

international relations

The historical evolution and characteristics of U.S. public diplomacy toward Chile during the Cold War*

Song Xiaoli

Abstract: During the Cold War, the United States' public diplomacy with Chile focused on preventing the rise of anti-Americanism and communism in Chile, protecting U.S. economic interests in Chile, and preventing Chile from falling into the socialist camp led by the Soviet Union, thus safeguarding the United States' presence in South America. Even the dominant position in the entire Latin American region. The United States' public diplomacy towards Chile began in the early days of the Cold War. Through information exchange projects and educational exchanges, it attempted to suppress nationalism and anti-Americanism in Chile. During the Alessandri period, the United States used public relations activities and personnel exchange, support center-right parties, and prevent left-wing parties from coming to power. During the Frei period, the United States carried out cartoon propaganda and promoted the "Union for Progress" campaign against Chile, helping the Christian Democratic Party win the presidential election. During the Allende period, the United States supported China through public relations activities Right-wing forces opposed and tried to thwart Allende's "socialist road" reforms. Entering the military government period, U.S.-Chile relations cooled, and U.S. public diplomacy with Chile also declined. However, it was funded by the U.S. "Chile Project" in the early days of the Cold War. The "Chicago disciples" who went to study in the United States entered politics at this time and led Chile's neoliberal economic reform, successfully promoting American values and institutional models. The United States' public diplomacy towards Chile continued to adjust with the changes in Chile's domestic situation. It

is a useful supplement to traditional diplomatic means such as politics, economy and military.

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Doctor of Laws, Lecturer, Center for National and Regional Studies,

Hebei Normal University. CLC Number: K14 Document identification code: A Article number: 1002 - 6649 (2022) 01 - 0103 - 17

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After the Second World War, with the acceleration of globalization and the rapid rise of civil society, the influence of public opinion in the foreign policies of sovereign countries is increasingly increasing. In the process of formulating and implementing foreign policies, how to reflect the domestic and foreign interests? The interests, will and values of the public have become factors that have to be considered in a country's diplomatic agenda. Therefore, public diplomacy has officially appeared in the political agenda of modern countries. Regarding the concept of public diplomacy, the diplomatic and academic circles have different opinions and opinions. The former U.S. Information Agency believes that "public diplomacy strengthens dialogue between U.S. citizens and institutions and foreign citizens and institutions by understanding, guiding, and influencing foreign publics, and promotes U.S. national interests and national security." Hanstach put it Public diplomacy is defined as "the process of government communicating with the public of other countries, trying to make them understand the country's ideas, systems, culture, national goals and current policies." Zhao Kejin pointed out, "Public diplomacy is a country's attempt to increase its country's visibility and Reputation and recognition, the central government or through authorized local governments and other social departments, entrust domestic or foreign social actors to conduct two-way communication with foreign publics through communication, public relations, media and other means to carry out diplomatic activities targeting the people of another country "To clarify information, spread knowledge, and shape value to better serve the realization of national interests." In short, public diplomacy is the government of a country communicating with the public of other countries through various means such as news media, social public relations, and educational and cultural exchanges. The purpose of the process of communication and dialogue is to safeguard national interests, enhance the national image, and create a good public opinion ecology and external political environment for the implementation of foreign policies.

Since World War II, as its strength has increased and its world hegemony has been established, the U.S. government has actively carried out public diplomacy around the world, aiming to help it implement foreign policies and achieve strategic goals. After the Cold War kicked off, it began to engage in ideological competition with the Soviet Union. To meet the needs of different countries and regions, the United States created the U.S. Information Agency in 1953 and gradually established a relatively mature and complete public diplomacy mechanism. In the face of different countries and regions, the United States will formulate specific policies based on changes in local political conditions. strategies to communicate with the local public. Although Chile is located in a corner of South America, its strategic value to the United States is far less than that of Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean. However, since the beginning of the Cold War, Chile's position in the U.S. Latin American policy agenda has It continues to rise, gradually surpassing the importance given by its geographical location. In this sense, the United States' public foreign policy towards Chile is somewhat typical and worthy of our study.

The bilateral relationship between the United States and Chile has always been affected by the nationalist trend in the latter. Since the founding of the country, From the beginning, Chilean nationalism has become an important part of the country's national spirit. In the early 20th century, especially in

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Zhao Kejin: «The Theory and Practice of Public Relations Diplomacy», Shanghai: Shanghai Dictionary Publishing House, 2007, pp. 15-16.

It was the widespread spread of Marxist thought and the rapid development of Chile's left-wing political parties after World War II that profoundly changed the country's political structure and also greatly impacted the bilateral relations between the United States and Chile. With the convergence of nationalism and communism, Chile a wave of anti-Americanism followed. In the early days of the Cold War, anti-Americanism began to spread in Chile. In order to oppose the control of Chilean copper resources by American mining companies and get rid of its diplomatic dependence on the United States, all classes and political parties in Chile reached a consensus. It is decided to explore an independent development path based on the characteristics of its own nation. For the United States, whether it can handle Chile's anti-Americanism is not only related to the national interests of the United States in Chile, but also related to the hegemony of the United States in South America and even Latin America. Therefore, The core goal of the United States' foreign policy toward Chile during the Cold War was to prevent the rise of anti-Americanism and communism in Chile, protect the United States' economic interests in Chile, and prevent it from falling into the socialist camp led by the Soviet Union, thereby safeguarding the United States' interests in the country. National interests. It is against this background that the United States launched its public diplomacy policy toward Chile.

In the study of U.S.-Latin America relations, there are two tendencies in research on U.S. public diplomacy toward Chile. One is to analyze U.S. public diplomacy activities toward Chile in a specific period. For example, Lubna Zakia Qureshi studied U.S. public diplomacy toward Chile during the Nixon administration. The public relations activities and implementation effects of the capitalist class. Scholars such as Hong Guoqi, Wang Xiaode, and Xu Shicheng have conducted detailed research on the causes, processes, and impacts of the United States' interference in Chile's internal affairs during the Allende period. Another tendency is the focus on the "Chicago Disciples." This is an important issue in the public diplomacy of the United States towards Chile. Sergio Castro's monograph « "Bricks": The Basis of the Economic Policy of the Chilean Military Government» is a seminal work on the study of the "Chicago Disciples". The book discusses the political role of the "Chicago Disciples" during the Pinochet administration, and analyzes the relationship between American factors and Chile's neoliberal reforms. Juan Gabriel Valdez provides an in-depth exploration of the impact of the US-funded " Chicago Disciples" on The influence of Chilean political situation y Glenn Biglers examined Chile

See Hong Guoqi and Wang Xiaode: «Conflict and Cooperation—A Historical Survey of Relations between the United States and Latin America», Taiyuan: Shanxi University United Press, 1994, pp. 275-303. Editor-in-chief Xu Shicheng: «History of Relations between the United States and Latin America.» Beijing: Social Science Literature Press, 1995, Xu Shicheng, editor-in-chief: «Imperial Hegemony and Latin America—Postwar American Intervention in Latin

America», Beijing: World Knowledge Press, 2002, Jin Chongyuan: «Who is Pi? Nohet's dark background—and a comment on the hypocrisy of American democracy», published in Exploration and Debate, Issue 12, 2007, pp. 63-66, He Xi: «The reasons for the United States' intervention in the Allende government of Chile Analysis», published in "Problems of Socialism in the Contemporary World", Issue 2, 2012, pp. 98-105.

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The implementation process of Chicago Economics in Chile, Argentina and Uruguay was compared, and the impact of educational exchanges on the liberal economic reforms of the three southern cone countries was compared. In addition, Wei Ning and others focused on examining the origin, implementation and implementation of "Chicago Disciples" in Chile. Impact

The U.S. public diplomacy toward Chile is inseparable from the U.S. foreign policy toward Chile. It serves the U.S. policy toward Chile and at the same time serves the overall U.S. policy goals toward Latin America. Its core issue is how to deal with the rising nationalism and communism in Chile and Latin America. doctrine and anti-Americanism, how to cooperate and fight with governments of different political tendencies such as left, center, and right, so as to maintain the United States' dominant position in Latin America. From the above literature review, it can be seen that the research on the United States' public diplomacy in Chile There is still room for further in-depth expansion. Therefore, this article will specifically review the historical evolution of U.S. public diplomacy toward Chile during the Cold War, and on this basis analyze the overall characteristics of U.S. public diplomacy toward Chile. From a micro level, we will specifically analyze the U.S. government-led initiatives The "public opinion war" and "psychological warfare" against Chile provide a macro-level insight into the overall characteristics of U.S. public diplomacy during the Cold War.

The historical evolution of U.S. public diplomacy toward Chile during the Cold War

During the Cold War, the public diplomacy of the United States towards Chile had obvious phase characteristics. Here, based on the changes in the Chilean political arena, we will examine the public diplomacy policies and activities adopted by the United States in stages in response to the different policy orientations of successive Chilean governments.

(1) The Beginning of U.S. Public Diplomacy toward Chile (1953-1964) At the beginning of the Cold

War, in order to compete with the Soviet Union in ideological contests and launch propaganda wars, the United States attached great importance to the role of public diplomacy in shaping foreign public opinion and promoting foreign policies. 1953 In 2006, President Eisenhower established the U.S. Information Agency, which was specifically responsible for foreign propaganda and public diplomacy. He believed that psychological warfare and public diplomacy were potential weapons for the United States to compete with the Soviet Union and for world hegemony, and were conducive to the implementation of U.S. foreign policy. Therefore, U.S. public diplomacy At this time, the struggle for global hegemony between the United States and the Soviet Union was imminent, and nationalism, communism, and anti-Americanism were on the rise in Latin America, especially the economic nationalism in Latin America.

See Wei Ning: «Research on the "Chicago Disciples" in Chile (1953-1982)», PhD thesis, School of History and Social Development, Shandong Normal University, 2014, Zhu Andong: «"Chicago Disciples" and the spread of neoliberalism in Latin America» Published in "Red Flag Manuscript", Issue 21, 2006, Pages 33-36, Wu Kaifu: "On the Technical Experts During the Chilean Military Regime - "Chicago Disciples" and Chile's Neoliberal Reform", Published in "Changchun Normal University" University Journal» Issue 1, 2015, Pages 69-72.

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The main goal is to train Chilean students participating in the project to become high-level economists, improve the level of economics teaching and scientific research in Chile, and make suggestions for Chile's economic reform. This cooperation was originally planned to be implemented Three years, but the contract was renewed after the expiration, until it was terminated in July 1964. During these eight years, the Department of Economics at the University of Chicago received a total of 26 graduate students from the Catholic University of Chile. The United States Bureau of International Cooperation initially allocated 375 to the project. However, by 1964, the Agency for International Development's funding for the project reached US\$8.12 million. In addition to the U.S. government, the funders of the "Chile Project" also included other non-governmental actors. For example, the Rockefeller Foundation It once sponsored US\$190,000. At first, the University of Chicago only accepted students from Chile. In the 1960s, with the support of the Ford Foundation, this model was promoted to other countries in Latin America. The expansion of this model was mainly divided into There are two aspects: First, the University of Chicago is the same as the National University of Cuyo (the University of Cuyo) and the University of the Colombia Valley (the University) respectively. It has reached an agreement with universities such as the University of San Francisco (Ity of Del Valle) to accept their graduate students to study economics in the United States. 2. The Pontifical Catholic University of Chile is responsible for training economics undergraduates from

universities in other Latin American countries. 4. In the long term, through educational exchanges with Latin American countries, the Economics Department of the University of Chicago has promoted the development of Latin American countries to a certain extent. Neoliberal reform. In the 1950s and 1960s, the "Chicago School of Economics" headed by Friedman highly praised the importance of currency in economic activities, advocated a free economy, and advocated that the government should not interfere too much in economic activities. It is the so-called "neoliberalism". These Chilean students have been influenced by the neoliberal ideological system in the United States. Most of them have become loyal followers of Friedman. They firmly believe that the free market economy of perfect competition is the panacea to solve Chile's development problems. U.S. Although the implemented "Chile Project" did not produce immediate results at the moment, it has subtly influenced the thoughts and concepts of Chilean social elites, promoted the American free market concept to take root in Chile in the medium and long term, and changed Chile's future. Political reform and economic development direction

During the Ibáñez period, although public diplomacy was officially included in the U.S. diplomatic agenda for Chile, the United States did not pay much attention to Chile. It was not until after the Chilean presidential election in 1958 that the U.S. government realized that communist ideas had become widespread in Chile. In order to spread, it began to attach great importance to public diplomacy with Chile. 20

During the Kennedy administration, the United States Agency for International Cooperation was renamed the United States Agency for International Development (The United States Agency for International Development). RNational Development)

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The dangers of polarization, the people are eager to solve the problem through change. Through media activities, the United States promotes that Frey can bring hope to Chile, catering to the Chilean people's desire for change. They propose that with the support of the "League for Progress", they can do it in one fell swoop. Solving two major problems in Chile's economic development. The U.S. Embassy in Chile and the U.S. Information Service are mainly responsible for implementing specific public diplomacy activities.

Chile is facing a dispute between the reformist path led by Frei and the revolutionary path led by Allende. To this end, the U.S. Information Service and the U.S. Embassy in Chile have produced various forms of political cartoons. The contents of these cartoons are similar and are intended to illustrate Due to the poor reform of the Alessandri government, Chile's traditional economic model is in urgent need of change. However, if Allende wins the election, Chile's upper class and crony capitalism will face a major threat. For example, the U.S. Information Service analyzed Chile's political situation on the eve of the 1964 presidential election. Due to the political and economic situation, a series of cartoons aimed at influencing the political tendencies of the Chilean people were launched. The U.S. Embassy in Chile posted various political cartoons everywhere in Chile. For example, in one of the cartoons, the Chilean working class led by Allende was riding the train at high speed, Chile's elite capitalist class was helpless and could only lie on the tracks and wait for death. Next to the tracks, Frey was galloping on his horse. The political slogan posted on the roadside read "California-Chile Project" (California-Chile Project) program. This cartoon was first published in the famous Chilean newspaper "Topaze" (Topaze). It was later disseminated throughout Chile through the U.S. Embassy in Chile. The content of the cartoon aims to explain to the Chilean people that once Allende obtains If it wins, Chile's crony capitalism will be crushed by the wheel of Allende's "revolution". Therefore, only with the support of the United States, Frey's reforms can outperform the revolution. Chile has a strong capitalist class and oligarchic monopoly capitalism . It is one of the necessary conditions for the long-term stability of Chilean society. This situation was not broken until the rise of Allende in the mid-20th century. The United States seized on the ignorance and fear of communism among the Chilean capitalist class and used political cartoons as propaganda. The method used to exaggerate the serious threat to capitalists after leftist politicians came to power, and gained the attention and support of Chilean capitalists. This move had a significant effect in supporting Frei's election and attacking the leftist camp headed by Allende.

Promoting the policy of the Alliance for Progress was another internal component of the United States' public diplomacy toward Chile during this period. Rong. By promoting the policy of "League for Progress", the United States heavily funded Frei's campaign and prevented Allende from coming to power. The U.S. Information Service and the U.S. Embassy in Chile were the main implementers of this public diplomacy activity. On the eve of the Chilean election, they Extensive public diplomacy activities were carried out across Chile. At the end of July 1964, they went to the outskirts of Chile to attend the unveiling ceremony of the Vermont and Kentucky camps, and distributed flags with the logo of the "Union for Progress" movement on site. Staff of the U.S. Information Service Distribute the message widely at the venue

In the comic book promoting the "Union for Progress" movement, the staff of the U.S. Embassy in Chile publicly admitted: "We are going to use our power and use all means to broadly state the United States' goodwill towards Chile to the greatest extent and promote the 'For Progress' movement." "The importance of the Alliance for Progress". According to statistics, the U.S. Embassy in Chile distributed 250,000 flags with the logo of the "Union for Progress" movement, 550,000 brooches and 10,000 children's comic books. Two days before the election, This week, the U.S. Embassy in Chile played a film promoting the "Union for Progress" movement to about 170,000 people in Santiago and held a large-scale photo exhibition, covering about 770,000 people. The U.S. launched a campaign around the "Union for Progress" policy Public diplomacy activities effectively conveyed the U.S. policy toward Chile, and at the same time supported the pro-American candidate Frey. On September 4, 1964, Chile announced the results of the general election, and Frey won with an overwhelming majority. After Frey came to power, The shift in the policy content of the United States' public diplomacy toward Chile created a public opinion advantage for Frei and helped the Christian Democratic Party to smoothly promote various reform measures. The United States relied on the policy framework of the "Union for Progress" movement and provided a large amount of assistance to Chile. From 1962 to 1969, Chile It has received a total of approximately 1 billion U.S. dollars in aid, making it the Latin American country that receives the most U.S. aid per capita. At the same time, the United States has continued its previous public diplomacy methods and continued to use media activities to create a public opinion environment for Frey to successfully implement

reforms. Measured from the policy effect The public diplomacy of the United States towards Chile during the Frey period achieved direct results. In the 1960s, the revolutionary wave in Latin America was surging. The United States hoped to use the "Alliance for Progress" as the policy framework and through a large amount of economic support and public diplomacy activities, in Latin America. Promote liberal reforms to curb the widespread spread of Marxism and reduce the growing influence of the socialist camp in Latin America. The United States supports Frei's "liberal revolution" and implements capitalist national democratic changes, thereby building Chile into a " The Alliance for Progress is a model country in South America. In the process of supporting Frey to participate in the election, U.S. public diplomacy played an important role and successfully prevented the left-wing party from coming to power. However, Frey only implemented limited political and economic reforms and insisted on He had an independent foreign policy, advocated diversified diplomacy, and was not completely dependent on the United States. Frey opposed the U.S. armed intervention in the Dominican Republic, refused to join the Pan-American Forces, and disagreed with the United States on a series of American issues. By the end of Frey's administration, U.S.-Chile relations had declined significantly . Cool down

Jeffrey F Taffet Velopment Assistance in Chile During the 1960s PhD Dissertation Washington D C : Georgetown University, 2001, p 142
 He Xi: «Analysis of the United States' Interference in the 1964 Chilean Presidential Election», published
 in «Journal of Zhejiang International Studies University » Issue 1 , 2012, Page 67

Li Chunhui et al.: «History of Latin America» (Volume 2), Beijing: The Commercial Press, 1983, p. 533

(3) U.S. public diplomacy toward Chile during the Allende administration (1970-1973) In 1970, Allende and the Popular Unity Front he led won the election. Allende became the first person in Latin America to come to power through democratic elections. After Allende came to power, he adopted a series of reform measures, such as large-scale nationalization of copper mines and industries, land reform in rural areas, and pursuing an independent foreign policy. China established diplomatic relations and also restored diplomatic relations with Cuba. At this stage, the United States' public diplomacy policy towards Chile was divided into two aspects: On the eve of the election, the U.S. Information Agency adopted the principle of silence of "American elements" in media activities to avoid the emergence of the word "American participation" helped the left-wing forces win. After Allende won and came to power, the United States mainly supported the center-right forces against the left-wing ruling party through public relations activities.

As Chile's domestic economic situation continued to deteriorate, communism, nationalism and anti-Americanism emerged, reaching a climax in this presidential election. On the eve of the 1970 presidential election, the Socialist Party of Chile and the Communist Party of Chile joined forces with the Radical Party and the Communist Party of Chile. The People's Action Movement Party, the Social Democratic Party and the Independent People's Action Party jointly formed the "Popular Unity Front". As its presidential candidate, Allende's winning advantage has become obvious. The United States Information Agency attaches great importance to this presidential election in Chile and believes that Allende's victory will weaken the U.S.'s economic and strategic interests in Latin America. It requires the Voice of America and other media to state the election as an "internal matter of Chile" because "any statement of U.S. involvement can only be counterproductive and lead to the victory of left-wing candidates." Voice of America Radio strictly abides by the guidelines of the United States Information Agency, and its coverage of the Chilean election and presidential term must be carried out in accordance with the requirements of the United States Information Agency. In this Chilean election, the United States public diplomacy agency has realized that Allende The victory of the United States is an inevitable trend. Therefore, the U.S. Information Agency has gone against the norm and adopted the "American elements" principle of silence in media propaganda, maintaining objectivity and neutrality in reporting to avoid intensifying the increasingly fierce nationalism and anti-Americanism in Chile due to U.S. intervention. Sentiment, on the contrary, caused the Chilean people to shift towards left-wing parties.

On September 4, 1970, Allende obtained 36.2% of the vote and was successfully elected president. Allende believed in Marxism and insisted on taking the "socialist road", which was not conducive to the hegemony of the United States in the Western Hemisphere. The United States was worried about letting Allende go. The existence of the Allende regime will further cause the spread of Marxism in South America, causing the region to move towards the socialist camp led by the Soviet Union. During this period, the United States adjusted its public diplomacy policy toward Chile accordingly, and was committed to supporting Chile through public relations activities. Chile's center-right parties and related individuals intend to prevent Allende from practicing the "socialist road" and overthrow the "Popular Unity Front" regime. The U.S. Embassy in Chile and some U.S. multinational companies in Chile have undertaken major public relations tasks.

Lin Beidian and Dong Jingsheng: "History of Latin America", Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2010, pp. 415-422, Nicholas J Cull (ed), The Cold War and The United States Information Agency: American Propaganda

Allende's victory in the presidential election triggered panic among Chilean capitalists and some powerful people. They withdrew their deposits, sold bonds, transferred domestic assets, and even left other countries. Some capitalists and powerful people who stayed in the country actively sought help from the United States, and the U.S. government used intermediaries. Actively contact the Chilean capitalist class and encourage them to engage in activities against the Allende government. Take Augustine Edwards, the president of the Chilean mainstream media "Mercury" as an example. As a business elite in Chile, Edwards has always been subject to the US Embassy's Pay close attention. The U.S. government maintains contact with Edwards through Pepsi-Cola President Donald Kendall, and Edwards also hopes that the United States will attack the newly elected left-wing regime in Chile. On September 15, 1970, U.S. National Security Advisor Kissinger and Attorney General John Mitchell met with Edwards in Washington, exchanged views on the current situation in Chile, and supported Edwards in launching a press campaign against the Allende government. During the Allende government, the "Mercury" published a large number of objections. The "Popular Unity Front" government's article played a decisive role in the overthrow of Allende. On September 16, 1974, President Ford explained at a press conference, "In this case (Chile), through By helping and maintaining the country's opposition newspapers and electronic public opinion tools, the United States can protect the opposition. I think this is in the best interest of the Chilean people, and undoubtedly in our interests." During this period, the United States' public relations activities against Chile were successful. It supported parties and individuals who were opposed to the Allende government, and used them to launch a public opinion offensive against Allende and build momentum for the overthrow of the Allende regime. This approach has achieved remarkable results and effectively served the U.S. policy toward Chile.

(4) The decline of U.S. public diplomacy toward Chile during the Pinochet administration (1973-1990) In September 1973, the Chilean military led by General Augusto Pinochet launched a coup and overthrew the democratically elected President Salvador Allende. Pinochet took control of the state power, and Chile began to enter the era of military rule. After Pinochet came to power, he implemented extreme liberal economic policies. A large number of "Chicago disciples" joined the cabinet and began to implement neoliberal reform plans. Chile's domestic politics The opposition formed a political alliance with the aim of urging Pinochet to hand over power and re-democratize Chile, and finally succeeded in 1989.

However, the relationship between the United States and Chile underwent a huge change during the Pinochet military government. After Pinochet came to power, the United States continued to increase its assistance to the Chilean military government. From 1974 to 1976, the United States gave Chile approximately 62.8 billion U.S. dollars in economic and military aid. However, Pinochet's military government

Transcript of Present's News Conference on Foreign and Domestic Matters in New York Times, September 17, 1974

Lin Beidian and

Dong Jingsheng: "History of Latin America" Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2010, pp. 422 - 435

David R. Mares and Francisco Rojas Aravena The United States and Chile: Coming in From the Cold New York and London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2001, p. 11

The model's human rights violations triggered strong condemnation from the international community. After President Carter came to power in 1976, he began to pursue human rights diplomacy. However, the human rights violations committed by the Chilean military government conflicted with the United States' overall diplomatic goals in Latin America, and the United States' policy toward Chile began to change. After the reversal, the relationship between the two countries dropped to a freezing point. During the Reagan administration, the relationship between the United States and the Chilean military government still failed to improve substantially. As the

relationship between the two countries deteriorated, the United States' public diplomacy with Chile declined. As early as the 1950s, the United States The educational exchange project "Chile Project" launched by the United States only began to play a substantial role during the Pinochet government, directly affecting the economic policy and social development trend of Chile and even Latin America. In the long term, the educational exchanges carried out by the United States are It is an important platform for cultivating future elites in a subtle way. Social elites control foreign policy and public opinion trends and are able to mobilize many resources. They have strong influence. They are the main audience of public diplomacy. Cultivating elites to guide public opinion has become a A breakthrough point in the public diplomacy work of various countries. Exchange students who return home after completing their studies often become social elites in their home countries. Some of them even enter the decision-making level and try to promote the knowledge and ideas they have learned, thereby influencing the local political and economic processes.

The "Chicago Disciples" who participated in the "Chile Project" and went to the United States for exchanges took the opportunity of Pinochet's administration to successfully conduct neoliberal reform experiments in Chile. They took important positions in economic affairs in the Pinochet government. The representative figure, Sergio de Castro, once served as Chile's Minister of Economy. During his tenure, he pointed out that Chile's economic problems were not caused by Allende's reforms, but were caused by long-term accumulation since the 1930s. Problems left over from history, and free market economy is the only path to Chilean modernization. Ÿ Taking Chile's 1982 economic crisis as a boundary, Chile's economic reform is mainly divided into two stages: From 1973 to 1981, Chicago disciples adopted a radical "shock" therapy, to a certain extent, induced the subsequent economic crisis. During the period from 1982 to 1989, their economic policies became increasingly mature and sound, and they formulated a development strategy that was consistent with Chile's actual situation, and proposed the "economic growth based on external competition" model. Ÿ The Chilean economic reform led by the Chicago disciples has achieved obvious results. After initial attempts failed, the Chilean economy took the lead in returning to growth in 1984, and developed steadily at an average annual rate of 7% from 1984 to 1997. Chile reformed and became a developing country. It is a model for developing a liberal market economy and is known as the "experimental field of neoliberalism." Ÿ These disciples of the Chicago School of Economics extended the free market economy to the Chilean economic development model, making Chile the pioneer of neoliberal reform in Latin America. The success of Chile's economic reforms has served as a demonstration in Latin America.

³⁶ ŸHan Qi: "Characteristics and Experience of Chile's Economic-Social Transformation", published in "Latin American Studies", Issue 4, 2005, Issue Pages, pp. 36-37.

Ÿ Wang Xiaoyan: «Chile—the Pioneer of Neoliberal Reform in Latin America» Ÿ in «Latin American Studies» Ÿ Issue 1, 2004, page 29.

The national interests of the United States are to shape a good national image and create a good public opinion ecology for the implementation of foreign policies. This model is most vividly reflected in the public diplomacy of the United States towards Chile. In the decades after World War II, Chile has experienced various political trends in the country. Having tried to implement different political systems, the environment in which the United States conducts public diplomacy is extremely complex and challenging.

First, the U.S.'s public diplomacy toward Chile constantly adjusts its goals and activities as the political situation in Chile changes, and is highly flexible. During the Cold War, the National Party, the Christian Democratic Party, the Alliance of Left Parties, and the military government all successively changed their party's political agenda. Ideals have turned into reality, and various political trends of left, center, and right have been put into practice in Chile. From Alessandri's coming to power in 1958 to Pinochet's administration, Chile has experienced democratic liberalism, Christian democracy, The "socialist road" and neoliberalism are four distinctive historical stages. There are significant differences in the policy orientations and ideologies of the four governments of Alessandri, Frei, Allende and Pinochet. Although Chile The policy orientations of successive governments are very different, and their ideological affiliations are also very different. However, they are of the same origin in maintaining Chile's national independence. The intersection of nationalism and communism and the rise of anti-Americanism have posed severe challenges to the United States. All previous governments in the United States have The government assessed the situation and incorporated its public diplomacy policy toward Chile into the overall framework of the United States' foreign policy toward Chile. The U.S. government paid close

attention to the changes in Chile's domestic political situation and quickly adjusted its public diplomacy policy goals and activities. In the early days of the Cold War, in the face of intensifying domestic violence in Chile, The United States' public diplomacy toward Chile focused on preparedness and prevention to prevent the expansion of communism in Chile. During the Frey period, the United States' public diplomacy toward Chile focused on supporting Frey's changes and packaging them as He is a role model for change in Latin America and supports right-wing regimes to come to power and govern. During the Allende period, the United States used public diplomacy to try to prevent the reform cause of the left-wing "Popular Unity Front" government. During the Pinochet period, the United States gradually distanced itself from the military dictatorship. In order to clear the boundaries, the United States' public diplomacy towards Chile gradually declined. The United States adjusted its public diplomacy policy toward the country in a timely manner according to the changes in Chile's political situation. It successfully adapted to Chile's complex political situation of left, center, and right-wing political forces, and achieved good results.

"Adjustment" and "flexibility" are undoubtedly the most obvious labels for the United States' public diplomacy in Chile. But from a macro perspective, the main goal of the United States' public diplomacy in Chile during the Cold War was to prevent and combat the expansion of communism. The United States regards "anti-communism" as its main global strategy and regards the so-called "international communist expansion" as the opposite of the United States' interests in Chile and Latin America. The United States would rather form an alliance with the Chilean military dictator than risk making Chile a Marxist country in Latin America. The bridgehead of the socialist revolution The United States often regards developing Ch

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汉 Qi, editor-in-chief: "Latin American Volume on the Process of World Modernization", Nanjing: Jiangsu People's Publishing

House, 2010, page 290, [USA] Written by Steven Hooker, John Spanier, translated by Bai Yunzhen and others: "After World War II U.S. Foreign Policy", Beijing: Jincheng Press, 2015, pp. 105-106.

The national democratic reforms in the country are linked to the expansion of hostile ideologies, using the "communist threat" to prevent the domestic political and economic reforms of Chile and Latin American countries, interfering in the internal affairs of these countries, and trying their best to maintain it in the bipolar pattern of the United States and the Soviet Union competing for

hegemony. Second, public diplomacy is an effective tool for the United States' policy towards Chile and a useful supplement to traditional diplomatic methods such as politics, economy, and military. In 1823, the United States proposed the "Monroe Doctrine." In order to establish its dominant position in Latin America, its intervention in Latin America was mainly based on a naked big stick policy, often imposing political intimidation and military invasion. At the beginning of the 20th century, while maintaining military superiority and deterrence in Latin America, the United States implemented The policy of using both soft and hard tactics has changed the previous naked big stick policy, and it has strengthened its penetration into Latin America through economic means such as "gold dollar diplomacy". After World War II, the United States established the Information Agency and formally included public diplomacy in the diplomatic agenda for Latin America, using "soft diplomacy" "Strength" to compete with the Soviet Union for the "middle ground." Chile is located in South America, far away from the United States. Compared with Central America and the Caribbean, it has been less directly affected by U.S. military invasion and interference. Chile's political situation has been relatively stable since its independence. The trend of domestic nationalism is relatively high. Since the establishment of left-wing political parties in Chile in the early 20th century, the influence of communist ideas in Chile has gradually increased. Most of the Chilean presidents from the post-World War II period to before Pinochet came to power were elected through popular elections and were politically legitimate. The United States cannot engage in direct military intervention under the banner of "restoring order" and "respecting democratic elections". Instead, it uses other means such as politics, economics and diplomacy comprehensively. Military intervention and force deterrence are not the priorities of the United States' diplomacy towards Chile after World War II. Options

During the Cold War, in the face of rising nationalism, communism, and anti-Americanism in Chile, the United States was unable to adopt open military intervention methods. "Intervention" became more indirect and covert. When choosing foreign policy methods, the United States used It will use more covert diplomatic means such as covert operations and intelligence activities, and give more consideration to relatively flexible indirect means such as public diplomacy and economic assistance. In this way, the United States can maintain its hegemony in South America without damaging it too much. National reputation will also not stimulate the growing anti-Americanism and communism in Latin America. The United States has fully combined public diplomacy with political, economic and military means, and has produced good results.

The United States has successfully used various methods such as news propaganda, public relations activities, and educational and cultural exchanges to carry out public diplomacy with Chile. In the 1950s, the Eisenhower administration of the United States attached great importance to the role of public diplomacy in the foreign policy agenda, mainly through news propaganda and Educational exchanges were used to curb nationalism and anti-Americanism in Chile. After Alessandri came to power, the United States used public relations activities and personnel exchanges to support center-right parties and prevent left-wing political forces from coming to power. During the Frey period, the United States carried out cartoons against Chile

Wang Xiaode: «American Culture and Diplomacy», Tianjin: Tianjin Education Press, 2008, page 370. Yang Jianmin: «Analysis

of the United States' Latin American Policy of Promoting Democracy», published in «Foreign Social Sciences», Issue 3, 2009 Chapter 63 -

Propaganda and promotion of the "Union for Progress" activities played an important role in the Christian Democratic Party's victory in the presidential election. During the Allende period, in order to combat the power of Chile's left-wing political parties, the United States launched a large number of public relations activities, which played a major role in thwarting Allende's socialist reforms. During the Pinochet period, the United States criticized the Chilean military government for violating human rights, and relations between the two countries continued to cool. However, the "Chicago disciples" who had been sponsored by the United States' "Chile Project" to study in the United States in the early Cold War entered politics at this time. They led Chile's neoliberal economic reform. Educational exchanges played an important role in imperceptibly, and invisibly promoted American values and institutional models.

Third, intervention policy and public diplomacy coexist in the United States' Chilean policy. The two different policy narratives conflict with each other, weakening the influence of the United States on Chilean public diplomacy. The United States' intervention policy in Chile mainly focuses on short-term strategies. Or economic interests, and public diplomacy policy not only focuses on short-term interests, but also needs to be implemented subtly from the perspective of medium and long-term interests. The United States has a long history of intervention in Latin America. From a global perspective, the United States, as the leading country, has a coercive role in Latin American countries. Intervention is relatively the most frequent. From 1900 to the present, the United States has intervened in 22 militarized disputes in Latin America, trying to change the regimes or governments of these hostile countries. Among these 22 disputes, 17 of them occurred in Central America, and the Caribbean, including the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1914. According to statistics, between 1950 and 2000, 90% of U.S. attempts to subvert the regimes of other countries also occurred in Central America and the Caribbean. Frequent U.S. intervention behaviors are deeply embedded in Latin American countries. In the historical consciousness, as a historical legacy, it has affected the tone of U.S.-Latin America relations. To a certain extent, nationalism and anti-Americanism have been rooted in Latin American political culture. In the early days of the Cold War, in order to maintain its hegemony in the Western Hemisphere, the United States pursued Latin American countries. Direct military intervention, such as the 1954 U.S. intervention in Guatemala and the 1961 invasion of Guirón Beach, Cuba. These actions once again made the people of Latin American countries, including Chile, affected by the historical legacy of U.S. intervention. Instead, they stimulated Chile and other Latin American countries. Nationalism, anti-Americanism and communism. Therefore, during the Cold War period, the United States had to face the anti-American trend of thought spawned in Latin America by the historical legacy of its hegemonic and interventionist policies for a long time. This posed a serious problem for the United States in shaping its national image and pursuing foreign policies. challenge

After Allende came to power in Chile, the Nixon government planned to support Allende's opposition forces through overt and covert actions, imposed an economic blockade on Chile, and supported the Chilean military's coup, which ultimately led to Allende's resignation.

[US] Written by David Lake, translated by Gao Wann: "Hierarchy in International Relations", Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2013,

Taiwan. In 1961, the United States openly military invaded the Playa Gironde, Cuba, which inspired the anti-Americanism of the Latin American people and caused the national image of the United States in Latin America to fall to the bottom. This time, the United States supported Pinochet to overthrow the Allende regime, allowing Latin America to The anti-Americanism ignited in the region has become out of control, and public retaliation has even occurred repeatedly. As the main executive agency of U.S. public diplomacy, the U.S. Information Agency has borne the brunt of public retaliation and has become the main target of public retaliation. U.S. Information Service staff in Latin America have even become

For example, on September 28, 1974, Dominican leftists kidnapped seven American personnel, including American diplomats and consuls, in Santo Domingo. One of them was a 47-year-old head of the U.S. Information Service. Barbara A Hutchison (Barbara A Hutchison),

The interventionist policy of the United States has intensified the anti-Americanism of the Latin American people, posing a huge challenge to the development of its public diplomacy activities. Anti-Americanism in Latin American countries does not exist in isolation, but in its own way. They influence and support each other, and their roots come from the United States' long-term hegemonic policy in Latin America. The United States' flexible and indirect public diplomacy policy towards Chile is conducive to attracting people's hearts, shaping the national image of the United States, and enhancing the softness of the United States. Strength. However, the policy of military intervention has long existed in the U.S. policy toward Latin America. In particular, during the Cold War, high-sounding intervention in Latin American countries was carried out under the banner of "opposing communist expansion." It often backfired, greatly reducing the effectiveness of public diplomacy.

Three Conclusions

The public diplomacy of the United States towards Chile is a microcosm of the public diplomacy carried out by the United States in Latin America as a whole. Chile has experienced various ideological trends such as nationalism, communism and anti-Americanism, and has explored and practiced a variety of systems to carry out national democratic reforms. Among them, the socialist reforms led by the Allende government have made Chile's position in the public diplomacy of the United States toward Latin America particularly important. The U.S. government uses news media, educational exchanges, social public relations and other channels to enhance contact with the Chilean people on the one hand. communicate with them, instill American values into them, promote Western democratic political systems and free market economic systems; on the other hand, attack left-wing parties, support right-wing forces, and create a public opinion and political environment conducive to the implementation of U.S. foreign policy. The core goal of diplomacy is to consolidate and maintain the dominance of the United States in the Western Hemisphere and to exclude other countries from outside the region from interfering in Latin America. During the period of bipolar confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, the United States used public diplomacy to fight an ideological war, win over the hearts and minds of the Latin American public, and counter the Soviet Union's

influence in Latin America. Expansion (Editor-in-Chief Xu Rui)

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