

1. Applying the "internationalist" perspective on US-LAC relations
  - Much focus on US policy, but LAC's initiatives are there as well
  - Not always with the intended results :the 1969 "Consenso de Viña del Mar" and Chilean Foreign Minister Gabriel Valdés's meeting with Nixon
2. Brazilian President Juscelino Kubitschek's Operation Panamericana
  - President from 1956 to 1961, and built the new capital, Brasilia
  - His most ambitious foreign policy project was Operacao Pan-Americana
  - Though Brazil supported the Allies in WWII, with 25,000 troops that fought in Italy, it felt this effort had not been duly recognized by the US
3. Kubitschek (JK) thus pushed for a grand development scheme for LA
  - At height of the Cold War, project pressed to deal with the roots of underdevelopment and thus forestall the rise of Communism
  - Yet, this ran against the dominant vision within the Eisenhower adm., focused on the traditional "Reds under the beds" approach
4. VP R. Nixon's disastrous 1958 South American tour as a turning point
  - Angry demonstrators in Caracas broke windows of Nixon's car
  - Kubitschek saw an opening, + partnered with Presidents Alberto Lleras Camargo of Colombia and Arturo Frondizi of Argentina to push ahead
5. Kubitschek thought in big terms:aimed for "fifty years of progress in five"
  - He needed to overcome US lack of interest + sole faith in the market
  - He also needed to contend with the lack of unity of purpose in LA
  - The US focused on the Marshall Plan for Europe, + took LA for granted
6. Latin American countries faced significant challenges :
  - Many of them just coming out of military rule
  - Fragile democracies, often teetering at the verge of collapse
  - Balance of payments and foreign debt problems
7. Brazil was keen to diversify its economy away from commodities like coffee and promote industrialization, but this was an uphill task
  - Saw a US-Brazilian partnership in defense of "Western civilization"
8. JK worked with President Alberto Lleras Camargo, a grand Colombian statesman, who had been OAS SG, and commanded great respect in US
  - Also with Argentine President Arturo Frondizi, who also had quite a bit of support in Washington DC
10. From the very start ,in 1956, JK tried to convey to Eisenhower the need for a massive, US-led development program for LA, his OPA
  - He found few takers : he asked VP Nixon for a US\$ 1.2 billion loan, was offered 35 million instead.

- This stood in stark contrast with US programs in Europe and Asia
- 11. VP Nixon's 1958 tour of South America as an inflection point
  - JK wrote to Eisenhower, reviving his Pan American development plan "as a cry of alert against the Cold War", with not much success
  - Reaffirming hemispheric solidarity
  - Underdevelopment as a pan-American problem
  - Adaptation of Inter-American organs to fighting underdevelopment
  - Investment in backward areas of the Americas
  - Technical assistance to improve productivity
  - Measures to stabilize commodity prices
  - Actualization and amplification of the resources of IFIs

Later on, references to the role of private enterprise were added, as well as to the fact that each country would be responsible for its own dev. Plans

- 12. Seeking broader LA support for his project
  - Colombia and Argentina on board, but Mexico not so much
  - Some wanted to leave to the OAS, of which JK was critical
  - Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) proposal resurfaced
  - This was supported by President Eisenhower's brother, Milton
- 13. A Committee of 21 to deal with OPA and its implications
  - OPA put LA's old problems in a new framework + gave them urgency
  - Democrats in the US Congress, including JFK, picked up on the theme
  - A JFK speech in San Juan, Puerto Rico elaborated on it
- 14. The twin shocks of 1959 : the Cuban Revolution and Brazil's BOP crisis
  - In January 1959, US finally gives the go-ahead to the IADB project
  - US\$ 850 million in capital, of which US would provide US 400 million
  - Brazil had proposed a capital of US\$ 5 billion, with US providing 2 billion
  - Fidel Castro proposed US should create a US\$ 30 billion fund for LA
  - Brazil, reluctant to accept such a pared-down bank, did finally go along
- 15. With creation of IADB, strong pressure to dissolve the Committee of 21
  - Yet, from Brazil's state developmentalist perspective, OPA still had a long way to go
  - Brazil pointed out to US about the dangers of surge of North-South antagonism, similar to the East-West one.
  - US proposed a US\$ 500 million aid program as OPA, angering JK
  - JFK used the lack of aid to LA in the presidential debates with Nixon
- 16. In many ways, OPA laid the foundations for the Alliance for Progress
  - The latter mirrored OPA in its broad outlines and many details
  - Closer hemispheric cooperation on many fronts
  - Multilateral mechanisms to tackle development challenges
  - A greater LA voice in world affairs