During the era of Global Cold War, which for our current purposes can be defined as the period between the conclusion of World War II and the fall of the Soviet Union, a distinct post-colonial, Third World project took shape that sought to establish multinational solidarity in the pursuit of revisions to the world order. Given the chronological overlap between the era of the Global Cold War and the culmination of the long struggles for decolonization in much of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, it would have been surprising if avenues channeling Third World solidarity had not developed. Moreover, as historians increasingly embrace Odd Arne Westad’s call to center the Third World, or the Global South, in their analyses of the Cold War, it follows that varieties of Third Worldism would attract increasing scholarly attention. That Third World project experienced its own rise and fall. However, though Latin America was consistently conceptualized as part of the Third World, historians of the Global Cold War often have relegated the region to the sidelines as they unpack the dynamics of the interrelated conflicts. A central question remains: how did Latin America fit into the broader Third World project?

Thomas C. Field, Jr., Stella Krepp, and Vanni Pettinà have assembled a collection of outstanding scholars who together contributed fourteen substantive chapters exploring episodes of Latin America’s engagement with the Global Cold War and, in most cases, various elements of that larger Third World project. The editors wrote a separate introduction that succeeds in framing the issues at hand, and Westad concludes the volume with his own brief chapter. Like most anthologies, the chapters do not link together to tell a linear story. However, they do speak to one another, and important themes recur. The chapters emphasize relations between Third World countries generally, Latin America’s involvement with the non-aligned movement more specifically, the importance of both nationalism and internationalism to Latin American actors, and the contested nature of globalization. Rather than summarize each individual chapter, I will sketch the book’s recurring themes and what they suggest about the trajectory of scholarship on Latin America’s Cold War.

Westad’s conception of the Global Cold War provides the analytic framing for this collection. While he does not underestimate the enormity of the power wielded by the United States and the Soviet Union, and, in his most recent book carefully analyzes the dynamics of Europe’s Cold War, Westad emphasizes the ways in which people and events in the Global South served as drivers of the Cold War’s dynamics. That is, the Global South was not merely the object of great power and superpower actions. States, officials, and social movements in the Global South were important in their own right—not just as a consequence of their interactions with the superpowers—but for the ways in which they influenced the course of international affairs. Only by shifting the way we conceive of our histories of the Cold War by telling stories from

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the perspective of the Third World can we collectively gain a well-rounded understanding of the dynamics of the broader conflict. That basic proposition offers inspiration for the distinct types of questions the contributors ask in *Latin America and the Global Cold War*. They decenter Cold War narratives, not necessarily by minimizing the significance of the very real asymmetries of power that existed in the international system, but by making actors in the Global South the protagonists of their histories.

This collection makes two contributions that are directed at distinct scholarly audiences. First, for historians of international affairs who do not concentrate on Latin America – particularly those who work on issues in the Global South – *Latin America and the Global Cold War* makes the case to end the region’s relative marginalization. The authors demonstrate clearly that Latin America and Latin Americans mattered in a myriad of ways to the trajectory of the Cold War, and to the history of Third Worldism.

Perhaps the most notable recurring theme for scholars of the Cold War in the Global South centers on Latin American engagement with the non-aligned movement (NAM). The NAM makes appearances throughout the volume and constitutes a central line of analysis in chapters by Stella Krepp, Michelle Getchell, and Eric Gettig. Most often, scholars of the NAM highlight the contributions of Asian, Middle Eastern, and African leaders – in addition to Yugoslav dictator Josip Broz Tito. Fidel Castro’s efforts to link Cuba with the larger anti-colonial struggle notwithstanding, Latin American leaders and states have rarely figured prominently in the story of the non-aligned movement. No more. In light of the importance of the NAM to the larger story of the Third World project, this line of inquiry is especially significant; the authors convincingly argue that the politics of non-alignment comprised a significant thread in the region.

Second, for historians of Latin America the contributors highlight links between Latin American states and the world beyond the United States – the kinds of connections that have been understudied in the broader literature. Miguel Serra Coelho explains the failure of Brazil and India to develop more extensive ties in the years following World War II, which largely amounted to a Brazilian rejection of Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru’s neutralism. The Global Cold War, according to Serra Coelho, inhibited the development of a bilateral relationship that, absent that international framework, was poised for closer ties. Field examines Bolivia’s ultimately failed attempt to navigate between maintaining a revolution that Washington found non-threatening on the one hand, and, on the other, maintaining its revolutionary *bona fides* with Havana and Prague. In some respects, Pettinà tells a similar story. He explores Mexico’s efforts in the early Cold War to walk a particularly challenging tightrope: the government sought to establish new diplomatic and economic connections with the Soviet Union without presenting as a security threat to Washington policymakers. The chapter demonstrates the considerable deficit in tools and inducements the Soviet Union had at its disposal to forge economic links with countries in the Global South relative to the United States. Ties between the self-styled revolutionary governments of Algeria and Chile are the subject of Eugenia Palieraki’s chapter. Miriam Elizabeth Villanueva and Eline Van Ommen each examine internationalist outreach in the service of particular political projects: Panamanian efforts to secure control over the

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isthmian canal in the case of Villanueva, and Sandinista efforts to gain Western European support prior to Anastasio Somoza’s fall from power in the case of Van Ommen.9 Tobias Rupprecht finds that the Soviet Union and its development model persisted as a source of inspiration for much of the Latin American left, and tercermundistas more generally, well into the 1970s.10

The editors organized the chapters around the ideas of ‘Third World Nationalism’ and ‘Third World Internationalism,’ though there is necessarily overlap between those categories. Essentially, the former stresses political and economic nationalism – particularly concerns about sovereignty – that have long motivated Latin American governments. The latter stresses efforts to forge connections across national borders in support of either nationalist objectives or the broader Third World project, which itself was intended to enhance nationalist political and economic projects among Third World states. David M. K. Sheinin’s chapter exemplifies the issue of nationalism. He explains that despite enjoying a better relationship with the United States than is generally understood, successive Argentine governments maintained nationalist projects, particularly related to the development of a nuclear power program over the superpower’s objections.11 Internationalism is highlighted in Alan McPherson’s examination of race-based transnational solidarity relating to Haiti in the early-twentieth century. McPherson’s chapter also serves to extend the chronological focus of the volume back into the first decades of the twentieth century.12

The volume also hints at, but could do more to develop explicitly, the theme of “competing iterations of globalization.”13 The term ‘globalization’ does not make an appearance in the book’s index, and yet there are frequent reminders that liberal and neoliberal models of globalization were not predestined for dominance. Many chapters concern themselves with trade and the economic interests of Latin American states. Pettinà examines Mexican interests in Soviet tractors.14 Sarah Foss explains how post-coup Guatemala was supposed to serve as a showcase for development based on modernization theory. The approach emanating from DESCOM – Guatemala’s institution for community development – ultimately did a good deal to ensconce military governance in the country.15 Significantly, Christy Thornton explains how Mexico’s long-developed ideas about the proper structure of international economic relations underpinned the New International Economic Order.16 Future scholarship can develop more completely and more explicitly the evolving forms globalization has taken, and the myriad ways that Latin Americans across the ideological spectrum have engaged with those processes.

To the extent that this volume contains a weakness, it is that the authors do not take the opportunity to further define the contours of Latin America’s particular Cold War. It has been a dozen years since Gilbert Joseph published “What We Now

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15 Sara Foss, “Community Development in Cold War Guatemala: Not a Revolution but an Evolution,” 123-147.

Know and Should Know: Bringing Latin America More Meaningfully Into Cold War Studies.” In that landmark interpretive overview, Joseph defined Latin America’s Cold War as extending backward in time to the Mexican Revolution, and consisting of a series of often violent encounters between the political left and right. Significantly, Joseph provides a framework for a distinct Latin American Cold War, one that is similar to the “Inter-American Cold War” that Tanya Harmer identifies. William A. Booth builds upon these insights, as well as Greg Grandin’s emphasis on the region’s long history of political violence and revolution. However, he goes further, arguing that what came to be understood as Latin America’s Cold War consisted of a “layered stack” of conflicts that began at the onset of the colonial era and continued building upon one another over the centuries. It would have been interesting to see this volume wrestle explicitly with the question of contours of Latin America’s Cold War, particularly in light of the authors’ engagement with Westad’s *Global Cold War.*

Finally, as I suggest above, *Latin America and the Global Cold War* succeeds in placing Latin American actors at the center of important narratives without minimizing the significance of the asymmetries of power in the international system. In his contribution, Field strikes an important warning to scholars who seek to internationalize Latin America’s experience and produce studies that go beyond an emphasis on the hegemonic regional power exercised by the United States. He asks, “is it possible to resolve [a series of dilemmas involving studying the place of Latin America in the world in ways that deemphasize the United States] without simply writing the United States out of Latin American history, a cure worse than the disease, which can produce narratives of Latin American relations with the extra-hemispheric world that bear little resemblance to the lived experiences of the region’s U.S.-centric struggles for social, political, and economic independence?” It is indeed important to highlight the myriad and substantial interactions that Latin American states, individuals, and non-state actors had with rest of the world. However, foreign relations scholars are at their best when they maintain focus on the construction and exercise of power across borders. To ignore or minimize U.S. influence throughout much of Latin America on the grounds that the story has been told, or that the U.S. role has been overemphasized in previous scholarship, would be a mistake. Instead, scholars have the opportunity to write more rigorously about how Latin Americans maneuvered relative to U.S. power, with their own interests in the forefront. In other words, the contributors to this volume make Latin Americans the central subjects of analysis without decentering U.S. (or, in some cases, Soviet) power to such a degree that the resulting narrative bears little resemblance to the international environment as it existed. At their best, the chapters succeed in recognizing the context of U.S. power, while simultaneously telling histories that do not center on the application of U.S. power in Latin America. As a result, *Latin America and the Global Cold War* achieves its objective: it tells complicated stories of Latin American foreign relations that have been underemphasized and does so in such a way that builds upon the extant literature.

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Consequently, this is an anthology that should be widely read. It is most obviously important to historians of Latin America, and especially scholars of Latin American foreign relations. But it is also a book that scholars of the Third World, or the Global South if you prefer, will benefit from reading; it will lead to histories that appropriately weave the Latin American experience into the broader Third World experience. The contributors successfully make the case that Latin America has been underemphasized – to the detriment of our collective understanding of the international dynamics of the Cold War-era Third World. Fortunately, they also demonstrate there is high-quality scholarship being produced that rectifies that oversight.

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