



# Da América Latina ao Nordeste brasileiro: desenvolvimento e política externa dos EUA na Guerra Fria

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A política externa global dos  
EUA: internacionalismo e  
reorganização do “interesse  
nacional”



EUA: produtores de 50% dos bens  
mundiais



Projeção de poder militar e econômico -  
TIAR/OTAN – BIRD/FMI



Doutrina Truman (mar 1947): combate  
às “democracias ameaçadas” pelo  
mundo



National Security State: segurança ->  
prosperidade -> democracia

# MOST OF THE FREE WORLD IS UNDERDEVELOPED

## DEVELOPED AREAS

23% of the world's people  
25% of the world's area

## INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AREA

31% of the world's people  
24% of the world's area

U.S. 6% OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLE  
7% OF THE WORLD'S AREA

## UNDERDEVELOPED AREAS

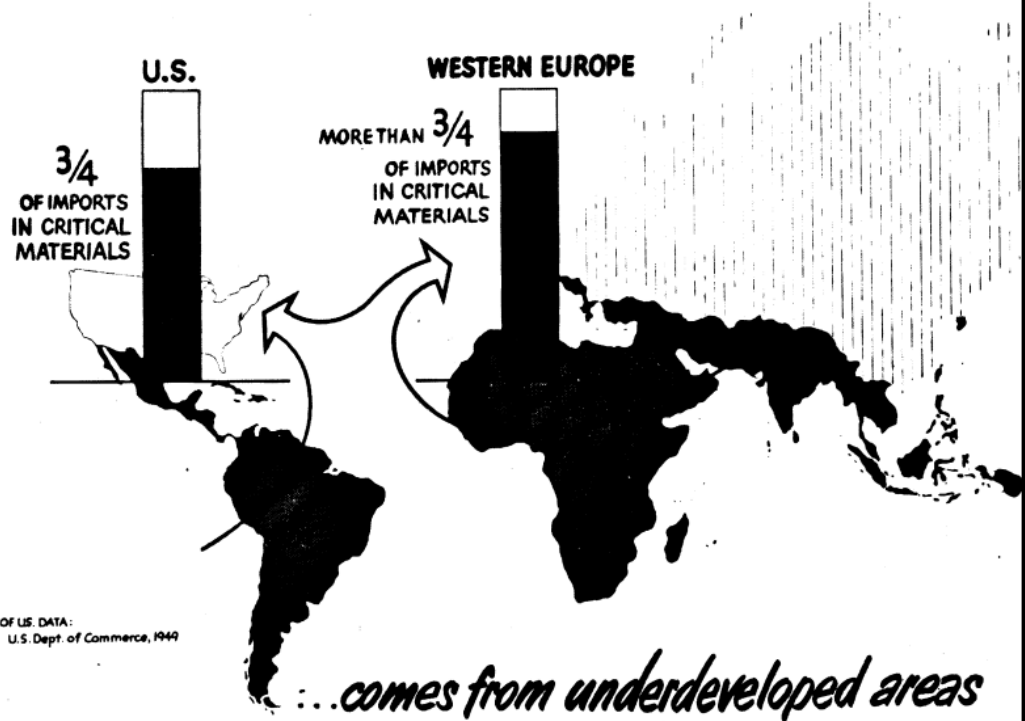
46% of the world's people  
51% of the world's area

SOURCE: F.A.O. World Outlook, 1949



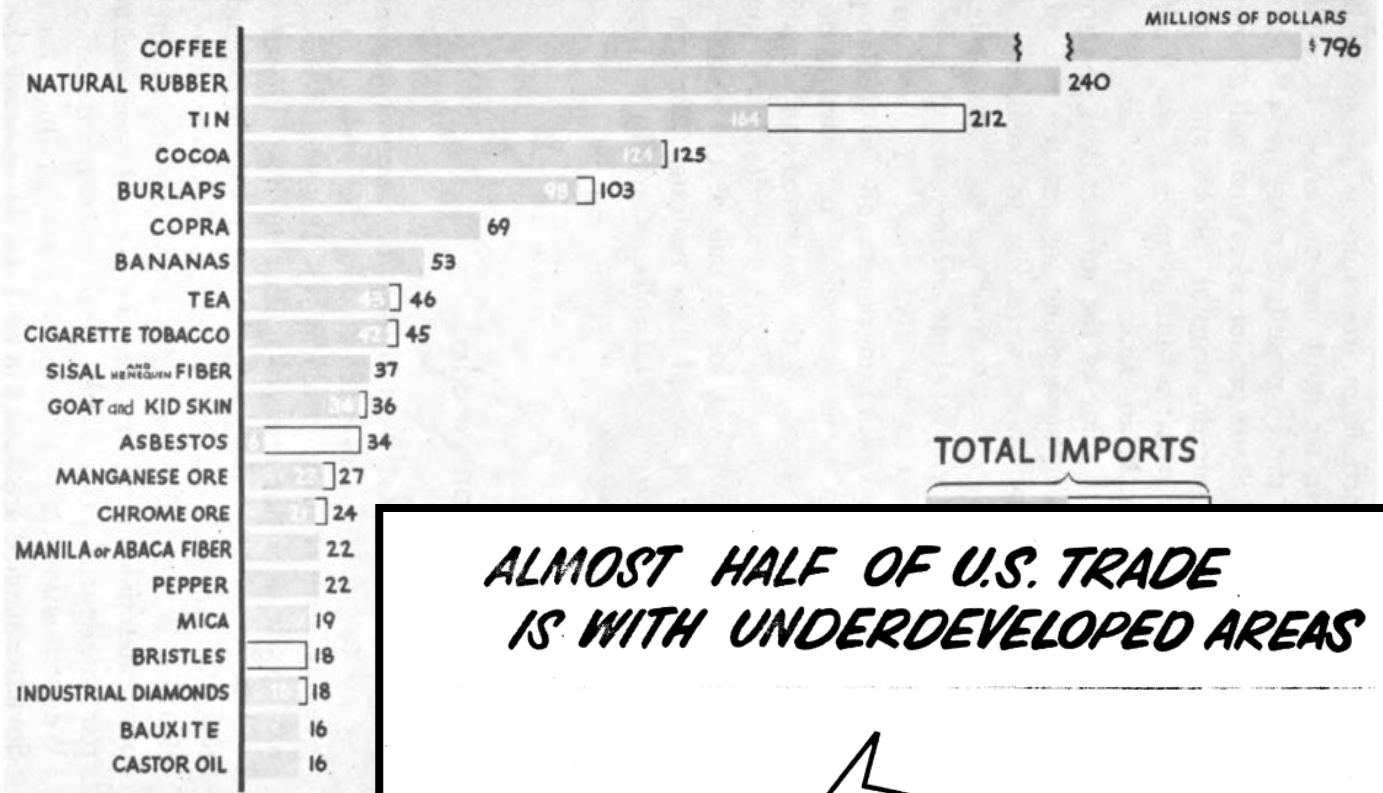
# Desenvolvimento como medida de segurança

# 73% OF U.S. IMPORTS OF STRATEGIC & CRITICAL MATERIALS

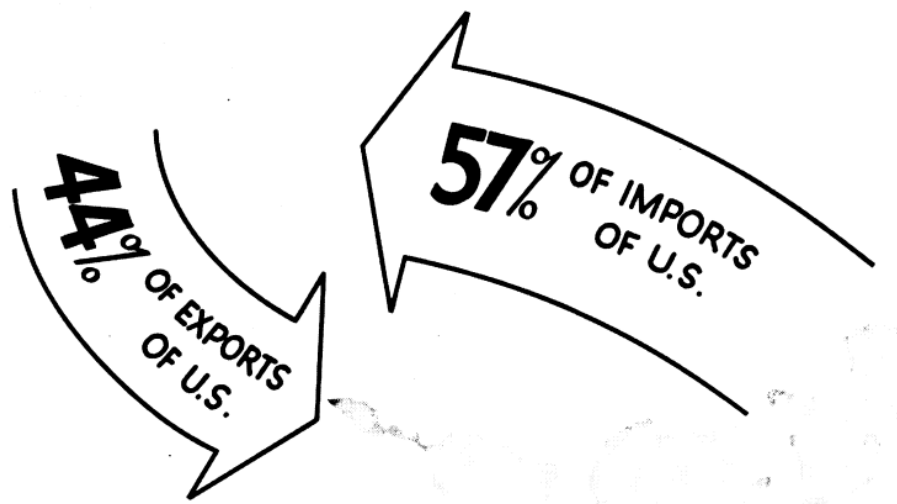


SOURCE OF U.S. DATA: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 1949

# THE U.S. DEPENDS ON UNDERDEVELOPED AREAS FOR SUPPLIES OF ESSENTIAL PRODUCTS



**ALMOST HALF OF U.S. TRADE IS WITH UNDERDEVELOPED AREAS**



**Desenvolvimento como estratégia econômica**

## O Programa Ponto IV

- ❖ Elo que atrela as regiões periféricas à política global dos EUA
- ❖ América Latina e países recém-independentes da África e Ásia
- ❖ Discurso de Truman (jan 1949) -> Act of International Development (1950)



*A hand cultivator would represent a great technological advance in many areas of the world and alone could greatly increase the productivity.*



**RESEARCH AND  
LABORATORIES**



**TECHNICAL LIBRARIES  
AND FILM SERVICES**



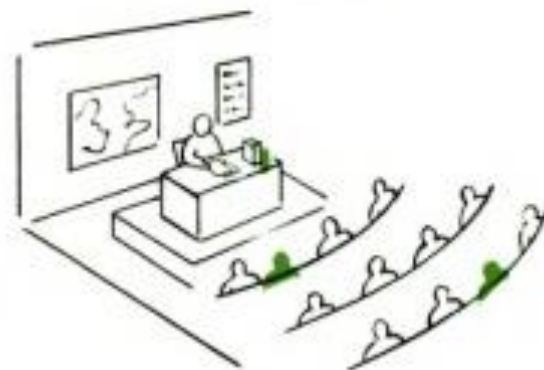
**ON-THE-JOB  
TRAINING**



**INTERNATIONAL  
CONFERENCES**



**DEMONSTRATION  
OF METHODS**



**EXCHANGE OF TEACHERS  
AND STUDENTS**

The United States, in this Point Four program of sharing technical knowledge and skills and fostering international investment in facilities and equipment, proposes that it be a cooperative enterprise in which all

agencies, and through other international bodies, to the maximum extent possible. This would be supplemented by activities undertaken directly with other governments and by enlisting the all-important help of private organizations. In no case will Point Four aid be provided

Agriculture & Forestry	\$18,389,550
Health	17,306,400
Education	8,998,950
Industry	8,486,550
Reclamation	6,562,500
Labor	5,548,150
Transportation	5,192,050
Gen'l. Ec. Development	3,477,000
Soc. Sec. & Soc. Services	2,736,950
Mineral Resources	2,673,700
Fisheries	1,271,300
Housing	1,200,600
Public Administration	1,047,000
Hydro. & Geo. Surveys	815,700
Statistics	737,550
Communications	520,700
Finance	380,850
Weather	274,500

**TOTAL \$ 85,620,000**



ETAPAS  
DO DESENVOLVIMENTO  
ECONÔMICO

*(Um manifesto não-comunista)*

*tradução de*  
OCTAVIO ALVES VELHO

*revisão de*  
CASSIO FONSECA



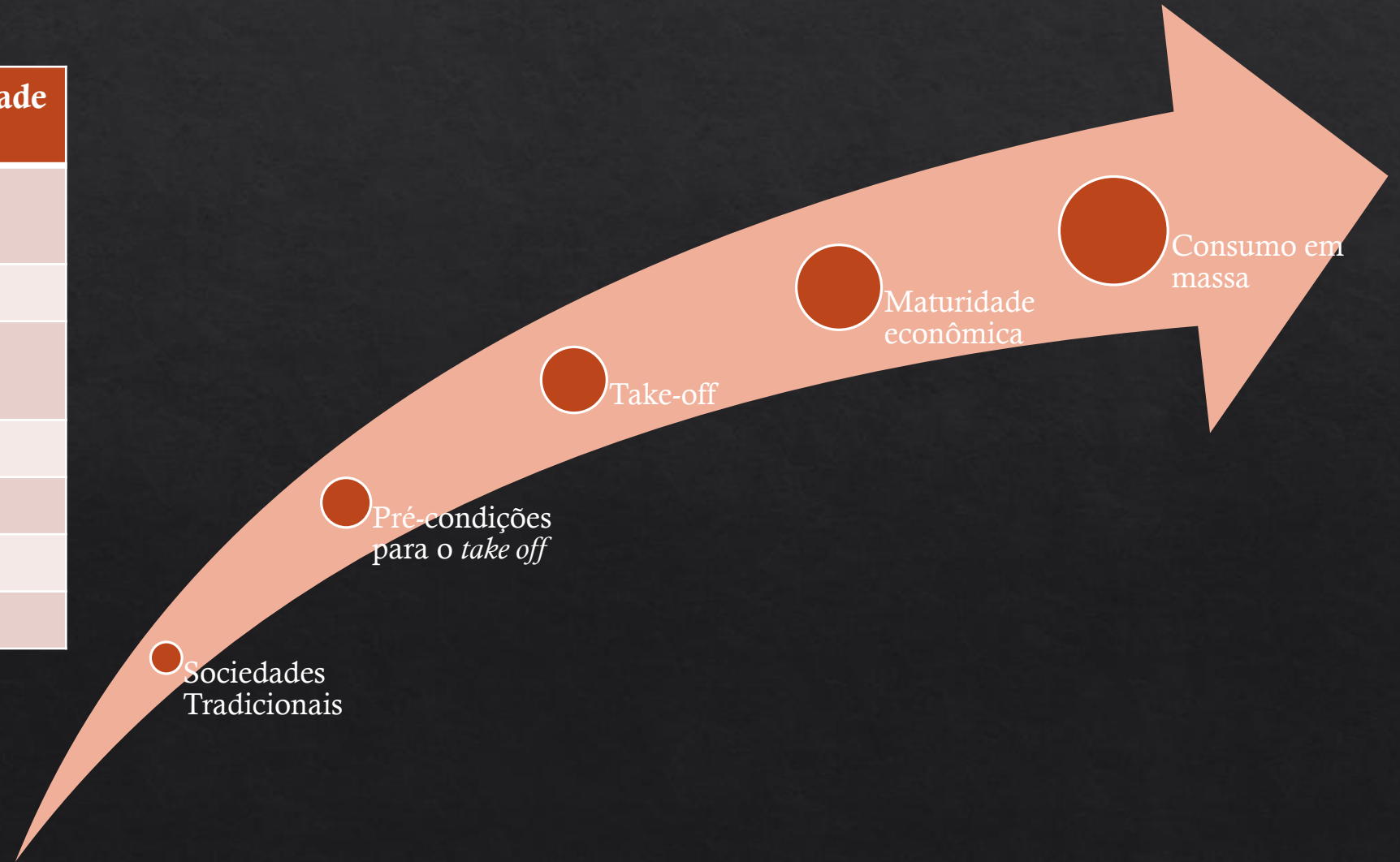
# As Teorias da Modernização

- ❖ A questão do desenvolvimento como a chave para interpretar e resolver os problemas do mundo;
- ❖ Intelectuais e as universidades a serviço da política externa;
- ❖ A proposta de uma revolução capitalista;
- ❖ Walt W. Rostow (1916-2003)
- ❖ As realidades distintas cabem na teoria?



# Etapas do Desenvolvimento Econômico (um manifesto não comunista)

Países	Período do Take-off	Maturidade
Grã-Bretanha	1783-1802	1850
Rússia	1890-1914	1950
Estados Unidos	1843-1860	1900
Alemanha	1850-1873	1910
China	1952	----
Índia	1952	----
Canadá	1896-1914	1950



# A Aliança para o Progresso: a teoria alcança a realidade



- ❖ Aplicação de 20 bilhões de dólares em 10 anos;
- ❖ Construção de hospitais, escolas, moradias e obras de infraestrutura;
- ❖ Abertura econômica dos países beneficiários como forma de aumentar a eficácia dos recursos;
- ❖ Promover o crescimento econômico a equidade social, a reforma agrária e a democracia constitucional;
- ❖ As diferenças com o Plano Marshall e com o Ponto IV.
- ❖ A Aliança deu certo?

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 10, 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Attached you will find a report on my recent visit to Latin America. Because it is a long document, I will herewith summarize its main points.

The argument is that Latin America is irrevocably committed to the quest for modernization. This process of modernization cannot take place without a drastic revision of the semi-feudal agrarian structure of society which still prevails through much of the sub-continent. That revision can come about in two ways -- through a middle-class revolution or through a 'workers-and-peasants' (i. e., Communist or Peronista) revolution. It is obviously to the US interest to promote the middle-class revolution. Unfortunately the Latin America's landed oligarchy does not understand the gravity of its own situation. It constitutes the chief barrier to the middle-class revolution and, by thwarting the middle-class revolution, may well bring about the proletarian revolution.

The paper discusses the changes we should make in US policies in order to help the middle-class revolution. It then describes the forces arrayed against the attempt of the middle class from bringing about a peaceable reconstruction of Latin American society. Pages 11-13 contain an evaluation of Castro's present strength in Latin America.

Two appendices contain notes on the Latin American statesmen interviewed and on the US diplomats consulted along the way.



Arthur Schlesinger, jr.

# Arthur Schlesinger Jr. (1917-2007)

“O argumento é que a América Latina está irrevogavelmente comprometida com a busca pela modernização. Esse processo de modernização não pode ocorrer sem uma revisão drástica da estrutura agrária semifeudal da sociedade, que ainda prevalece em grande parte do subcontinente. Essa revisão pode ocorrer de duas maneiras - através de uma revolução de classe média ou através de uma revolução de "trabalhadores e camponeses" (isto é, comunista ou peronista). Obviamente, é do interesse dos EUA promover a revolução da classe média. Infelizmente, a oligarquia agrária da América Latina não entende a gravidade de sua própria situação. Ela constitui a principal barreira à revolução da classe média e, frustrando a revolução da classe média, pode muito bem provocar a revolução proletária.”



## Arthur Schlesinger Jr. (1917-2007)

- ❖ Os argumentos de Arthur Schlesinger Jr. para John Kennedy:
  1. Existem duas realidades na América Latina: a visível e a invisível;
  2. Superar as estruturas sociais arcaicas para promover a revolução da classe média;
  3. A estrutura agrária impede a modernização;
  4. Cuba e União Soviética estão explorando o ressentimento social na América Latina;
  5. Os países latino-americanos aguardam ansiosamente as novas iniciativas dos Estados Unidos.

# Como o Nordeste se tornou palco da Guerra Fria: o local e o global

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TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON. September 7, 1960  
DATE

REF :

20 For Dept. Use Only	ACTION *ARA-4 REC'D 9-27-60	DEPT. I N F O OTHER	RM/2 REP-1 *INR-7 IO-4 ICA-11 P.3 M/2-1M/OP-1 CIA-10 USIA-10 *LRA-6 NSA-2 ARMY-2 NAVY-3
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SUBJECT: The Ligas Camponesas of Pernambuco U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
BUREAU OF  
INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS  
SEP 29 1960

①

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- I. General Background
- II. Historical Sketch
- III. Impressions of a Visit to the Engenho Galilea - Domicile of a Liga Camponesa
- IV. The Hymn of the Ligas Camponesas

I. General Background

Economic conditions make the Brazilian Northeast a splendid garden of weeds for Communist cultivation. Overpopulated for its present economic resources, the area is beset by periodic droughts that sear the arid interior and drive the population excess to the narrow coastal green belt, site of the sugar latifundia. The recent surplus of sugar production, some degree of agricultural mechanization, the fantastic Brazilian population boom, and lack of industrial employment opportunities in the urban areas are some of the factors that have placed the rural worker in a vicious economic squeeze. Recife, as the prime example of Northeastern economic-socio-political problems, is populated by an estimated 300-400,000 marginal inhabitants in a total population of 800,000; this large number is "~~marginal~~ marginal" in that they barely manage to exist from day to day. Other thousands of refugees from the interior have settled in a tight semi-circle around Recife. Many are now living as squatters or tenant farmers on plantations or are uncomfortably camping out in one of the outlying villages and towns near the metropolitan Recife area.

832.062/9-760 HBS

# Como o Nordeste se tornou palco da Guerra Fria: o local e o global

Condições econômicas particulares fazem do Nordeste brasileiro um esplendido jardim com sementes para o cultivo do comunismo. (...) Neste clima, os comunistas tem se movido rápido para capitalizar a abundância de miséria humana. Entre suas muitas ferramentas, a mais sinistra de todas são as Ligas Camponesas, cuja missão mais eloquente é a reforma agrária.

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SUBJECT: The Ligas Camponesas of Pernambuco *Recife de Janeiro-2*

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
BUREAU OF  
INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS  
SEP 29 1960

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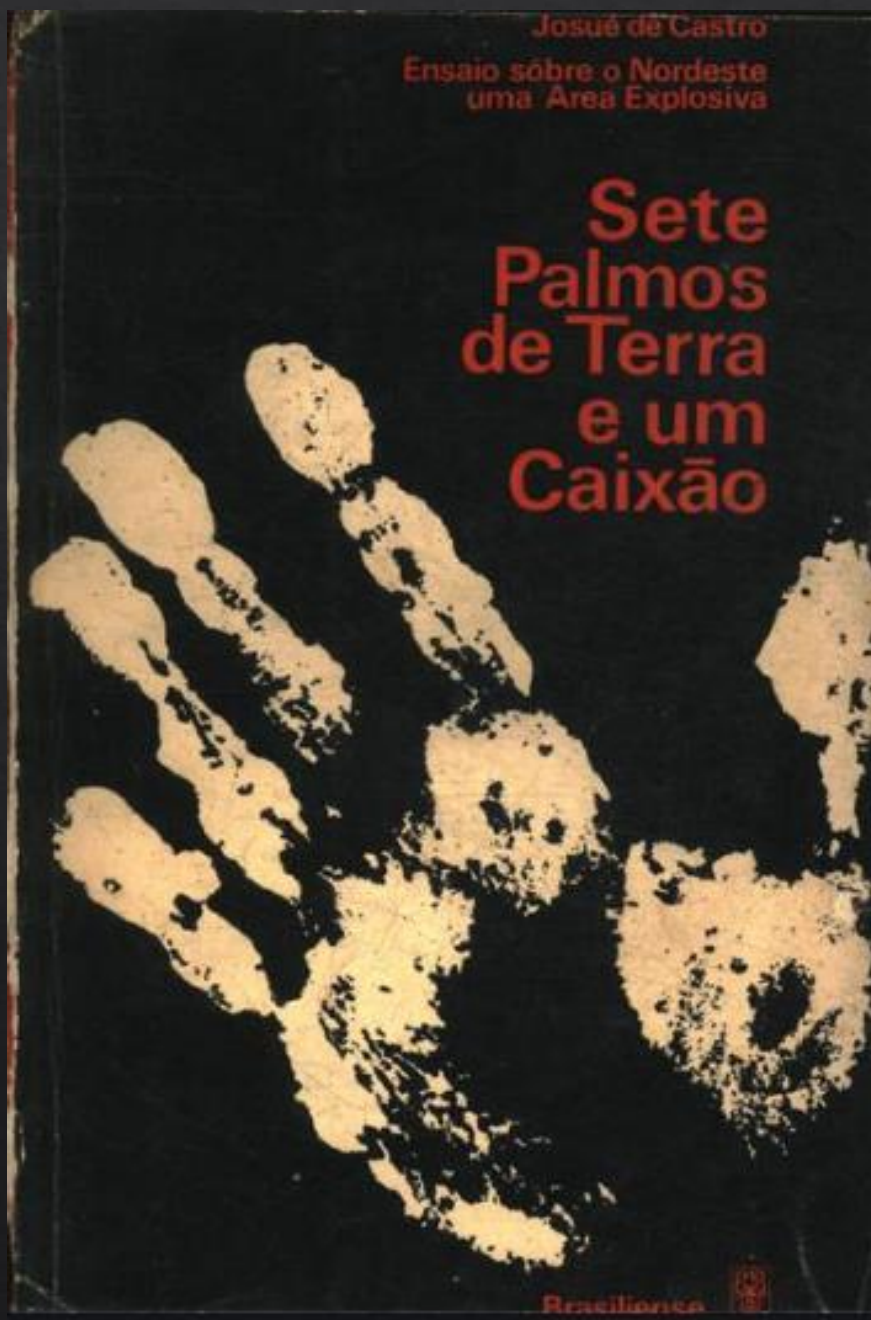
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## O sertanejo nordestino e a morte

- ❖ Como enterrar seus mortos se a terra não lhes pertencia?
- ❖ A organização das Ligas Camponesas em 1955
- ❖ A penetração de lideranças intelectuais socialistas entre os camponeses
- ❖ A Revolução Cubana de 1959
- ❖ O Nordeste seria uma nova Cuba?

AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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For each address check one ACTION

TO - AID/Washington

TOAID A- 323

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 CHASE  
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 KILDUFF  
 KLEIN  
 LOMBARD  
 PAIRIS  
 SAILORS  
 SCHLESINGER  
 SMITH, WM. Y.

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FROM - Rio de Janeiro

SUBJECT - Declaration of Northeast Governors -

REFERENCE -

The following summarizes the 5,500 word Declaration of Northeast Governors, issued on the occasion of their meeting on July 29 with Pres. Goulart in Recife. The document was drafted by Aluisio Alves, Governor of Rio Grande do Norte. It was signed by all the Governors except Governor Miguel Arrais, of Pernambuco. Governor Lomanto, of Bahia, signed it but noted he had reservations on the point having to do with the Declaration's recommendation on the rural property tax. Governor Seixas Doria, of Sergipe, despite signing it, endorsed the reservations expressed by Gov. Arrais on the concept of nationalism and the importance of foreign assistance and investment.

The Declaration's treatment of the Alliance for Progress is translated in full.

- We state that the NE social system is subversive and we say this, not to make political capital - and we are not advocating violence or revolution. We consider it subversive because it is in itself a permanent invitation to violence and revolution;

OTHER AGENCY

*Hte*

## A Aliança para o Progresso chega ao Nordeste

- ❖ O projeto de modernização do Nordeste x as estruturas regionais
- ❖ As forças políticas tradicionais nordestinas
- ❖ A Sudene como ponte obrigatória para a entrada de recursos na região
- ❖ “Criar ilhas de sanidade”



AIRGRAM

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OTHER AGENCY

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Declaramos que o sistema social do Nordeste é subversivo, e dizemos isso não para criar capital político - e não estamos advogando em favor da violência ou da revolução. Consideramos subversivo porque é, por si mesmo, um convite permanente à violência e à revolução.