

## Chapter 33

# Wars in Asia Involve the United States

### COMMUNISTS CAPTURE CHINA

IN THE MIDDLE of the nineteenth century, Commodore Matthew C. Perry was sent by the United States Government to visit Japan and seek trade with that Oriental country. On his second trip, he was successful. A treaty was signed opening the ports of Japan to ships from the United States. After his return, Perry said in a speech on March 6, 1856:

It seems to me that the people of America will, in some form or another, extend their domination and their power, until they shall have placed the Saxon race upon the eastern shores of Asia, and I think too, that eastward and southward will her great rival in future aggrandizement (Russia) stretch forth her power to the coasts of China and Siam; and thus the Saxon and the Cossack will meet . . . . Will it be in friendship? I fear not! The antagonistic exponents of freedom and absolutism must thus meet at last, and then will be fought the mighty battle on which the world will look with breathless interest; for on its issue will depend the freedom or slavery of the world; . . . I think I see in the distance the giants that are growing up for that fierce and final encounter; in the progress of events that battle must sooner or later be fought . . . .

At the close of World War II, the Republic of China was a nation with great

manpower, but too weak to use it in defense after years of invasions and civil wars. China was easy prey for conquest. A few days before the armistice of World War II was signed, the Soviet Union joined the war against Japan and marched soldiers into Japanese territory in Asia to put these lands under Communist control. Supplied by the Soviet Union, Chinese Communists attacked the poorly-equipped armies of Chiang Kai-shek, defeated them, and seized the government of China. In December, 1949 Chiang Kai-shek established the government of Free China on Taiwan, formerly called Formosa. The fall of the huge land mass of China with millions of people, posed a threat to small neighboring countries. Korea was the next victim of Communist expansion.

### KOREA BECOMES A BATTLEGROUND

THE SOVIET UNION took undue advantage of the brief part played in the war against Japan to extend government by the Communist Party into Manchuria, China, and Korea. When Japan sued for peace, it was agreed that Japanese north of

the 38th parallel on the Korean peninsula would surrender to Soviet armies, and those south of that line to the United States Army. This was to be only a temporary arrangement as independence had been promised to Korea. In 1943, at a meeting in Cairo, Egypt, President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States, Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek of China agreed that "Korea shall in due course become free and independent."

Following the surrender of Japanese troops, Soviet soldiers occupied Korea north of the 38th parallel. Soviet officials set up a government under the direction of the Communist Party. In South Korea, occupied by United States troops, American officials cooperated with native leaders to organize a constitutional republic. After forty years of Japanese occupation, Koreans lacked experience in self-government. When officials of South Korea invited political parties to register for a general election, two hundred were listed.

Since the northern part of Korea was largely industrial and the southern part agricultural, the two regions were dependent upon one another. The division of the little country prevented trade and resulted in chaos. A joint commission of the United States and the Soviet Union failed to agree upon a plan to unite Korea and make the country independent. The General Assembly of the United Nations also tried and failed. The little nation remained cut in half with two capitals, Pyongyang in North Korea and Seoul in South Korea. In August, 1948 South Korea established a constitutional republic and elected Syngman Rhee the first President. Thus divided, Korea became the "powderkeg" of Asia.

Although there were frequent clashes between soldiers along the 38th parallel, no full scale invasion took place until the summer of 1950. At four o'clock on Sunday morning, June 25, North Korean armed forces, spearheaded by Soviet tanks, crossed the border and captured Seoul, the capital of South Korea. President Harry S. Truman issued orders to General Douglas MacArthur in Tokyo to dispatch troops and supplies to the South Korean army. Overpowered by greater numbers of well-equipped soldiers from North Korea, the Americans and South Korean troops were forced to retreat.

The United Nations voted to halt this invasion and asked countries in the organization to send soldiers and supplies. So few did that over ninety percent of the fighting forces were recruited in the United States, and that nation furnished practically all of the armaments and supplies. General Douglas MacArthur was selected to be Commander in Chief of this undeclared war under the banner of the United Nations.

In September, 1950 General MacArthur made a surprise amphibious landing at Inchon behind the North Korean lines, forcing a hasty retreat of the invaders. The victorious troops of South Korea marched into North Korea and captured Pyongyang, the capital, and then moved on toward the Manchurian border.

Meanwhile, thousands of Chinese Communists with weapons and war supplies were gathering in Manchuria across the Yalu River. The policy of the government in Washington was to confine the war within the borders of Korea. General MacArthur received orders not to send American planes across the Yalu to bomb supply centers; to chase planes in

“hot pursuit” attacking his army; to cripple hydroelectric plants furnishing electricity to the enemy; to destroy the bridges over the river; not to attack any target within five miles of the Manchurian border in any direction. MacArthur obeyed, as was his duty, protesting that the Chinese Communists had a “privileged sanctuary” in Manchuria.

Soon an entirely new war began when hordes of Chinese soldiers poured across the Yalu bridges in November of 1950. Hopelessly outnumbered, MacArthur’s troops were forced to leave the North Korean capital and retreat below the 38th parallel. Thousands of American soldiers were evacuated by sea to escape capture by the onrushing Chinese. War swept up and down the rugged hills of Korea, spreading ruin and death in its path. Government policy in Washington remained the same, keeping the conflict within the borders of the little peninsula.

On April 11, 1951 President Truman recalled General Douglas MacArthur and gave his command to General Matthew B. Ridgway. The big war in the little country had cost about a million casualties among all the troops engaged, and among the civilians who suffered hardship and disease fleeing invading armies.

The representative of the Soviet Union to the United Nations proposed a truce in Korea. In July, 1951 officers from the armies of North Korea, the Chinese Communists, and the United Nations met to arrange for a ceasefire truce to stop the fighting while their governments debated an armistice. The negotiations dragged on for over a year without reaching an agreement of any kind while the fighting continued with increasing fury as more Chinese Com-

munists were equipped with supplies from the Soviet Union to enter the war.

On October 8, 1952 the truce talks were broken off. The Communists had demanded the return of all North Korean and Chinese prisoners, by force, if necessary. When these prisoners were asked whether or not they wanted to return to their homelands, thousands said they did not want to go home to live under communism. Refusal to return these prisoners against their wishes closed the meeting.

The Korean War became a leading issue in the national election in November of 1952. The Democratic Party, in power for twenty years, was criticized for its foreign policy resulting in the loss of China to the Communists and the war in Korea. The casualties for this undeclared war amounted to about 140,000 men in fighting units of the United States.

On the twentieth of January, 1953 Dwight D. Eisenhower, General of the United States Army during World War II, was inaugurated President. Richard M. Nixon, former Senator from California was his Vice President. President Eisenhower gave immediate attention to the Korean problem. Two months after he took office, some wounded and sick prisoners on both sides were exchanged at Panmunjom in South Korea. An early date was set to resume the truce talks.

After long and tedious argument, the Communists finally signed an armistice on July 27, 1953 without gaining their demand that prisoners held by the armies in South Korea be returned by force against their wishes. Many of the Chinese prisoners had gone to Taiwan. The shooting ended on paper, but not in fact, after three years and thirty-two days of war.

The shooting continues at intervals along the 38th parallel. United States soldiers share duty with the South Korean army on guard against another invasion. North Koreans sneak through the unreal barrier to terrorize their neighbors. Raiding parties land at night on the eastern coast to rob the villagers and burn their homes. When these acts of violence are reported at Panmunjom, North Korean officials maintain a stony silence.

In the little country of South Korea, people live in hourly peril, surrounded by Communist governments. After the war, with patient hope, they faced the task of rebuilding their war-torn land and defending their constitutional republic.

## **WAR SPREADS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA**

COMMUNISTS ANCHORED in North Korea on the northeastern coast of Asia, next established a similar bridgehead on the southeastern coast of that continent. Before World War II Japan, the Republic of China, and Thailand (Siam) were the only independent countries in Eastern Asia. Much of the area was colonial and claimed by European nations. After the war, peoples in Asia began to seek independence. From 1946 to 1954, French soldiers fought to hold Indochina for France and failed.

Before the French were driven out, Communists were planning to take over the new governments. Since most of the natives wanted independence without outside interference in three small countries – Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam – war was brewing before the French departed.

Vietnam was the first target. With

foreign assistance, Communists created civil war in the frail new nation. In an effort to bring peace, a settlement was made in Geneva, Switzerland to divide the little country at the 17th parallel. North of the line would be a Communist dictatorship. South of the line would be a government chosen by the people. Almost a million Vietnamese fled south to escape communism under Ho chi Minh and only a few moved into the northern sector from the southern part. The United States Government furnished ships to transport refugees from the North to the South, and provided food and clothing for many while they waited to find new homes. The pattern was the same as in Korea, and developed in the same way.

In 1955, South Vietnam became a constitutional republic with Ngo dinh Diem elected President. Communists stirred up strife, intending to take over the feeble nation under its first President. Under a treaty, the United States responded to Diem's call for help, and sent military men to advise and train the Vietnamese in defense. In civil war that followed, Diem was murdered. More and more troops from North Vietnam crossed into South Vietnam to aid the local Communist guerrillas, the Viet Cong, in their terrorist campaign of burning, kidnapping, and killing. More and more American fighting men – soldiers, Marines, airmen, sailors and civilians – went to defend South Vietnam, half a million by the first day of 1968, fighting on land, sea, and in the air. Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States, stated again and again that the big war in the little country could end any day the invaders retreated across the 17th parallel, leaving the people of South Vietnam free to choose their own form of

## UNITED STATES TROOPS



*United States Marines*

### GUARD DUTY IN SOUTH VIETNAM

A Marine Corporal protecting a farmer helps in harvesting the crop.

### MEDICAL CARE FOR REFUGEES AT DA NANG, SOUTH VIETNAM

The United States Navy sent ambulances and medical officers to treat refugees fleeing from communism. As the war progressed, the number of displaced persons helped by the Americans increased.

*United States Navy*



## IN SOUTH VIETNAM



*United States Army Photograph*

### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SENT WEAPONS' INSTRUCTORS TO SOUTH VIETNAM

An officer of the South Vietnamese Air Force receives training in air defense from an officer of the United States Air Force.

### HELICOPTERS — UNITED STATES ARMY

Helicopters prepare to airlift members of Twelfth Infantry Regiment to battle zone in jungles of Vietnam.

*United States Air Force*



government. Thus did Vietnam become the battleground between “freedom and absolutism,” on the coast of southeastern Asia as did Korea on the northeastern coast, and both bordered China.

On January 20, 1969 Richard M. Nixon was inaugurated President of the United States. He inherited the war in Vietnam. After ten months in office, President Nixon made a report on the war in a televised speech to the people.

“How and why did America get involved in Vietnam in the first place?”

Then he answered his question, stating:

“Fifteen years ago North Vietnam, with the logistical support of Communist China and the Soviet Union, launched a campaign to impose a Communist government on South Vietnam by instigating and supporting a revolution.”

Among principles for future American policy in Asia, the President listed:

“The United States will keep all of its treaty commitments.”

In concluding remarks, he said:

“The wheel of destiny has turned so that any hope the world has for survival of peace and freedom will be determined by whether the American people have the moral stamina and the courage to meet the challenge of free world leadership.”

As Commodore Perry foretold, “the Saxon and the Cossack” met on “the coasts of China and Siam” in “that battle” that “must sooner or later be fought.”

## **PARTNERSHIPS FOR DEFENSE – EASTERN HEMISPHERE**

THE UNITED STATES plunged into world conflicts when the nation entered World War I in 1917. Coming out of that

war as a great world power, the nation shouldered world responsibilities, and the burden has increased with the years. Instead of peace, “the war to end wars” spawned a breeding ground for future wars when communism, based in Russia, set out to conquer the world.

With the United States as an ally in World War II, the Soviet Union emerged from this war as a great world power. Nation after nation in eastern Europe and eastern Asia fell to communism under Soviet might. In an effort to maintain peace the United States government entered into partnerships with small Asian countries caught in the path of the Soviet drive to the Indian Ocean.

The first security agreement in the Pacific area after World War II was the Treaty of Mutual Defense between the United States and the Philippines, signed in August, 1951. In September of the same year, a treaty of defense was signed with Japan, and was replaced by another treaty in 1960. Also in 1951, a Mutual Defense Treaty was signed at the Presidio in San Francisco between the Commonwealth of Australia and the Dominion of New Zealand. This treaty is commonly called ANZUS. These nations agreed that an armed attack on one will affect all and that each will “act to meet the common danger.” Japan signed a treaty of peace with the Nationalist Government of China at Taipei, Taiwan (Formosa). In 1953, treaties to defend one another were signed by the United States and the Nationalist Government of China (Free China); and between the United States and the Republic of Korea (South Korea).

In 1954, after Communists had gained power in North Korea, another collective treaty for defense was planned. Foreign

ministers of Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, the United Kingdom (Great Britain), and the United States met in Manila and signed the South East Asia Collective Defense Treaty on September 8, 1954. The treaty is known as SEATO, and covers one-eighth of the world's surface and approximately one-seventh of its people. The signers agreed that "they are determined to prevent or counter by appropriate means any attempt . . . to subvert their freedom or to destroy their sovereignty or territorial integrity."

On March 9, 1957 the Congress of the United States passed a resolution to "promote peace and stability in the Middle East." Small nations in the Middle East discussed ways to work together to defend themselves. They finally worked out agreements and formed the Central Treaty Organization in 1959, known as CENTO, which included Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, and the United Kingdom (Great Britain). In 1961, the governments of nations in CENTO appointed a military commander to improve their defense planning.

Thus, all over the world, nations seek security by forming alliances, agreeing to fight if any one of the group is attacked. With the United States joining a number of these associations, armed forces of this nation have served in many foreign countries since 1917. From the North Sea to the China Sea after World War II, thousands of United States troops, supplied with weapons and ready for combat duty, were stationed in the Eastern Hemisphere to protect free peoples. Small nations emerging from former colonies face the problem of forming new governments. A republic or a dictatorship? Free elections or

state control? Government by laws or the whims of men? This problem is scattering American men and American money around the world in an effort to maintain peace with freedom.

## **NEW COUNTRIES JOIN UNITED NATIONS**

IN A WORLD sick with war, nations grab at straws and dream of peace. In 1945, peoples again risked their hopes on an international organization to end war. In this assembly, each member large or small, rich or poor, strong or weak was to have one vote. However, this rule was broken at the start when the Soviet Union added two provinces as separate states and demanded three votes.

From the beginning, opposing forms of government bid for power inside the United Nations. The side winning the most of these new countries would gain the most votes in the United Nations. On the last day of 1969, the Eastern Hemisphere held 100 votes out of 126, leaving 26 votes for the Western Hemisphere.

Who pays the bill? Being the richest member, the United States was originally assessed 32% of the budget. With expenses mounting year by year, and the refusal of some nations to pay their shares of operating costs, the taxpayers of the United States have paid more than 32% for one vote. Most of the little countries, new and not developed, are required to pay only the minimum of .04% to join the organization, and sometimes this amount is taken from foreign aid furnished by the United States. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State in President Johnson's cabinet summed up the situation during his term, with this printed statement:



A two-thirds majority of the General Assembly could be formed by nations with only 10% of the world's population, or who contribute altogether 5% of the U.N.'s budget.

A brief story of one small, independent nation illustrates the problem faced by the United Nations Organization.

The Maldiv Islands form a coral chain, five hundred miles long in the Indian Ocean southwest of Ceylon. All 2000 islands total 115 square miles, and only 220 are inhabited. The population is 95,000.

Since 1887 the British Government had claimed this chain of islands, but no official had been sent to state his authority. Although a native sultan lived in the capital, Male, the people governed themselves. The only privilege required by London was the right for an air base and a broadcasting station when independence was granted. The papers of independence had been deposited for some time in the nearest British office in Colombo, Ceylon, waiting to be signed by an official of the tiny island country.

The Maldivian Prime Minister got a

toothache. There were no dentists in the Maldives. In July of 1965, he set out on a three-day boat trip to visit the nearest dentist, located in Colombo. While in the capital of Ceylon, he went to the office of the British High Commissioner and signed the papers of independence. Thus did the United Nations gain a new member, the smallest and least populated to date. The Maldiv Islands have one vote in the General Assembly, the same as any country of any size, except the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with three votes.

Countries of the Western Hemisphere are outnumbered almost five to one in the United Nations. Yet, with few exceptions, their governments keep the peace in that part of the world. Though languages and national backgrounds are not alike, there is a common bond. From Alaska to Patagonia, peoples of the Americas are seeking the same goal.

**MAPS:**

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*Atlas of American History* by Edgar B. Wesley

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**THE UNITED NATIONS – 1969 – WESTERN HEMISPHERE**

**NORTH AMERICA**

Canada  
Mexico  
United States

Honduras  
Nicaragua  
Panama

**CARIBBEAN**

Barbados  
Cuba  
Dominican Republic  
Haiti  
Jamaica  
Trinidad-Tobago

**CENTRAL AMERICA**

Costa Rica  
El Salvador  
Guatemala

**SOUTH AMERICA**

Argentina  
Bolivia  
Brazil  
Chile  
Colombia  
Ecuador  
Guyana  
Paraguay  
Peru  
Uruguay  
Venezuela

# THE UNITED NATIONS – 1969 – EASTERN HEMISPHERE

## AFRICA

Algeria  
Botswana  
Burundi  
Cameroon  
Central African Republic  
Chad  
Congo (Brazzaville)  
Congo (Democratic Republic of)  
Dahomey  
Equatorial Africa  
Ethiopia  
Gabon  
Gambia  
Ghana  
Guinea  
Ivory Coast  
Kenya  
Lesotho  
Liberia  
Libya  
Malagasy Republic (Madagascar)  
Malawi  
Mali  
Mauritania  
Morocco  
Niger  
Nigeria  
Rwanda  
Senegal  
Sierra Leone  
Somalia  
South Africa  
Sudan  
Swaziland  
Togo  
Tunisia  
Uganda  
United Arab Republic  
United Republic of Tanzania  
Upper Volta  
Zambia

## ASIA

Afghanistan  
Burma  
Cambodia  
Ceylon  
China (Free)  
India  
Indonesia  
Iran  
Iraq

Israel  
Japan  
Jordan  
Kuwait  
Laos  
Lebanon  
Malaysia  
Maldives Islands  
Mauritius  
Mongolia  
Nepal  
Pakistan  
Philippines  
Saudi Arabia  
Singapore  
Southern Yemen  
Syria  
Thailand  
Turkey (Europe)  
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Europe)  
Yemen

## AUSTRALIA NEW ZEALAND

## EUROPE

Albania  
Austria  
Belgium  
Bulgaria  
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic  
Cyprus  
Czechoslovakia  
Denmark  
Finland  
France  
Greece  
Hungary  
Iceland  
Ireland  
Italy  
Luxembourg  
Malta  
Netherlands  
Norway  
Poland  
Portugal  
Romania  
Spain  
Sweden  
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic  
United Kingdom (Great Britain)  
Yugoslavia

## Chapter 34

# Western Hemisphere Pursues a Vision

### **BOLIVAR VISIONED A UNITED HEMISPHERE**

GENERAL FRANCISCO MIRANDA who started the revolutionary movement in South America was one of the first Pan American thinkers. He spoke of "Our Americas" instead of "My Venezuela" as if he were a citizen of every country in the Western Hemisphere. Although he was born in Caracas, South America, he was educated to feel at home on both American continents. After leaving school in his native Venezuela, he studied law for over a year at a college in Mexico City. During the summer of 1784, only a year after peace was signed between the United States and Great Britain, Miranda attended lectures at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut.

Thomas Jefferson also had felt a common bond existing between citizens of the United States and citizens of Latin American countries. In 1808, while President of the United States, he wrote to Governor Claiborne in New Orleans about Cuba and Mexico:

We consider their interests and ours at the same time, and the object of both must be to exclude all European influence from this hemisphere.

John C. Calhoun of South Carolina showed his Pan American sympathy in a practical way. When an earthquake severely damaged Venezuela in 1812, he asked Congress to raise the relief fund from \$30,000 to \$50,000 to load five vessels with food and clothing for the stricken people of that country. Considering that the United States was on the brink of war with Great Britain and every penny was needed for defense, the donation was a heartfelt gesture toward a neighbor in distress.

To this day the name of Henry Clay is listed among the heroes of independence throughout Latin America. As the Spanish provinces, one by one, gained their independence from Spain, their staunch friend from Kentucky argued in Congress for their recognition as free and independent states. Sometimes it took Clay several years to win enough votes for his cause, since many Congressmen were more interested in evading war with Spain than helping that nation's colonists in gaining their freedom. Senator Clay did not relax his efforts until representatives of his Government were on their way to the capitals of new-born republics in Central and South America. Henry Clay's

untiring devotion to the cause of independence in the Spanish colonies paved the way for the Monroe Doctrine. To him, the United States, first country to shed the yoke of colonialism, was the "natural head of the American family."

Another dreamer of Pan American unity was Simon Bolivar, whom Clay called the Washington of South America. It was in 1815 that Bolivar planned a meeting of representatives from American countries to talk over their common problems. It was hope, born of despair, perhaps. He had gone to Jamaica seeking ships and supplies from the British governor but failed to get them. The governor explained that he could not give aid to revolutionaries in Venezuela or any other Spanish province when his country was at peace with Spain.

Ten years later Bolivar was the hero, the ruler of Peru. He rode through the streets of Lima, lined with cheering crowds, to address the Peruvian Congress. As he entered the hall the delegates shouted, "Long live Bolivar! Long live the Redeemer of Peru!" He chose this time, at the height of success, to launch his dream. He suggested that a general congress meet in Panama to discuss the problems of the newly liberated states.

In June of the following year, 1826, the meeting was held. Men gathered from Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, and Peru to do what Bolivar had dreamed in 1815:

to deliberate upon the high interests of peace and of war not only between the American nations, but between them and the rest of the world.

The difficulty of travel in those days, no doubt, kept some representatives away. Brazil, belonging to Portugal, agreed to

cooperate but did not send delegates. However, the southern countries in the region of the La Plata River refused to take any part in the congress. President John Quincy Adams accepted the invitation for the United States, but the Senate did not support him, at first. After considerable argument, the Senate voted to send two delegates. President Adams appointed the United States Ambassador in Bogota, Colombia, who died enroute to Panama, and Sergeant of Pennsylvania, who did not get started until the conference had ended. The House of Representatives delayed his departure by debating too long over paying his expenses.

The small attendance at the Congress of Panama was a great disappointment to Bolivar, who did not attend. At the time he was busy quelling a revolt among Peruvians who felt that Colombian soldiers were staying too long in Peru. Although the meeting was a failure as far as results were concerned, the idea was a success. At the opening of this first American Congress the Minister of Peru had sounded the trumpet call for future cooperation:

Above all, let us form one family and forget the names of our respective countries in the more general denomination of brothers. Let us form a body of public law, which the civilized world may admire. In it, a wrong to one state shall be regarded as an injury to all.

It was a forward step toward peace for peoples differing in language and racial backgrounds to want meetings where they could discuss their common problems. In the Congress of Panama, Bolivar planted the seed of Pan Americanism. Again, "something new" had sprouted in the New World.

## THE PAN AMERICAN WAY EVOLVED THROUGH CONFERENCES

NOT UNTIL 1889, sixty-three years after the gathering at Panama, did Bolivar's dream of American unity show signs of becoming real. In that year James G. Blaine, Secretary of State in President Harrison's Cabinet, invited the republics of the Americas to send representatives to a meeting in the United States. The conference opened in Washington. Secretary Blaine said in his official opening speech:

No conference of nations has ever assembled to consider the welfare of territorial possessions so vast. — Those now sitting within these walls are empowered to speak for nations whose borders are on both the great oceans. The territorial extent of the nations here represented falls but little short of 12,000,000 square miles, more than three times the area of all Europe, and but little less than one-fourth of the globe.

During the conference many of the South American representatives made a tour of the country as guests of our Government. They boarded a special train in Washington. The seven cars were elegant, with furnishings of mahogany and rosewood, plush upholstery, and pots of flowers in every nook and cranny. The first call was at the Military Academy, West Point. In Boston it took a half mile parade of carriages to take the visitors to see Harvard University, Longfellow's home, and the elm under which Washington took command of the Continental Army in 1775. During the visit to Boston some factories were inspected in and near the city. A delegate from Costa Rica, worn out after a day of sightseeing, complained about the haste.

"We could have spent days in the watch

factory we saw," he sighed. "The United States desires to extend her trade relations with our people. I would be glad could I have had the opportunity to ask the prices of the watches we saw, and to learn if qualities and prices might be as good or better for us than what we are able to secure in Belgium."

At a mill in Lawrence, Massachusetts, however, one of the delegates did manage to talk business with the president of the company. He had seen bolts of colorful cotton prints with yellow flowers. The fustic tree from which yellow dye could be made was common in his homeland.

"You use fustic dye-wood, do you not?" the southern delegate asked the head of the mill.

"We do — much of it," the president replied.

"There is no duty in your country on fustic and we can furnish you that," the delegate remarked, his mind on future business for his own people.

The All-American guests visited the corn state of Iowa and went as far west as Omaha. In that meat-packing center each one was given a souvenir to take away, steer horns brightly polished, decorated with ribbons, and filled with little bags of Nebraska grain. In Kentucky they visited the former home of Henry Clay, loyal friend of Latin America. There they were entertained by Clay's relatives in an old southern mansion. After a tour of nearly 6000 miles, lasting forty-two days, the tourists returned to Washington where they discussed the common welfare of states in the Western Hemisphere.

Then for the first time Latin Americans and Anglo Americans sat around a table to talk over ways and means to bring a better way of life to both groups. This First



**REPRESENTATIVES OF NATIONS IN THE WESTERN  
HEMISPHERE MEETING IN WASHINGTON, D.C., 1890**

International Conference of American States was really a get-acquainted meeting, which bore fruit in good will. Little business was accomplished. The most important act of this first congress set up an International Union of American Republics to promote trade. This small commercial bureau, established on April 14, 1890, grew into the Pan American Union, uniting the peoples of the Americas in peace and in war. Now, throughout the American republics the fourteenth of April is Pan American Day.

Through future conferences in the larger capitals of the Latin countries, cooperation grew slowly but surely. For a long time the small countries were fearful that the United States, large and powerful, would dominate them. Blaine had declared at the first meeting in Washington that "all shall meet together on terms of absolute equality." At the second International American Conference in Mexico City, in 1901, President Theodore Roosevelt instructed the delegates of the

United States to make it clear that the chief interest of this country was to maintain "the system of self-government by the people" throughout the Americas. Elihu Root, who was Secretary of State in Roosevelt's Cabinet, made a famous speech at the Third International Conference in Rio de Janeiro in 1906, stating the aims of the United States:

We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire. — We wish to increase our prosperity, to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom, and in spirit. The true way to accomplish this is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together.

At the fourth conference in Buenos Aires in 1910, a resolution was passed for the interchange of professors and students among the universities of the Americas.

The most popular universities with students of the United States are Mexico in Mexico City and San Marcos in Lima, Peru.

Arguments over boundaries led to small scale wars among the Latin American nations. At the fifth conference in Santiago, Chile in 1923, a treaty was made to avoid or prevent conflicts and to settle disputes without bloodshed. The American republics also pledged themselves to work together for better health of all the peoples in the Americas; for improvement of automobile roads and airlines to encourage travel among the nations and to aid the peoples to become better acquainted; for an understanding and appreciation of the Latin American contribution to science, literature, painting, music, and world culture in general.

The lack of easy transportation between the two Americas hindered friendship and understanding. The best way for Anglo Americans to learn what the Latin Americans had accomplished was to go and see for themselves. At the Santiago meeting plans were laid for building an automobile highway from Laredo, Texas, to Buenos Aires, Argentina, a distance of almost 12,000 miles. For the first time the development of aviation was discussed as a means of increasing travel among the American countries.

Five years later the sixth conference met in Havana, Cuba, where delegates were instructed to "study means for promoting friendship among the school children of the American republics." At each meeting the representatives talked more and more about the need for Latin Americans and Anglo Americans to become better acquainted. This meeting proved that a better understanding of one

another's different ways was necessary if their friendship was to continue.

At Havana the policy of intervention by the United States was openly criticized by the delegates from Central and South America. Since the peoples of the Latin states had little or no opportunity to govern themselves until they gained their freedom from Spain, they had much to learn. Therefore, some of the Latin American countries have endured more than a century of revolutions.

During these upheavals, citizens of the United States lost their property and sometimes their lives. To protect them our Government frequently landed soldiers and Marines and sent warships to the ports of Latin nations during rebellions. These armed forces did police duty to maintain order and to protect the property of United States citizens. Peoples of these countries often resented this help from outside. It happened, sometimes, that the presence of Marines who kept order prevented the people from putting out of office a president whom they did not want, since their way of doing this was revolution.

Finally, it dawned upon officials in all countries, including the United States, that the Latin American way was not the Anglo American way. During Herbert Hoover's Administration, 1929 to 1933, Marines were evacuated from Nicaragua. Progress was then made toward a better understanding between the United States and Latin America. Hoover's successor, Franklin D. Roosevelt, announced the "Good Neighbor Policy" of no intervention at all. The willingness of the United States to stand by and let the Latin Americans work out their own problems in their own way, even if the way meant revolution and

violence, bore fruit in the next meeting. At the seventh conference in Montevideo, Uruguay, in 1933, the following agreement was signed by the representatives of all governments, including the United States:

No state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another.

Realizing always that true cooperation is founded on understanding and that education provides the means to acquire this understanding, the delegates at the Montevideo Conference urged the American nations to found an "Institute for the Teaching of History" of the American Republics.

Although, at Havana, war was condemned and an agreement was made to settle disputes by arbitration, the delegates at Montevideo knew full well that peace rests upon sympathetic understanding. In every Pan American conference, education for peace was stressed. Soon, however, the threat of war in Europe brought the American States closer together in the common cause of survival. The peace of the world was at stake.

## AMERICAN STATES UNITE IN DEFENSE

ALTHOUGH REPRESENTATIVES of the American Republics gather regularly every five years, unless circumstances prevent it, they can meet at any time if necessary. At the suggestion of Franklin D. Roosevelt, a meeting was called in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in December 1936, at a time when dictators were on the rampage in Europe. President Roosevelt addressed the congress on keeping peace in the

Western Hemisphere. At this Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, it was agreed that the twenty-one republics would stand together and consult among themselves on what action to take if war threatened any one of them. Although they did not agree to fight for one another in the event of an attack, the principle of consultation was a step forward in defense of the hemisphere.

When the eighth conference met in Lima, Peru, exactly two years later, World War II was galloping on its way. For the opening date of this important meeting, the Government of Peru chose a national holiday, the ninth of December, the anniversary of the end of Spanish rule in South America.

The hospitable Peruvians spared neither effort nor expense in providing comfort and pleasure for their All American guests. Added to the list of banquets and receptions were parties and entertainments given by clubs and private citizens. The approaching world conflict, however, cast a pall of gloom over the gaiety. Everyone seemed to realize the danger to both North and South America with war creeping at a stealthy pace over Europe and Asia. In this emergency the American Republics agreed to stand solidly together and defend themselves "against all foreign intervention or activity that may threaten them." This statement, approved on Christmas Eve, 1938, was called the Declaration of Lima. The delegates of the American States were of one mind in uniting to maintain peace, according to speeches they made at this conference:

America continues united and vigilant in the safeguarding of our common interests in the defense of peace —

Chairman of the Brazilian Delegation



But let it be known — that we should rise en masse to defend, if some day they should be threatened, the higher principles of liberty, equity, and justice for which we have fought in the past.

Chairman of the Delegation of Haiti

Instead of a selfish, passive attitude toward evil, let us adopt a plan for effective but free, sovereign, and spontaneous cooperation, serving the good of America and of the world.

Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs

Less than a year later, after Germany had invaded Poland and plunged Europe into World War II, foreign ministers of the American Republics held their first emergency meeting in Panama. They agreed to remain neutral, taking neither side in the conflict. To keep the war away from their doors, the Ministers established a security zone around the Western Hemisphere. This Declaration of Panama served notice upon the nations at war that no hostile act could be “attempted or carried on from land, from sea, or from the air,” within the coastal limits defined in this agreement.

In July of 1940, the second meeting of consultation took place in Havana, after France fell to German might. The main topic of this gathering of ministers was the danger of victors in the European war taking over the possessions of the vanquished in the Americas, and establishing bases for aggression in the Western Hemisphere. At the meeting of Foreign Ministers, it was agreed that the American Republics would not allow any European colonies in the Western Hemisphere to be transferred to any power outside the Americas. If any such attempt was made, the foreign possessions would be administered under a trusteeship of the American Republics. This Act of Havana made it plain that aggression in the Western

Hemisphere would not be tolerated.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor ushered World War II into the Americas and hurried the foreign ministers of the American Republics to another emergency meeting in Rio de Janeiro. Sumner Welles, heading the delegation from the United States, recommended that the American States sever diplomatic relations with the aggressors, Germany, Italy, and Japan. It was stated again that an act of aggression against one state would be considered as an act of aggression against all the states.

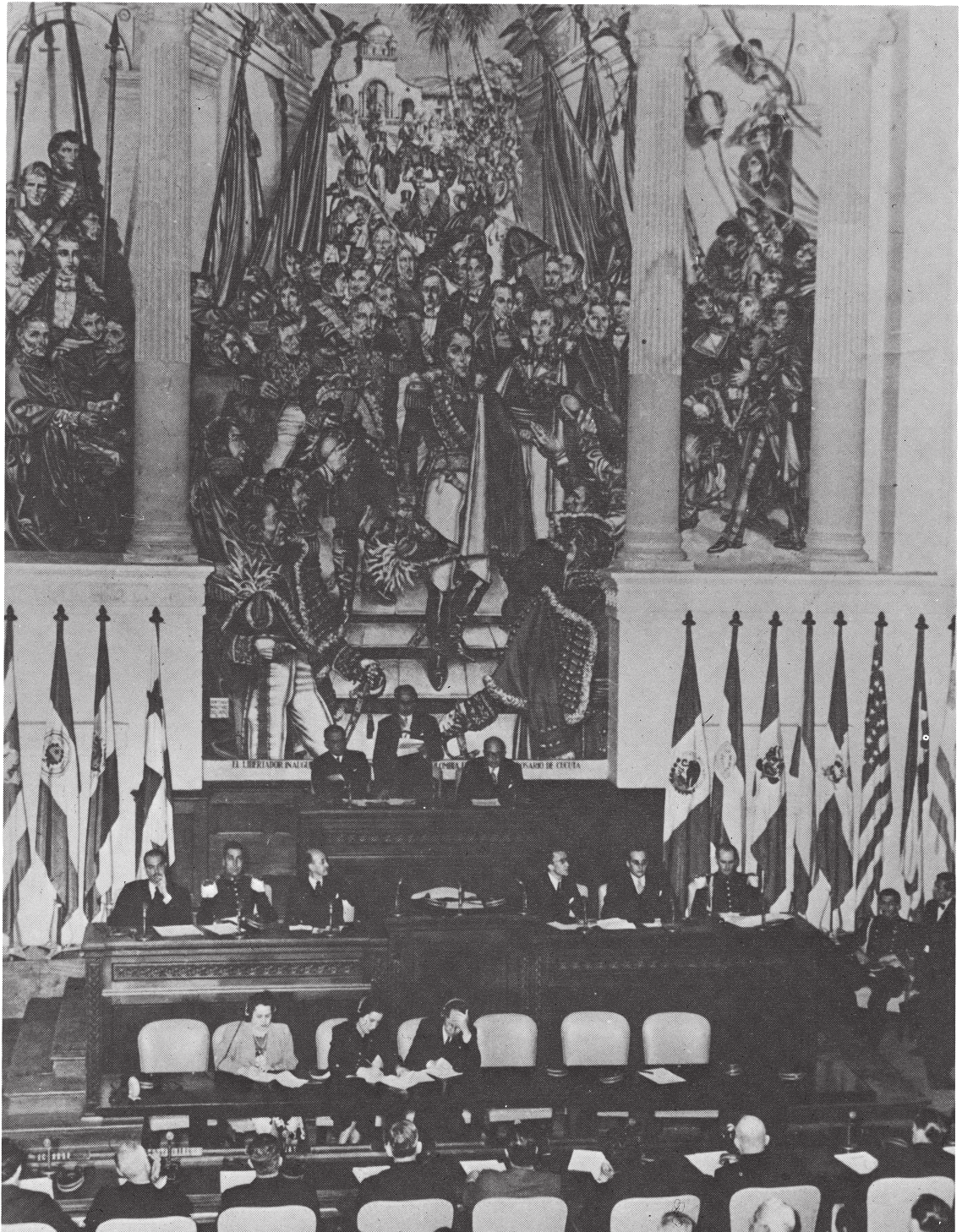
In 1945 before World War II ended, representatives of the American Republics met in Mexico City to discuss the problems of both war and peace. By the Act of Chapultepec, approved on March 6, 1945, a treaty was made whereby acts of aggression against any one of the republics would be met with the combined efforts of all the states, even to the use of armed forces.

The Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance was signed in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil on September 2, 1947, binding the American States to defend any one of their number under armed attack. This was the strongest agreement yet made to fight for the defense of the hemisphere with an all-out attack on any enemy waging war on any country. The Rio Treaty opened the way for a permanent union.

At the Ninth Conference in Bogota, Colombia in 1948, the twenty-one republics in the Western Hemisphere established the Organization of American States (OAS), confirming the agreement made at Rio de Janeiro the year before. Slowly, step by step over 122 years, these countries gained the confidence to join a federation to achieve the goals defined in the Charter of the Organization of American States:

Conference in national capitol, Bogota, Colombia, where the Organization of American States was formed in 1948. Flags of the 21 nations are displayed on each side of the speaker's platform.

The painting in the center shows Simon Bolivar and Francisco P. Santander, military heroes, entering Bogota to celebrate Colombia's independence from Spain.



Convinced that the historic mission of America is to offer to man a land of liberty, and a favorable environment for the development of his personality and the realization of his just aspirations;

Conscious that that mission has already inspired numerous agreements, whose essential value lies in the desire of the American peoples to live together in peace, and, through their mutual understanding and respect for the sovereignty of each one, to provide for the betterment of all, in independence, in equality and under law;

Confident that the true significance of American solidarity and good neighborliness can only mean the consolidation on this continent, within the framework of democratic institutions, of a system of individual liberty and social justice based on respect for the *essential rights of man*.

Since Communists destroy governments successfully by boring within and gaining key positions rather than by armed attack, the Rio Treaty was amended to include communism. At the Tenth Conference in 1954 at Caracas, Venezuela, the delegates approved the following statement:

That the domination or control of the political institutions of any American State by the international communist movement, extending to this hemisphere the political system of an extra-continental power, would constitute a threat to the sovereignty and political independence of the American States, endangering the peace of America, and would call for a Meeting of Consultation to consider the adoption of appropriate action in accordance with existing treaties.

This long legal sentence simply means that a communist threat to any nation would be the same as an armed attack.

In 1969, the members of the Organization of American States were: Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica,

Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, the United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

It takes time for 24 countries to gather information and to send official representatives to discuss the problems of offering troops or any other aid to a member of the OAS in trouble. It takes time to decide whether or not violence erupting in a country is a justified rebellion to improve a government, or a Communist-inspired revolution to destroy a government.

## COMMUNISM THREATENS THE AMERICAS

CUBA HAS HAD a stormy history ever since the island was discovered by Columbus, and became the base of Spanish exploration in the Western Hemisphere. Over the years, Cubans have suffered from violence and discontent, and their lot is the same today. Cuba is now the base for spreading communism in the Americas.

On the first day of January, 1959 Fidel Castro and his followers toppled the government of Cuba, promising greater liberty and a better life for the people. The following month, after Castro became the Premier, he set up his own program which followed the communist pattern of confiscating private property and arresting citizens who opposed his plans. Thousands of Cubans fled to the United States. Castro's plans for a Communist Cuba were carried out with support from the Soviet Union.

For this aid, Castro allowed the Communist dictator of the Soviet Union to build missile sites in Cuba, only ninety

miles from Florida. When President John F. Kennedy learned that these deadly weapons were there, ready to launch an attack on the United States or neighboring countries, he demanded their removal. At the risk of war, the Russian dictator agreed to dismantle the sites and ship the missiles back to his homeland. President Kennedy accepted his word, without inspection, that the weapons had been removed.

In January, 1961, John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts had been inaugurated President of the United States, succeeding Dwight D. Eisenhower. On November 22, 1963, the President was shot in Dallas, Texas by a young man, a citizen of the United States who had lived in the Soviet Union for several years. Upon return to his native land, he joined a group organized to support Castro, the Communist premier of Cuba. While being moved from one jail to another, the assassin was shot by a man in the crowd. Lyndon B. Johnson, Vice President, became the President of the United States, and completed President Kennedy's term. In 1964, Johnson was elected to the office of President.

Three months after his inauguration, President Johnson dispatched United States Marines to Santo Domingo, the capital of the Dominican Republic in the West Indies. On April 24, 1965, army units overthrew the government of the Dominican Republic, and started a civil war endangering the lives of people from the United States. The President acted quickly to protect these citizens and to bring them home, and sent more troops to maintain order until the Organization of American States could act. On May 6, the OAS approved setting up an Inter-American Peace Force to restore order. By that time, 25,000 United States troops were on duty there. Although some

of these units were withdrawn, countries in the OAS sent few military forces, and the burden of keeping order and preventing a Communist takeover during the confusion fell upon the United States. For this action, the United States Government was accused of breaking the non-intervention agreement signed in 1933 in Montevideo, Uruguay.

Promises of defense on paper are not easily carried out to the satisfaction of all nations in the Organization of American States. If Communists gain control of a government in the Americas by force and violence, shall other American States be powerless to help? If a nation in the Eastern Hemisphere trains, directs, and finances a Communist revolution in a country of the Americas, what is the duty of other countries in the OAS? Shall the OAS interfere if another Communist country establishes military bases in an American nation to threaten the Western Hemisphere? Shall weak nations receive aid in maintaining their independence if under attack by people within, who are directed by Communists abroad? How can speedy assistance be given to any American government in sudden danger of a Communist takeover?

In November of 1965, after eleven years, the Foreign Ministers of the Organization of American States met in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, to discuss ways of strengthening inter-American cooperation. Brazilian Foreign Minister, Vasco Leitao da Cunha, was president of the conference with 300 delegates in attendance. From November 17 to November 30, these representatives from nations in the Western Hemisphere talked about their problems and ways to solve them. Much discussion was heard on the Alliance For Progress, a program for aid from the United States.

During the administration of President John F. Kennedy, the Alliance for Progress was signed on August 17, 1961, in Punta del Este, near Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay. The Preamble of the Charter of Punta del Este stated:

We, the American Republics, hereby proclaim our decision to unite in a common effort to bring our people accelerated economic progress and broader social justice within the framework of personal dignity and political liberty.

Although the United States had furnished large sums of money under this agreement, the Alliance For Progress was not so successful as had been expected. On November 22, 1965, President Johnson sent a message to the Rio Conference extending the period for aid beyond 1971, the date set to end this plan originally. One act of this meeting stated an idea often expressed by the delegates:

“No system can guarantee true progress unless it affirms the dignity of the individual.”

Much discussion involved ways and means to increase trade among themselves, and the manufacture of products to sell overseas. Trade would increase prosperity and lift the well-being of their peoples.

On the last day of October, 1969 President Nixon spoke to a meeting of newsmen and publishers from the Latin American countries. His main topic was trade, the popular subject dating back to 1889 when representatives of these nations had gathered in Washington for the first time.

Latin Americans are proud and patriotic people, and staunchly defend the independence of their countries, large and small. Resolutions made at the Rio Conference showed an increased willingness to work together for the welfare of all. On November 30, 1965, the Act of Rio de Janeiro was signed, adding another agreement to further cooperation among the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

Slowly and cautiously, step by step, nations of the Western Hemisphere are developing an inter-American system that was the dream of Simon Bolivar, the “Liberator.” In 1822, he said:

United in heart, in spirit and in aims, this continent . . . must raise its eyes . . . to peer into the centuries which lie ahead. It can then contemplate with pride those future generations of men, happy and free, enjoying to the full the blessings that heaven bestows on this earth, and recalling in their hearts the protectors and liberators of our day.

### **SOMETHING NEW GREW UP IN THE NEW WORLD – A DREAM!**

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Through trial and error, success and failure, hope and despair, the vision of 1776 is the quest of a hemisphere.

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