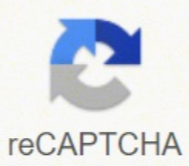




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## How did the cold war affect latin america in the aftermath of world war ii

Women's lives changed in many ways during World War II. As with most wars, many women found their roles and opportunities—and responsibilities—expanded. As Doris Weatherford wrote, “War holds many ironies, and among them is its liberating effect on women.” But the war also results in the special degradation of women, as victims of sexual violence. While many of the resources on this topic address American women specifically, Americans were by no means unique in being affected by and playing critical roles in the war. Women in other Allied and Axis countries were also affected. Some ways in which women were affected were specific and unusual: the “comfort women” of China and Korea and the extermination and suffering of Jewish women in the Holocaust, for example. Women were among those held in internment camps by the United States for being of Japanese descent. In other ways, there were similar or parallel global experiences: the advent of British, Soviet, and American women pilots or the worldwide home-makers’ burden of coping with wartime rationing and shortages, for example. Husbands went to war or went to work in factories in other parts of the country, and the wives had to pick up their husbands’ responsibilities. With fewer men in the workforce, women filled more traditionally male jobs. Eleanor Roosevelt, First Lady, served during the war as the “eyes and ears” for her husband, whose ability to travel widely was impacted by his disability after he’d contracted polio in 1921. In the military, women were excluded from combat duty, so women were called on to fill some military jobs that men had performed, to free men for combat duty. Some of those jobs took women near or into combat zones, and sometimes combat came to civilian areas, so some women died. Special divisions for women were created in most of the military branches. World War II: Women and the Military WASP: Women Pilots of World War II Some women, American and others, are known for their roles resisting the war. Some of these women were pacifists, some opposed their country’s side, and some cooperated with invaders. World War II: Women Spies, Traitors, Pacifists, and War Opponents Tokyo Rose: imprisoned for treason, eventually cleared, pardoned in 1977 Josephine Baker Celebrities were used on all sides as propaganda figures. A few used their celebrity status to work to raise funds or even to work in the underground. For further exploration, see the excellent read on the topic: Doris Weatherford’s American Women and World War II. Continue reading the main storyCredit...The New York Times ArchivesSee the article in its original context from May 30, 1992, Section 1, Page 1Buy ReprintsTimesMachine is an exclusive benefit for home delivery and digital subscribers.This is a digitized version of an article from The Times’s print archive, before the start of online publication in 1996. To preserve these articles as they originally appeared, The Times does not alter, edit or update them.Occasionally the digitization process introduces transcription errors or other problems; we are continuing to work to improve these archived versions.Nowhere across the developing world does a new order appear more evident than in Latin America.Armyies that ruled much of the hemisphere barely a decade ago are shut in their barracks; most of the leftists they so dreaded are in a shambles. Countries that had barricaded their economies against the outside world have found the same new answers: Trade barriers are falling like dominoes, and state enterprises are everywhere up for sale.Some peace has come to Nicaragua and El Salvador, some prosperity to Bolivia. A nationalist rivalry between Argentina and Brazil has evaporated, ending the regional arms race and its nuclear threat. Of Cuba’s fiery promise of revolution, only embers remain. An Uncertain TriumphYet as so many countries struggle to reinvent themselves, they have begun to find the triumph of democracy and free enterprise far less decisive than the defeat of despotism and the command economy. What is the glory of fair voting, Brazilians and Peruvians and Paraguayans have asked, if corruption remains endemic, justice systems are still unjust, and presidents do as they please?Though one government after another has brought down inflation and restored growth, relatively little of the wealth has trickled down. And with the fortune of a few growing more apparent, many of the indigent are asking more sharply how long the pain of economic “adjustments” will last. “For the people who have good jobs, things are getting better, of course,” said Victoria Ramos, an unwed 25-year-old mother of three who helps her father farm and bake bread in the Mexican village of Reyes Esla. “But they are living off the peasants, the humble people. For the poor, it is something very different. What do the poor get from the Government?”The hemisphere’s authoritarian structures and statist economics began to crumble long before the Berlin wall, and did so overwhelmingly by their own reasons. But to many people, the outlook is more hopeful than it has been in years merely for having been purged of superpower interest and sterile ideological conflict. It is as though the cold war had been a mask that blinded us to the reality of the world, the Mexican poet Octavio Paz said. And in a different conversation, a frequent political adversary of Mr. Paz seemed to complete his thought: “The fact that we can see the problems in their proper perspective rather than through a mask of anti-Communism or pro-Communism,” the Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes said, “is the beginning of the resolution of those problems on their real terms.”The clearer view has made it hard not to see that over the last two generations, Latin American government institutions have withered while social, economic and environmental challenges have grown. The violence and corruption of drug traffickers continue to tear through much of the region. The wildfire spread of cholera has revealed infrastructure and health-care systems in advanced decay.According to United Nations estimates, poverty defines the lives of more than 40 percent of all Latin Americans. Although the region’s foreign debt problem is seldom described as a crisis anymore, billions of dollars that might be used for social programs still go to banks overseas.The common direction of policy in many countries has also obscured the sharp debates over what sort of capitalism they should have. A central question of the past -- who should bear the sacrifices of economic development -- is growing more insistent. “There is no real consensus,” said Fernando Henrique Cardoso, a leader of the Brazilian Social Democratic Party. “There is a feeling everywhere that if the economy recovers, social problems will be solved. But we don’t know how to reconcile the markets with policies that will ameliorate poverty, misery and injustice.” Looking for Help Financial Aid Is Hard to FindStripped of the geopolitical import that defined their place in the postwar world, Latin Americans are uncertain to whom they might turn for help.Japanese investors have become something like U.F.O.’s: Many people expect them to land one day, but almost no one can convincingly describe what one does. International lending agencies are swamped with new demands, and many private creditors see higher returns in Eastern Europe.Across much of the region, relations with the United States have become almost cozy after a century of mistrust. But from 1990 to 1991, United States aid to Latin America dropped by 27 percent And as isolationist themes have surfaced in the 1992 Presidential campaign, the hemisphere’s ancient fears of American interference have given way to new worries that it might be ignored.“The United States?” Tomas Borge, the former Sandinista guerrilla leader and Nicaraguan Minister, repeated the words in a recent interview as though he had not heard them in a while. “With their rear guard safe,” he said, “they don’t worry about our countries much anymore.”So long as rebels like Mr. Borge could turn to Fidel Castro for help and threaten Marxist takeovers of their own, much of Latin America was able to count on United States economic aid, loan support and trade. Duality of U.S. PolicyBeginning with John F. Kennedy’s Alliance for Progress in 1961, the benefits were meant to dissuade Latin Americans from socialism and revolution. But along with Washington’s help came support for anti-Communist military dictators, an often heavy-handed United States presence in the region and a claimed American right to intervene where the enticements failed.The duality reflected a 30-year split among American policy makers over the cause of instability in the hemisphere. To the right, and usually dominant, were officials who saw Communist adventurism. To the left were those who blamed poverty and injustice.After 1962, when the Cuban missile crisis brought the world closer than ever to nuclear war, the United States generally made stability a more immediate goal than democracy. The Soviet Union, in the meantime, lowered its profile in the region, secretly financing Latin Communist parties and opening diplomatic and trade relations with as many countries as it could.More important for the region’s polarization, the Soviets sponsored Mr. Castro as he transformed Cuba at least temporarily into an example of social reform, a patron of Marxist guerrilla groups and a symbol of nationalistic defiance that obsessed the United States. “Cuba gave us the illusion that we could be taken seriously,” Mario Rasi, a Brazilian playwright, said as he prepared recently for a trip to show his solidarity with the Castro Government. “The cruel reality is that we don’t count for anything in this phase of world history.” Conflicting IdealsAmerican diplomats and Latin politicians often described the conflict as one of parallel ideals: democracy versus dictatorship, capitalism and free markets versus socialism and state control.Yet the prevailing Latin American economic model of the postwar age -- state ownership and intervention to sustain unproductive industries, monopolies and trade protection, and endless public works to buy political support -- crossed ideological lines. It was applied by leftist civilian governments and anti-Communist military regimes, and it failed them all.Although Latin American economies grew at an average rate of 5.5 percent in the 30 years before 1980, they also grew heavy with inefficiencies, addicted to deficit spending and dependent on imports of capital goods.By the 1970’s, the result was often inflation that shot out of control. Then, beginning with Mexico in 1982, countries found that they could no longer pay their huge debts, and creditors began demanding austerity and orthodox reform as the price of sustenance.The fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 not only discredited statist policies in Latin America but also provided a further incentive for change: By putting Eastern Europe on many investors’ maps, it intensified the fight for capital in the developing world.It is in this light that many economists say most of capitalism’s brave new Latin American soldiers had no alternative -- a historical subtlety, perhaps, but one that raises questions about the permanence of the reforms. “The fact that politicians in Latin America have called in technocrats who believe in the formulas of the World Bank and the I.M.F. doesn’t mean that there will be no return to the old populist policies,” said the Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto, a strong advocate of the reforms. “Everybody is on their best behavior today because there’s no money around, and the only way you can get any is to do what the I.M.F. says.” New Allies Old Ideologies And Enmities Fadenin Central America, where superpower tensions fueled violent conflicts almost until the Soviet Union’s collapse, the cold war’s end has had more visceral effects.The wooded hills above Ocoatl, Nicaragua, for instance, are seeded with the hatreds of killing that began in the late 1920’s and then proceeded almost without interruption from the Sandinista rebellion in the late 1970’s though the contra war to oust the Sandinistas.But earlier this year, former contra rebels and former Sandinista soldiers came down from the hills together, pointing rifles in the same direction and demanding the same things: land, housing and farm loans.So fully have war memories been overwhelmed by immediate concerns that the authorities to whom they turn are enemies, too.President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, the Sandinistas’ bitter critic for a decade, is under siege by former supporters because of her alliance with leaders of the old regime. And such was the Sandinista uproar when Mrs. Chamorro’s Sandinista Defense Minister, Gen. Humberto Ortega Saavedra, decorated a departing United States military attaché not long ago that Mr. Borge felt it necessary to remind the enraged militants that General Ortega, the strategist of their victory 13 years earlier, was still a revolutionary.The general’s brother, former President Daniel Ortega Saavedra, said recently that Nicaraguans had managed to “depoliarize” their society, only to find that a half-measure. Leftist Salvadoran guerrillas and their right-wing Government saw the problem long before they made peace. Without foreign aid at levels like those that sustained their fighting, they could never treat the country’s problems with the urgency that war had conferred on them.It seemed to follow a circular logic like that of Nicaragua’s former and current combatants that a new guerrilla group appeared in Bolivia last year and an old one, the Cinchoneros, reappeared this month in Honduras. But familiar ideological impulses have also taken new shape.As the United States debates whether to militarize the war on cocaine in the Andes, Colombian and Peruvian guerrillas have found a new source of funds in taxing the traffickers. In Bolivia, Marxist miners who lost their jobs when the Government sold its tin business have streamed into the jungle, organizing coca farmers with the zeal they brought to their socialistic revolution in 1952.While guerrillas in Colombia and Guatemala fight on under Marxist-Leninist flags, the region’s most potent insurgency is its most independent. The ideology of Peru’s Shining Path, while often called Maoist, is such a singular mix of revolutionary ideas that a more accurate label is the one used by the guerrillas themselves. They call it “Gonzalo Thought,” after their self-proclaimed “President Gonzalo,” a former philosophy professor named Abimael Guzman.But in Peru and throughout Latin America, more traditional leftist parties are linked primarily by their disarray. Whether or not they were agents of the old statism, most of them have been tarred by its failures. With their adversaries championing change to voters impatient for it, the left has often been forced to choose between endorsing Government policies or braving political jeers to advocate a more active social role for the state.Sergio Blar, a former minister in the Chilean socialist Government of Salvador Allende Gossens, said the quandary “has forced us to look much more at concrete proposals rather than theoretical ideas, to understand that we need to be more competitive and productive, and to put democracy at the center of all progressive thinking.”While Mr. Blar’s Party for Democracy was energetically revisionist before Communism ended in Europe, its success is rare. The leftist coalition that almost lifted Cuahtemoc Cardenas to the Mexican presidency in 1988 faltered badly in elections last year. Colombia’s former M-19 rebels, no longer a novelty at the polls, have had trouble building a real party.Moribund as much of the traditional left is, some political analysts argue that support for “neo-liberals” may not be so strong as it seems, either.They note that many of the reformers -- Presidents Carlos Saul Menem of Argentina, Fernando Collor de Mello of Brazil, Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela and Alberto K. Fujimori of Peru -- all campaigned as populists, pledging little that was concrete, and sometimes the opposite of the economic changes they have made.In Argentina, Mr. Menem has taken advantage of the economic chaos that preceded him -- annual inflation of more than 20,000 percent and supermarkets under siege by hungry mobs -- to win wide support for painful measures to stabilize and reorient the economy.But only in Ecuador’s May 17 election, which put two conservative candidates into a runoff, have presidential candidates running on vocally free-market platforms won clear backing at the polls.What Road to Take Economic Reform And/or DemocracyThat Chile and Mexico have emerged as examples of economic reform has led many Latin Americans to question how well democracy and free markets really go together.In Chile, Gen. Augusto Pinochet was able to quiet critics with tear gas, water cannon and mass arrests as he imposed structural economic changes that during the military regime’s first decade led to a 40 percent drop in real wages and some of the highest urban unemployment in Latin America.Persuasion has been far more important to economic restructuring in Mexico, but the overwhelming political advantages and administrative control of a party that has been in power for six decades have often been essential.Labor unions dependent on the Government have kept workers in line as their real wages have plummeted. Powerful union leaders who might have opposed the privatization of state companies or other policies have been toppled or even jailed.In an interview after his party’s strong recovery at the left’s expense in congressional and state elections last summer, President Carlos Salinas de Gortari argued that the fall of the Berlin wall and changes in the Soviet Union had “significantly affected the vote of the left in Mexico.” His counterparts in Latin America have paid more attention to the fact that amid all the talk of efficiency and enterprise, Mr. Salinas’s political strategy has remained populist. While his \$3-billion-a-year antipoverty program stresses community involvement in public works, it also stamps each new sewer and school with a seal of Government munificence.The money from the sale of state companies used to pay for such programs has been far less plentiful in other countries than it has been in Mexico. For an emerging underclass of Latin economies, big international bond issues, packs of foreign investors and trade agreements with the United States are also still part of a dream.In the absence of such advantages, politicians say, the failings of leaders and governments are often seen as shortcomings of democracy itself.Until recently, falling inflation, memories of violent military rule and weak opposition parties muffled the discontent. But even in Mexico, Chile and Argentina, Government officials still worry endlessly about the effects of prosperity unevenly spread.To many officials, the peril was crystallized in February in Venezuela, when military rebels tried to overthrow Mr. Perez. After a year in which the economy grew 9.2 percent, the President’s critics had complained that social services were breaking down, that only the rich were getting richer and that corrupt officials were growing richest of all.The insurgent officers appealed almost unthinkable to students at whom soldiers had shot, while crushing riots three years before. They capitalized on the widespread perception that Mr. Perez had worked harder at being a prominent statesman than on the problems of the poor. He protested that soldiers had tried to kill him; some Venezuelans applauded.Many Peruvians also hailed Mr. Fujimori for suspending the Peruvian Constitution and shutting the Congress on April 5. Even some thoughtful analysts of the country’s crisis believe that Shining Path’s blunt appeal to destroy the existing system must be fought with draconian measures.Others, like Mr. de Soto, the economist, argue that the actions are a vivid reminder of checks, balances and accountability dangerously missing from the region’s young democracies.“It reminds you of the guy with the seismograph in one of those old American films,” he said. “You know that Los Angeles is going to crumble in two hours, and no one will listen.” The U.S. Role Widening Debate And No ConsensusUnited States officials insist that they are listening, and that if there is a lesson about Latin America in the world’s changes, they have learned it.“I will not deny that my own country bears its share of responsibility for having tended to view our hemispheric relationships through the sometimes distorting prism of the cold war,” the Deputy Secretary of State, Lawrence S. Eagleburger, told the Organization of American States last June.Mr. Eagleburger went on to warn, “Anyone plotting against an elected government should know in advance: This hemisphere will not stand idly by if democracy is assaulted, neither before nor after a crisis emerges.”What meaning that dictum might hold for two countries where the Administration sees democracy egregiously nonexistent is unclear.His sponsors gone from the planet and his economy almost bankrupt, Mr. Castro has still thumbed his nose at American officials who tell him to hold elections he might lose.Yet even with the urgency of a Presidential election in which Cuban-American votes may play an important role, the United States has been able only to persuade its Latin American partners not to help sustain the Cuban economy.At another O.A.S. assembly last week, despite an agreement on stronger economic sanctions against Haiti, the United States also found itself unable to muster any broader consensus on how to come to democracy’s defense. Venezuelans wanted a multinational force. Mexicans wanted nothing of the sort. And Americans watched almost helplessly as failures of democracy and economic development translated into a stream of boat people heading north.Increasingly, Administration officials have turned to democracy-building programs long favored by Congressional liberals. They are financing judicial-system improvements in Colombia and new civilian police forces in Panama and El Salvador. A Shift in WashingtonAlmost at the same time, though, Congress has appeared to lose much of its interest in such efforts. This year, it declined to finance debt-relief and economic development programs proposed by the Administration, and some members have opposed free-trade agreements for Mexico and Chile.“No one in Washington wants to spend much time talking about Latin America these days, except the people who are obliged to,” said Lars Schoultz, a political scientist at the University of North Carolina who has long studied United States policy on the region. “The silence from Congress is deafening. Just no one cares.”The Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Bernard W. Aronson, said that is not so. He said Latin America’s economic relevance to the United States was growing quickly, with its imports of American products up 29 percent over the last two years, and a \$100 billion market for American goods expected by the century’s end. But Mr. Aronson acknowledged that some new thinking was needed. “We tend to be very impatient and arrogant about what it takes to build institutions,” he said. “This isn’t going to be a quick fix.”





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