

Political Culture of the Cold War in Brazil (1947-1964)

Research paper done for the Woodrow Wilson Center on the theme
Democracy and Political Culture in Brazil.

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1. INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to evaluate a month research done with the priceless collaboration of the Brazil Project at the Woodrow Wilson Center and the Culture Ministry of Brazil.

I am especially grateful to Luis Bitencourt, Director of Brazil Project, to the Brazilian Ministry of Culture, to the Brazilian Minister Counselor Paulo Roberto de Almeida and to the researcher and my scholar colleague Francisco Rogido that helped me finding the documents I needed with their useful catalogue for researchers as I was eager for documents related to Brazil at the extensive catalogues of the National Archives (NARA).

I am grateful not only to the efficient staff of the Wilson Center, especially to Project Assistant Alex Parlani, but also to ones at National Archives that always provided a great help.

This paper will analyze the documents researched at NARA and some of the books from the Library of Congress and articles read from the Wilson Center Library. Unfortunately, a in-depth analysis will not be possible at this moment due to short of time, but the research will go on in Brazil and as the Ph.D. program starts, I would be delighted to send the research reports to Wilson Center too if it is suitable.

Basically, the first week of the research was lost because of the tragic events of September 11th that blocked the entrances of Washington DC. During the second week, it was read the books ordered from Library of Congress. On the third and fourth weeks, it was made research at NARA and Gerald K. Haines was interviewed, on the last week, Mr. Lincoln Gordon was interviewed (see item 5), and this research paper was prepared.

2. THE COLD WAR CULTURE RESEARCH

Briefly, the USA had a great concern about Latin America, including Brazil, on two significant moments of the 20th century: the first one during the Second World War, the US foreign policy was preoccupied with the nazi influence on the continent and the second one after the Cuban Revolution in 1959. It is certainly not by chance that some professors of Latin American studies are used to saying in a humorous way that they owe their jobs to Fidel Castro.

Stronger ties with the American culture took place in Brazil during Vargas administration on the 30s and 40s. On that period, there was a paradigm change as the liberal European 'old world' was not anymore the source modernization. The USA and Germany began on the 30s to be the new paradigm for Latin Americans¹.

In 1940 Nelson Rockefeller as the director of the Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations, began a task force to raise American cultural and commercial influence in Latin America, however, as the war ended the geopolitical importance of the American neighbors decreased greatly².

Deprived of the benefits of Marshall Plan given to European countries, the Brazilian government, till the end of the 50s, had to get by on its own economies, basically. A concerted economic effort was done only during the Kennedy-Johnson administrations in Brazil³.

On the other hand, it seems like the (re)initiation of the US-Soviet disputes in 1947, the *Cold War*, contributed to maintain, to a certain extent, the US the effort of

¹ TOTA, Antonio Pedro. *O Imperialismo Sedutor. A Americanização do Brasil na época da Segunda Guerra*. Companhia das Letras, Rio de Janeiro, 2000, pp 10-16.

² TOTA, *O Imperialismo Sedutor*, pp. 50, 73.

spreading the *American way of life*. Moreover, as Brazil was a strategic country in the geopolitics of Latin America, it required special attention from the US, which wanted Latin American politics and markets to be as Americanized as possible for their industries that had reversed the military production into consumer goods. So the industries that on the post-war made consumer goods such as vacuum cleaners, had produced missiles, bombs, tanks like General Motors, Goodyear, General Electric, Johnson & Johnson⁴

The post-World War II economic boom raised the American income in proportions that had never been seen before in the US, consequently the Americans and Latin Americans were urged to consume during the 1950s and the 1960s. Such an increasement helped to keep the *American way of life* in the spotlight⁵. The American way had as a key point the values of *Americanism: competitive individualism in social life, liberal stress on rights in political life and private enterprise in economic life*, principles that the Soviet regime was trying to destroy according to the *Cold War warriors*⁶.

The Department of State was concerned with anti-American propaganda in Latin America at the end of the 1940s. Duwayne G. Clark reported a secret document to the Department of State in which he analyzed *Communist interests (...) in discrediting the*

³ LEACOCK, Ruth. *Requiem for Revolution. The United States and Brazil, 1961-1969*. The Kent State University Press, Kent, 1990, p. vii, viii.

⁴ It should be said that the American propaganda campaign did not relate only to politics as the Soviet did but also to the consumption of American lavish goods that became the envy of the world. WHITFIELD, Stephen J. *The Culture of the Cold War*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1996, p. 43, 74-75, 171.

⁵ WHITFIELD, op. cit. , pp. 69-72.

⁶ WHITFIELD, op. cit., p. 53.

US whenever possible. Clark suggested that the US government made *some sort of announcement* in Brazil to fight against the communists⁷.

In fact, in the mid 50s the American Embassy in Brazil and its Consulates already had sort of branches of United States Information Services (USIS) that were in charge of producing and circulating a wide range of news, from the American culture and exchange students to the fight of the *Free World* against the red menace, what delighted the anti-Communist part of Brazilian press, which was indeed the majority part of it. Besides the USIS staff, there were agents of CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) in each Consulate.

USIS was actually a branch of United States Information Agency (USIA), but the head of the system itself was the Department of State (DS). In 1955, the USIA and the DS organized a task force to come to an agreement about what would be the responsibilities for each institution in the general field of cultural activities, because there were disagreements about it. Until 1954, DS took over all aspects of American cultural activities abroad, but in 1955 with the task force the responsibilities were divided. USIA had recognized *that certain information objectives could best be achieved through cultural means* (...). Therefore, while the DS was fundamentally responsible for the administration of the exchange programs and negotiation with foreign governments on cultural matters, the USIA was in charge of distribution of books and periodicals, preparation and release of news articles, preparation of cultural exhibits etc⁸.

Periodically, the USIS reported to USIA the number of the staff's article published in the Brazilian newspapers measuring by column inches. In August 1952, the

⁷ NARA, M/1492 roll 17, p. 01. Records of the Department of the State 1945-1949 that relate to internal affairs of Brazil. *Anti-American Propaganda in Latin America*, 01/06/1949.

⁸ NARA, RG 59, Miscellaneous Records of Bureau of Cultural Affairs, 1944-1962, LOT 61D53, *Report of the STATE-USIA task force on international activities*, April 22nd 1955.

USIS claimed to have published 1528 columns inches in newspapers from Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais⁹.

Most of the articles were published either under American pseudonyms or as being done by Brazilian journalists. In some cases, the Brazilian journalists used part of the American articles made by USIS in their own materials. Articles from American newspapers and magazines were also given by USIS to be published in local Latin American press.

In January 1951 the Embassy sent a report to the Department of State about the anti-Communist material published by Consulate General in Sao Paulo in 1950. It was published a series of 31 articles in *paulistas* newspapers *O Tempo* and *Folha da Manha*. These articles had been originally made by *New York Times Magazine* and *Nation's Business*, perhaps with the aid of USIA. Some articles had suggestive titles like: *Robot minds or free minds or Russia's Achilles heel*¹⁰.

The Cultural Centers were another part of the American Embassy and State Department efforts to put down deep roots in Brazilian society. These centers were spreaded almost all over Brazil as Sao Paulo, Fortaleza, Recife, Curitiba, Rio de Janeiro. Among the activities done in these Centers as English courses there was an incentive for reading American books thorough the center libraries. The Embassy had even a *Book Translation Program*, from English classics as *Moby Dick*, and cultural books as *American Folk and Fairy Tales* to anti-Communists books as *Forced Labor in Soviet Union, The Truth about Communism*¹¹.

⁹ NARA, RG 59, Decimal File 1950-1954, 511.3221/8-552, August, 8th 1952.

¹⁰ NARA, RG 59, Decimal File 1950-1954, 511.32/1-2251, January 22nd 1951.

¹¹ NARA, RG 59, Decimal File 1950-1954, 511.32/1-352, December 4th 1951, and NARA, RG 59, Decimal File 1950-1954, 511.3221/3-1352, March 13th 1952.

Samples of the American placements in Brazilian media were possible to be locate in the National Archives only till 1954, the last year that the Department of State was in charge of all the activities relating to cultural affairs, however, it is certainly that this activity lasted long and maybe it could have been even more aggressive after the Cuban revolution in 1959.

It is vital to notice that all those placements on Brazilian newspapers received a warm welcome not only of the anti-Communist and American oriented press, as well as from part of Brazilian businessmen that through institutions like SESI (Serviço Social da Indústria or Industrial Social Service) cooperated with USIS *in combating communism and another extremisms*¹².

Certainly US-Brazilian relations represented more a convergence of interests between the two governments than an imposition of the USA, due to the fact that Brazilian elite was also interested in combating *extremists* that wanted great social changes in the country, as land reform, better living conditions for working class etc. Moreover, the Brazilian elite appreciated the modernism, the progressivism, the comfort and the claimed social peace of the *American way*, but with no major social reforms in Brazil.

Therefore, the anti-communism was as much a consequence of the internal political struggles as a consequence of the Cold War and it varied in accord with class and practical interests of local the political elite over time; the weigh of anti-communism in Brazilian public opinions grows considerably over the period of studies on accord of the increasing influence of the mass media during the mid 50s and early 60s.

¹² NARA, RG 59, Decimal File 1950-1954, 511.3221/2-1853, May 7th, 1953.

At certain extent, the Cold War represented the legitimation to the Brazilian Right for the continuation of the repression against popular movements in a democratic regime¹³. It should be born in mind that the post war conjuncture led to a fragile nascent social democratic project that allowed the Brazilian Communist Party to be banned in 1947¹⁴.

Besides the cooperation between State Department, USIS, USIA and the American Embassy in Brazil there was another source of priceless cooperation in this *Cultural Cold War task force*, the American private companies. American industries and their advertising showed the benefits and the comforts that consumption could provide to those who rejected Communism and followed the values of the *Free World*¹⁵.

In a 1958 report of the Department of State it was included the topic *General Practices and Policies of Private American Enterprises Operating Abroad. Public Relations*, that gave some examples of good tune between the cultural policies of DS and companies. This example was about the companies operating in Brazil, such as *Coca-Cola, Esso, Bendix*. According to the report, the programs sponsored by *Coca-Cola, GE, Esso, Bendix* and *Foreign Power* bearing on *US and Brazilian economic and cultural affinities* and the American businessmen community in Brazil were used to working collectively for national identification by contributing generously to cultural interests¹⁶.

¹³ BETHELL, Leslie e ROXBOROUGH, Iad (Ed.). *Latin America between the Second World War and the Cold War, 1944-1948*. CUP, New York City, 1992, p. 16, 19-20.

¹⁴ ALVAREZ, Sonia E., DAGNINO, Evelina, ESCOBAR, Arturo (Ed.), 1998, p. 9. Latin american elites were not seriously weakened in the Second World War, as happened in other parts of the word. Consequently, the right wing only lost part of its power temporarily to the popular mobilizations and returned aiming to reestablish its political control. What make matters worse was that Latin America elites sought to assure social and political exclusion in hierarchical societies.

¹⁵ WHITFIELD, op. cit., p. 43, 74-75, 171.

¹⁶ NARA, RG 59, Records Relating Public Affairs – 1944-1965. *US employees overseas. An operation coordinating board report submitted to the national security council*. April 1958.

By this report it is clear that the DS was used to giving recommendations to American enterprises on how they should make their propaganda toward the foreign public: connecting their products with the American values.

It is crystal clear that the official efforts to disseminate the American way were less efficient than the consumer goods, the music, soap operas, films wide spreaded through almost the entire world at that time to strengthen the American ties and at the same time undermine the Communist Bloc influence in Latin America¹⁷. On the other hand, it should be born in mind that this cultural and economic task force was efficient because it was well coordinated by the State Department and by its agencies as USIA, USIS, USAID (United States Aid) with the participation of the CIA.

As said before, the American task force in Brazil was maximized after the Cuban Revolution in 1959 with the creation of Alliance For Progress, that allied the cultural efforts with economic development projects to have an Latin America only for Americans. Nevertheless, there was in Brazil at that time a strong nationalism not only from the Left but from the Right itself that tended to block some of the enthusiastic American initiatives to get control over the Brazilian natural resources, as petroleum for instance.

Fundamentally, it can be said that if the Brazilian Right tended to come to conciliatory measures to overcome the disputes, the Left was far more used to disrupting the process of negotiations due a the strong Anti-Americanism and the feeling that everything Americans did was not for granted.

¹⁷ SHAW, Tony, 'The Politics of Cold War Culture' in *Journal of Cold War Studies*. Davis Center for Russian Studies, Harvard University, volume 3, numero 3, Fall 2001, p. 76.

One of the reasons that led the USA to create the Alliance for Progress was undoubtedly the significant Anti-Americanism that pervaded Latin America at that time.

Among the Brazilian Anti-Americanists, the university students were perhaps the most concise and obstinate group against the American way in the late 50s till mid 60s. In 1962 the USIA did through a Brazilian research public opinion company, a research about the *Political Attitudes of University Students in Brazil*¹⁸. This study about 822 students of four Brazilian cities of different regions (Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre and Recife) made possible to realize that 3% of them thought the capitalism was a very good system while 25% supported the socialism and 52% viewed democracy as a very good system.

The students were questioned about their identification with a political position between a wide variety of tendencies that may sound bizarre nowadays: *Democracy, Socialism, Leftism, Christian Socialism, Democratic Socialism, Nationalism, Left Center, Capitalism, Communist, the Right, Marxism, the Center, Neutralism*. The result was that 37% was very interested in socialism, 24 % was very interested in democracy, while 5% were very interested in communism and none in capitalism.

Clearly, these results show that this group of Brazilian civil society viewed the ideal of socialism as an alternative to American capitalism and that they were one of the most important target group of the American task force as well. Convinced they were not, but surely they were forced to jail their alternative projects in their own minds with the advent of the military coup d'etat in March 1964.

¹⁸ NARA, RG 59, Bureau of Cultural Affairs, 1955-1964, *Political Attitudes of University Students in Brazil*, July 6th, 1964, MLR 5118 Lot 66D499.

3. DOCUMENTS OF NATIONAL ARCHIVES

The main objective of the research at the National Archives was to look for documents concerning the American cultural and political strategies for Brazil during the Cold War from 1947 to 1964. This research took ten days long. Unfortunately, it was not possible to look at all the boxes any record group due to scarce of time and the intention was to have a general idea about the materials for the period.

A great source of materials was discovered at the Record Group (RG) **59** – State Department, **Central File**. Until 1963 the research is done by the ‘decimal files’. The general decimal file researched was 511.32, which 5 is the number representing the cultural affairs, 11 is the number for the USA and 32 is the number for Brazil.

- Decimal File 1950-1954

Among the extensive files this DC contains:

- a) anti-Communist material published by the Consulate General in Sao Paulo 1951.
- b) psychological objectives of the US government for 1950.
- c) changes in the USIA wireless bulletin 1953.
- d) books requested by the American Embassy in Rio de Janeiro to be translated in 1951.
- e) book translation program for Brazil in 1952.
- f) book translation program fiscal year 1953.
- g) USIS press material featured in newspaper, *Correio Paulistano*, *Diário da Noite*, *‘Diário de Notícias*, *O Estado de São Paulo*, *Folha Carioca*, *O Globo*’, *Jornal do Comércio*, *A Notícia* 1952-1953.
- h) anti-Communist cartoons published by *Diário da Noite*, *Diário de Notícias*’ 1953.
- i) report about American comic strips on *O Globo Juvenil* 1953.

- j) monthly labor bulletin *O Trabalho em todo o mundo*, provided by the labor attaché 1952.
- k) Cultural Center Report of Ceará, Curitiba, Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, Sao Paulo 1951.
- l) Secretary of State Departement Dulles requires evaluation of the work of USIS, including Rio de Janeiro 1953.
- m) press releases on cultural subjects 1953.
- n) American Embassy's magazine *Em Marcha* 1952.
- o) Country Plan for Brazil (USIA),
- p) The Rio de Janeiro Committee for a Free Europe 1953.
- q) cultural exchange program between MOMA-New York City and MAM-Sao Paulo (Museum of Modern Art) 1951.
- r) Report on Inter-American Cultural Exchange 1951.
- s) Report of USIS's materials published by Brazilian newspapers 1952.
- t) USIS's materials published by magazine *Presença* 1952.
- u) activities initiated by USIE, Rio de Janeiro 1951.
- v) anti-Communist masonic magazine financed by USIE, Rio de Janeiro 1951.
- Decimal File 1955-1959

Among the extensive files this DC contains:

- a) Chief intelligence third naval district warns American authorities in 1962 about leftist nationalist.
- b) general strike in University of Bahia in 1960.
- c) assistance to Rural Labor Federation of Rio Grande do Norte in 1962.
- d) growing anti-American attitude of Brazilian students in 1958.
- e) demonstration against speech by Consul General Butrick in 1958.
- f) courses at Brazilian-United States cultural union.
- g) outline for a proposed USIS labor program for fiscal year of 1957.
- Decimal File 1960-1963
- a) report on the Latin American Conference on Department of State and USIA Cultural Programs in 1961.
- b) assistance to rural labor federation in Rio Grande do Norte.

Besides the Central Files, the **Office Files** of the Record Group 59 were also researched. The Office Files are not organized by decimal files but by table of contents and subject index.

- Bureau of Cultural Affairs 1955-1964
 - a) projects by country and field of activity in 1962.
 - b) government sponsored research on Latin America 1957-1964.
 - c) US investments in Latin America in 1962.
 - d) country assistance programs for fiscal year of 1965.
 - e) problems facing the Alliance for Progress in the Americas, 1961.
 - f) human problems of US enterprises in Latin America.
 - g) Review and evaluation of inter-American cultural programs and activities undertaken by the US, 1700-1953.
 - h) anti-US student sentiment in Latin America in 1963.
 - i) Sino-soviet bloc missions in Latin America in 1963.
 - j) selected countries for counter-strategy against communism in 1962.
 - k) Latin American Education Research – An annotated bibliography of 296 US doctoral dissertations.
 - l) Latin America Public Opinion Barometer in 1957.
- Bureau of Cultural Affairs, Country Files 1955- 1964
 - a) What the Brazilian public thinks of the Alliance for Progress, April 1964 (USIA).
 - b) Brazil – a selected bibliography, June 1964.
 - c) Brazil – a communication book (USIA).
 - d) cultural news from Brazil by Brazilian Embassy in Washington, DC, 1963.
 - e) social conditions and social welfare programs in the Northeast of Brazil in 1963.
 - f) the Political Attitudes of University Students in Brazil, 1964 (USIA).
 - g) extremists wins student directorate elections in Recife in 1963.
 - h) Studies in Political dynamics - Brazil, number 4, 1963.
 - i) the US Information Service Program in Brazil. An Evaluation, 1958.

- j) students subversive activity in 1964 (USIS-USIA).
- k) Country Plan for Brazil, 1965 (USIA).
 - Bureau of Cultural Affairs, Files of Deputy Assistant Joseph Slater 1961-1962 Brazil – general – International Exchange Studies (IES).
 - Central Foreign Policy File 1963 (From American Embassy in Brazil to Department of State, Washington, DC)
- a) political Situation of Brazil.
- b) criticisms about Alliance of Progress in Brazil.
- c) anti-American art opens in Recife in 1963.
- d) newspaper *Ultima Hora* denounces gorillas of left as well.
- e) Adhemar de Barros worried about a possible communist revolt in 1963.
- f) critical situation of Hanna corporation in 1963.
- g) Juscelino Kubtschek and image of *victim of American imperialists* in 1963.
- h) Leonel Brizola's speech in 1963.
- i) Rio de Janeiro Governor Carlos Lacerda denied being involved in a plotting.
- j) Sao Paulo metallurgical union.
- k) report on SUDENE policy of non-cooperation with USAID, 1963.
- l) left intensifies pressure for cabinet reform.
 - General Records of Department of State, Miscellaneous Records of Bureau of Public Affairs 1944-1962
- a) report of the State-USIA task force on international activities in 1955.
- b) Congress for Cultural Freedom, 1951.
- c) materials on Soviet penetrations, 1957.
- d) analysis of public opinion of foreign aid.
- e) Reader's Digest criticizes foreign aid program as a 'bureaucratic nightmare', 1957.
 - State Department Records relating to the evaluation of Cultural Programs
- a) visit of American star Kirk Douglas on Brazil, 1963.
- b) Evaluation of Goulart's government by Ambassador Lincoln Gordon, 1963,
- c) Clippings about American athletes in Brazil in 1962.

- d) Visit of American specialist Dona Felisa Rincon de Gautier mayoress of Porto Rico (Alliance for Progress).
- e) Brazilian magazine 'Revista do Globo' publishes article 'Os Yankees de Cornell', 1962.
- f) Brazilian magazine in English 'Brazilian Business' publishes article 'Musical Ambassadors.
- g) Brazilian public opinion on the US and neutralism, 1963 (USIA).
- Records Relating Public Affairs 1944-1965.
- a) proposed campaign to ensure public understanding of US foreign policy, 1961
- b) possible questions for US travelers in Latin America, 1957.
- c) US employees overseas, 1958.
- d) five goals of US foreign policy, 1962.
- e) Americans abroad – questions you will be asked about your country.

At the Record Group **84**, the research catalogue is divided by countries

- Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State 1962-1963.
- a) should President Kennedy see President Goulart in Italy?, 1963.
- b) communist reaction to President Goulart visit to the USA.
- c) heads American petroleum companies and Brazil, 1963.
- d) Military Assistance Program (MAP).
- e) Goulart's government, 1962.
- f) UDN currently planning to run Lacerda for President, 1963.
- g) conversation with Adhemar de Barros, 1963.
- h) military crisis, 1963.
- i) Brazilian military plot by Ambassador Lincoln Gordon, 1963.
- j) UNE demand Lincoln Gordon to be declared 'persona non grata'.
- k) Brizola-military crisis.
- l) Goulart's message to the nation.
- m) newspaper 'Ultima Hora' published article 'Congress reacts against gorillas', 1963.
- Brazil – Rio de Janeiro Embassy – Classified General Records 1959-1961

Atomic energy.

Record Group **263** – Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

- Subversion espionage sabotage Brazil, 1963.

Sergeant's mutiny, 1963.

- Studies in Intelligence (CIA's internal periodical):

a) Intelligence and US Foreign Policy, 1945-1954: Neal H., Winter 1984.

b) Harry S. Truman on CIA Covert Operations: Peake, Hayden B.: Spring 1981.

c) More about Harry S. Truman on CIA Covert Operations: Peake, Hayden B.:
Summer 1981.

Record Group **319** – Military Intelligence

Proposed National Intelligence Service in Brazil, 1963-1964.

- CIA CD-Rom – located at NARA, it is updated with the most recent declassified documents:

a) Communism in the Free World: capabilities of the Communist Party.

b) Cuban subversive activities in Latin America, February 1968.

c) Legal VS. illegal status: some considerations relevant to banning a communist party, January 1957.

d) Probable developments in Brazil, December 1963.

e) Short-term prospects for Brazil under Goulart, December 1961.

f) Sino-Soviet Bloc Campaign in Latin America, November 1959.

g) The World Peace Council. A Soviet-Sponsored International Communist Front,
December 1971.

h) The Political Situation in Brazil, May 1964.

It will be listed below the Record Groups that certainly contain information about the relation US-Brazil or the US political strategy but their research was not possible due to scarce of time. Therefore, they are for further reference.

1. Record Group **306** - Records of the United States Information Agency (USIA):

‘The Federal Government quickly comprehended the role of media as a tool in the Cold War. Systematic exploitation of radio, television, motion picture, photographic, journalistic, and computer software resources began early in that era but achieved coherent direction in 1953 with the establishment of the United States Information Agency (USIA). Since then, the USIA has supported American foreign policymakers through programs of information gathering, analysis, and dissemination. During the Cold War, the USIA utilized various media to promote U.S. interests and foster a favorable American image abroad, while simultaneously trying to counter the effects of Communist propaganda on foreign populations’¹⁹.

It is important to know that some of the USIA reports were found out by chance in the in the RG 59 – Bureau of Cultural Affairs 1955-1954, and in the RG 59 – Bureau of Cultural Affairs, Country Files 1963-1964.

2. Record Group **273** - Records of the National Security Council:

‘The Cold War posed an enormous threat to the nation's security. For that reason, it demanded a commensurate commitment of government planning and resources in areas ranging from foreign policy, military planning, and intelligence, to industrial production and scientific research. The National Security Act of 1947 provided a comprehensive response to these demands. Key provisions of this important legislation established the National Security Council (NSC) to advise the President on achieving workable and integrated foreign, military, and domestic policies pertaining to national security. Since its establishment, membership on the NSC has consisted of the President, the Vice President, and the Secretaries of State and Defense, with advisors including the Chairman

¹⁹ This brief decription was found in the website of NARA:
<http://www.nara.gov/publications/rip/rip107/rip107.html#306>

of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, and various professional staff²⁰.’

3. Record Group **46**- Records of Congress and Record Group **233** – The house of representatives and Record Group **128** - the Joint Committees of Congress:

‘Records of the U.S. Senate, the House of Representatives, and the Joint Committees of Congress document the critical role played by Congress in legislating, funding, investigating, and evaluating U.S. responses to Cold War demands. Much of this work was done by House and Senate committees and subcommittees whose jurisdictions focused on the nation's foreign policy, military programs, internal security, weapons, nuclear energy resources, and space exploration program²¹’.

²⁰ This brief decription was found in the website of NARA:
<http://www.nara.gov/publications/rip/rip107/rip107.html#273>

²¹ This brief decription was found in the website of NARA:
<http://www.nara.gov/publications/rip/rip107/rip107.html#congress>

4. BOOKS OF LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

This research took ten days long and it was possible to know new releases and significant books about the Cold War period, such as:

EZELL, Macel D. *Univocal Americanism. Right-Wing Novels in the Cold War Era*. The Scarecrow Press, Inc, Metuchen, N.J., 1977.

That book provides some insights into the right-wing's thinking in the USA.

HAINES, Gerald K. *The Americanization of Brazil : a study of U.S. cold war diplomacy in the Third World, 1945-1954*. Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 1989.

That book was significant to the research as it has a wide variety of sources for the investigation of the American influence in Brazil from mid 40s to mid 50s. Haines did an accurate research in the National Archives material which was valuable to this research.

KRAMER, Hilton. *The Twilight of the Intellectuals. Culture and Politics in the Era of the Cold War*. Ivan R. Dee, Chicago, 1999.

The author describes the commitment of part of the intellectuals in Europe and in the USA with the fight against the left.

LEACOCK, Ruth. *Requiem for Revolution. The United States and Brazil, 1961-1969*. The Kent State University Press, Kent, 1990.

Leacock analyses the effort done by the Kennedy administration to counter the appeal of Fidel's Castro revolution by offering the alternative of the Alliance for Progress.

PARRISH, Thomas. *The Cold War Encyclopedia*. NYC, A Henry Holt and Company, Inc. 1996.

That encyclopedia was very useful because it is concise and has clear explanations which helped in the research process.

PARKINSON, F. *Latin America, the cold war & the world powers, 1945-1973, a study in diplomatic history*. Beverly Hills : Sage Publications, 1974.

Parkinson did a general study about the impact of the Korean War, Guatemala Crisis, the Cuban Revolution and the Crisis of Bay of Pigs in the US and Latin America orient policy.

SAUNDERS, Frances Stonor. *The Cultural Cold War. The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*. New Press, New York, 1999.

The author deeply analyses the front organizations secretly funded by the CIA from the end of the Second World War until the late 60s.

KUZNICK, Peter J and Gilbert, James. *Rethinking Cold War Culture*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, 2001.

That book offers nine articles about one aspect of the American culture in the Cold War era, such as the atomic bomb, the families, the workers, the mass media.

5. INTERVIEWS

Two interviews were done during the program. One with Gerald K. Haines, Chief Historian of CIA and the other with the former American Ambassador in Brazil Lincoln Gordon.

A work about American influence in Brazil was published by Gerald Haines in 1989, *Americanization of Brazil. A Study of U.S. Cold War Diplomacy in the Third World, 1945-1954*. The Minister Counselor of Brazil Paulo Roberto de Almeida and the Archivist of National Archives David A. Lagbart also took part in the interview, which was really stimulating due to the fact that we all discussed about the U.S.-Brazilian relations during the Cold War Period from different points of view. This interview was not recorded but it come to new ideas and a new rage of materials from NARA to be researched, as the RG 306 Records of the United States Information Agency (USIA).

The interview with Lincoln Gordon was done on the October 9th and was recorded. The transcription of this will be handed in to the Woodrow Wilson Center as soon as possible.

6. ARCHIVE AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

6.1 Archive and Library

AEL – Arquivo Edgard Leuenroth – Campinas

AESP – Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo – São Paulo

AHI – Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty - Rio de Janeiro

AN – Arquivo Nacional – Rio de Janeiro

APERJ – Arquivo Público do Estado do Rio de Janeiro.

BN – Biblioteca Nacional - Rio de Janeiro

Cold War International History Project - Woodrow Wilson Center– Washington

Library of Congress – Washington - DC

National Archives – Washington – DC

Woodrow Wilson Center Library– Washington – DC

6.2 Cold War

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