone and various aspects of proposed treaties and legislation. See Folder: "Panama Trip--February 1959," Box 118 for pamphlet "Que Significa La Igualdad De Salarios" written in Spanish and English.

Suggested Reading:

Walter LaFeber, The Panama Canal: The Crisis in Historical Perspective, New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

## **12. MILTON EISENHOWER: A SPECIAL AMBASSADOR'S VIEW OF LATIN AMERICA**

Milton Eisenhower, President Eisenhower's youngest brother, was also the President's most influential outside adviser on Latin America. The President trusted his brother's judgment and designated him a special ambassador. As Special Ambassador Milton Eisenhower made two fact finding trips to Latin America, accompanied the President on his good will trip to South America in February 1960 and participated in other meetings with Latin American leaders such as the conference with Mexican President Ruiz Cortines and Canadian Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia in March 1956. Milton sometimes received correspondence from foreign heads of state and his role as an adviser to the President was a delicate one since he operated outside the normal policy machinery of the Department of State and the National Security Council. Milton prepared reports with recommendations for actions to be taken following each of his fact finding trips. He later also expressed his views on Latin America in his book The Wine is Bitter.

This project offers students the opportunity to study the role of a presidential adviser who happened to be the President's brother. While Milton Eisenhower issued public reports he carefully observed the confidential nature of his advice to the President and much of his correspondence was not opened to research until his death a few years ago. The files listed below include private correspondence, public reports, memoranda of conversations, briefing papers and speeches and should provide insights into Milton Eisenhower's views on Central and South America and what he told the President about these regions.

- A. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Papers as President (Ann Whitman File), Name Series, Boxes 12-13, thirty file folders of correspondence exchanged between Milton and

- Dwight Eisenhower, reports, and other material. These include Milton's reports after his trips and should provide students an overview of Latin America as Milton Eisenhower saw it.
- B. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Papers as President (Ann Whitman File), International Series, Box 2, File Folder: "Argentina (7)." This folder contains a letter from the controversial Argentine President Juan Peron to Milton and Milton's letter to the President concerning United States relations with Peron and Argentina.
  - C. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Papers as President (Ann Whitman File), Administration Series, Box 39, File Folders: "White Sulphur (1)-(4)." Please note especially the memoranda of conversations between Milton Eisenhower and Mexican President Ruiz Cortines in folder 2. Also found in these folders are briefing papers covering issues of concern between Mexico and the United States. This file can also be used profitably by students working on Project #5.
  - D. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Records as President (White House Central Files), Official File, Box 498, File Folder: "OF 116-J-1 Mission of Dr. Milton Eisenhower to the Latin American Countries." Contains correspondence, memoranda and statements re Milton Eisenhower and Latin America. This file includes letters from Presidents of Argentina, Chile and Ecuador in Spanish along with English translations.
  - E. Milton S. Eisenhower's Papers, Box 6, File Folder: "A Frank Talk with Latin Americans," an article Milton Eisenhower wrote for Life magazine.
  - F. Milton S. Eisenhower's Papers, Box 8, File Folder: "1959 Speeches, Articles (1)." Contains texts of several speeches concerning Latin America including one text in both Spanish and English.
  - G. Samuel C. Waugh's Papers, Boxes 6-7, File Folders: "Papers from Dr. Milton Eisenhower mission-July, 1958." Nine file folders contain briefing papers, memoranda, maps, and tourist literature. Much of the material pertains to economic issues. Of particular note for Spanish students are maps of Costa Rica and El Salvador in Spanish plus a planning document "Planes Para Continuar El Desarrollo Economico Y Social De Guatemala" in Spanish and in English.
  - H. Oral History 292, Milton Eisenhower. This is an interview (115 pages), conducted by the Columbia University Oral History Project.

Suggested Reading:

Milton Eisenhower, The Wine is Bitter, Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1963. This is Milton Eisenhower's personal account of his Latin American experiences. Also of possible interest is Milton Eisenhower, The President is Calling, Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1974 which gives Milton Eisenhower's perspectives from a few years later.

### **13. CRISIS IN CARACAS: VICE PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON'S 1958 TRIP TO SOUTH AMERICA**

Vice Presidents are often asked to travel on behalf of Presidents and Vice President Nixon took a number of trips during the Eisenhower Administration including one to Central America in 1955. Vice President Nixon, however, really did not want to go to South America in May 1958. According to his own account, he thought his trip to South America would be “relatively unimportant and uninteresting” compared to other assignments he had undertaken. His trip, however, turned out to be anything but dull.

First, Roy Rubottom, Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs, asked Nixon to represent the United States at the inauguration of the newly elected president of Argentina, Arturo Frondizi. Then, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles emphasized the importance of Nixon's trip not only to Argentina but also to additional South American nations as well. Finally, President Eisenhower told the Vice President that this South American trip would be important for the United States. Nixon packed his bags and went to South America for his 18 day trip beginning April 27, 1958.

Nixon's first stop was Montevideo, Uruguay where he experienced friendly crowds and limited protest activity. In Argentina Nixon attended the inaugural functions as planned. After various meetings and conferences he went on to Paraguay, Bolivia and then to Lima, Peru where he was spat upon by students. His worst experiences occurred in Caracas, Venezuela where mobs again spat on him, hurled stones at his entourage and surrounded his car. Nixon may have feared for his life before his party finally escaped from the confrontation. The mobs apparently blamed the United States for Latin America's social and economic problems and took out their anger on Nixon.

Upon returning to the United States Nixon reported orally to the National Security Council on his experiences and a written report on the trip was included in the National Security Council's files. Students may want to try to find out why certain groups were so hostile to the Vice President and what issues were behind the hostility.

- A. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Papers as President (Ann Whitman File), NSC Series, Box 10, File Folder: “366th Meeting of the NSC, May 22, 1958.” The summary of this NSC meeting contains Nixon's report on his trip and some of his views on South America. See also Box 6, File Folder: “240th Meeting of the National Security Council, March 10, 1955” for the Vice President's report on his trip to Central America in 1955.
- B. White House Office, Office of the Special Assistant For National Security Affairs: Records, NSC Series, Policy Papers Subseries, Box 18, File Folder: “NSC 5613/1 Policy Toward Latin America (1).” Appendix IC of an OCB Progress Report dated May 20, 1958 consists of a report on Nixon's trip to South America and includes some comments on issues and events.

- C. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Records as President (White House Central Files), Official File, Box 499, File Folder: "OF 116-J-7 Vice President's Trip to Latin American Countries (1)(2)." These folders contain several South American newspapers with accounts of Nixon's visit in Spanish. See also "OF 116-J-5 Vice President's Trip to Middle American Countries" for Spanish language newsclippings on this 1955 trip. (Also in Box 586).
- D. White House Office, Office of the Staff Secretary: Records, Subject Series, Department of Defense Subseries, Box 1, File Folder: "Department of Defense, Vol. II (7)." These contain memoranda reporting military security measures taken to counter threat to Vice President in Caracas.
- E. John Foster Dulles' Papers, Telephone Calls Series, Box 13, File Folder: "Telephone Calls White House April 1, 1958-July 31, 1958 (3)." Contains a number of memoranda of telephone conversations on May 13-14 which reflect concern within Administration over Nixon's predicament in Venezuela.

Suggested Reading:

Richard M. Nixon, Six Crises, Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc. 1962. See Chapter Five "Caracas" for Nixon's published account of his experiences in South America. Also see Richard Nixon, RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1978, pages 185-193.

#### **14. OPERATION AMIGO: PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S GOODWILL TRIP TO SOUTH AMERICA, FEBRUARY 1960**

As he entered the last full year of his presidency in 1960, Dwight Eisenhower pondered economic, political and social problems in South America and worried about the potential threat posed by Fidel Castro's Cuba to this region. The President decided to visit South America and in February 1960 embarked on the trip which was dubbed "Operation Amigo." Eisenhower wanted to demonstrate United States support for representative government and for social and economic programs aimed at helping the people. He also hoped that key South American leaders would express public opposition to Fidel Castro.

After stopping in Puerto Rico, the President flew to Brazil, a major country whose people speak Portuguese. He then traveled to Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay before heading back to the United States. President Eisenhower conferred with leaders of the countries he visited, gave 37 addresses and toasts, made his own observations and discussed the trip with Secretary of State Christian Herter, Milton Eisenhower and other specialists in Latin American affairs. After returning to the United States Eisenhower called for a study of United States Latin American policy. A series of economic initiatives by the Administration during its last year became the foundation of the programs named by the Kennedy Administration "Alliance For Progress."

Students tackling the “Operation Amigo” project can examine declassified memoranda of presidential conversations, briefing papers used for the trip, a file of country reports prepared by the Central Intelligence Agency, and correspondence and newsclippings in Spanish.

- A. White House Office, Office of the Staff Secretary: Records, International Trips and Meetings Series, Boxes 10-11. Ten file folders titled “DDE to South America” plus various subheadings. These contain declassified memoranda of President Eisenhower’s conversations with the heads of the Brazilian, Argentine, Uruguayan, and Chilean governments, Department of State messages, texts of public statements and a Brazilian Government aide-memoir. Although Brazil is not a Spanish speaking country it plays an important role in this predominantly Spanish speaking region.
- B. Dwight D. Eisenhower’s Records as President (White House Central Files), Confidential File, Boxes 55-56. File Folders: “President’s Trip to Latin America (1)-(9).” These folders contain briefing papers covering individual countries and issues concerning these countries and Latin America as a region. Also found here are texts of suggested statements for the President to make plus biographical sketches of South American leaders.
- C. James C. Hagerty’s Papers. All of Boxes 27-29 and much of Box 30 pertain to the President’s South American trip. These contain documentation concerning press and other trip arrangements plus general information including materials in Spanish. Below are cited selected folders: “Advance South American Trip--General, President” (Box 27). Includes a program in Spanish of Eisenhower’s visit to Argentina plus biographical data on Argentine officials.

“South American Trip--Confidential Data on Each Country” (Box 27). Contains largely declassified CIA reports on Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay. These provide basic information on each country’s problems, geography, language, economy, and politics along with maps.

“Argentina--General Information, Press Kits, Procedure Data, etc.” (Box 29). Includes packet of several Argentine travel brochures in Spanish.

“Buenos Aires newspapers” (Box 29). Contains several Argentine newspapers in Spanish, reporting on President Eisenhower’s trip.

“Uruguay--General Information, Press Kits, Procedure Data, etc.” (Box 29). This folder includes several booklets in Spanish.

Suggested Reading:

Dwight D. Eisenhower, The White House Years: Waging Peace, Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965. See Chapter XII “Amigos,” pp. 515-539

for the President's account of his trip to South America.

Stephen G. Race, Eisenhower and Latin America, Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Thomas Zoumaras, The Path to Pan Americanism: Eisenhower's Foreign Economic Policy Toward Latin America, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1987.

**Please note:** This list does not exhaust project possibilities. Abundant opportunities exist for examining correspondence exchanged between the President of the United States and the leaders of individual countries as well as other materials pertaining to these countries (i.e., Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, etc.) Many of these country files contain the Spanish text of letters written to President Eisenhower. In addition, material exists to support other topical projects such as, for example, United States military assistance to Latin American countries, or various aspects of United States economic relations with Latin American countries. The Library staff will gladly discuss specific project topics. In addition to the manuscript holdings, the Library also contains files of photographs pertaining to the President's South American trip in 1960, his Eleven Nation trip which included Spain in 1959, and other pertinent events. Finally, while a number of books have been listed above as suggested reading, the Library's book collection contains many other books written in Spanish. These are readily available for class project work. A partial listing of Spanish language books follows:

La Argentina, Vols. I & II, Buenos Aires: Guillermo Kraft Limitada.

Argentina, Buenos Aires, 1948.

Venezuela, Editado por el Ministerio de Fomento Direccion de Turismo.

Nieve y Selva en Ecuador, Bruno Molitez, Quito, Ecuador, 1952.

Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, Pumacahua: La Revolucion Del Cuzco De 1814, Cuzco, Peru, 1956.

La Argentina Suma de Geografia, Vomos I-IV, Ediccones Peuser: Buenos Aires, 1958.

Eduardo Suarez Rivas, Un Pueblo Crucicado, Miami, Florida, 1964.

Carlos Fernandez Mora, Anecdotalario Nacional, San Jose, Costa Rica, 1956.

Carlos Fernandez Mora, Anecdotalario Nacional, San Jose, Costa Rica, 1953.

Historia de la Literatura Argentina, Vomos I-V, Ediciones Peuser, Buenos Aires,



1958.

Jose Mercedes Palma Martinez, Sinfonias (Poemas)

Maria Teresa Borragan, Yacambo, Mexico, D.F. Maria Teresa.

Borragan, Leyendas Mexicanas, Mexico, 1943.

Antonio Garcia Gutierrez, El Trovador, D.C. Heath & Company: 1930.