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The International History Review ›

Volume 33, 2011 - Issue 1

270 Views | 2 CrossRef citations to date | 0 Altmetric

Articles

# The Consumption of (Over?) Consumption: Diplomatic Developmentalisms, Market Developmentalism, and the Making of Brazil's 'American Century'

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Pages 65-94 | Published online: 09 May 2011

Cite this article https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2011.555379

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## Abstract

In this article, 'Development' and developmentist ideas, two increasingly fashionable areas of historical inquiry, are explored in the context of relations between the United States and Brazil through the middle decades of the twentieth century, with three arguments made along the way. First, and in contrast to much academic and extra-academic received wisdom (as well as the official pronouncements of US diplomats), the United States government offered no singular or consistent approach to 'development' in its dealings with Brazil. Second, an unofficial vision of development

(here termed ‘market developmentalism’) that has so far eluded the attention of historians of developmentalist ideas emerged earlier than the official developmentalisms that have been the main object of historiographic interest to date. Third, this unofficial, largely private, consumption-oriented developmentalism is shown to have enjoyed an outsized influence in Brazil, dwarfing the influence enjoyed by those inconsistent varieties of developmentalism espoused by US diplomats between the 1940s and the 1960s.

Keywords:

Development consumer culture Brazil U.S. foreign relations

# Notes

1. A.G. Frank, ‘The Development of Underdevelopment’, Monthly Review, xviii, 4 (1966), 17–31, is among the most antique examples of twentieth-century political economy; O.A. Westad, The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times (Cambridge, 2005) is a well-known example of recently, rightfully esteemed scholarship on twentieth-century international history. The vast historical literature on corporate managerialism, consumer capitalism, and their concurrence in the United States includes: A.D. Chandler, Jr., The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business (Cambridge, MA, 1977); L. Cohen, A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America (New York, 2003); G. Cross, An All-Consuming Century: Why Commercialism Won in Modern America (New York, 2000); W. Leach, Land of Desire: Merchants, Money, and the Rise of a New American Culture (New York, 1993); R.W. Fox and T.J.J. Lears (eds), The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880–1980 (New York, 1983); T. Jackson Lears, ‘A Matter of Taste: Corporate Cultural Hegemony in a Mass-Consumption Society’, in Lary May (ed), Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of the Cold War (Chicago, 1989), 38–57; S. Strasser, Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market (New York, 1989). An influential book-length illustration of the gulf separating what its author terms US ‘liberal developmentalism’ abroad and the historical processes through which the United States actually ‘developed’ at home is E.S. Rosenberg, Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural

Expansion, 1890–1945 (New York, 1982). For the Rostowian model, see W.W. Rostow, The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto (Cambridge, 1960).

2. The quote is from 'The Wooing of Brazil', Fortune, Oct. 1941, 97. On US financing of the Volta Redonda steel-manufacturing complex and the Brazilian expectation of greater development assistance after the Second World War, see: Getúlio Vargas's comments in 'Resume of Discussion Held at the Presidential Palace, Rio de Janeiro, July 5, 1952,' in F[oreign] R[elations of the] U[nited] S[tates], 1952–1954, vol. 4, The American Republics, 588; 'Brasil-Estados Unidos', O Observador Econômico e Financeiro, Jan. 1949, 3–4; J.W.F. Dulles, Vargas of Brazil: A Political Biography (Austin, TX, 1967), 206–8, 210, 219, 225–7, 312–13; T.E. Skidmore, Politics in Brazil, 1930–1964: An Experiment in Democracy (Oxford, 1967), 44–45; M. Bandeira, A presença dos Estados Unidos no Brasil: dois séculos de história (Rio de Janeiro, 1973), chap. 36; F.D. McCann, Jr., The Brazilian-American Alliance, 1937–1945 (Princeton, NJ, 1973), 4, 67–9, 193–9, 297–8, 303–4, 306, 385; S.E. Hilton, 'The United States, Brazil, and the Cold War, 1945–1960: End of the Special Relationship', Journal of American History, lxviii, 3 (Dec. 1981): 600, 602–3; W.M. Weis, Cold Warriors and Coups d'Etat: Brazilian-American Relations, 1945–1964 (Albuquerque, NM, 1993), 12, 24–5, and passim.

3. M.L. Cooke, Brazil on the March: A Study in International Cooperation (New York, 1944); Skidmore, Politics in Brazil, 45; McCann, The Brazilian-American Alliance, 381–8; G.K. Haines, The Americanization of Brazil: A Study of U.S. Cold War Diplomacy in the Third World, 1945–1954 (Wilmington, DE, 1989), 116–17; Weis, Cold Warriors and Coups d'Etat, 12.

4. Cooke, Brazil on the March, passim (his 'industrial rejuvenation' is on 251). Cf. Weis, Cold Warriors and Coups d'Etat, 26.

5. McCann, The Brazilian-American Alliance, 385–7; Skidmore, Politics in Brazil, 45; Hilton, 'The United States, Brazil, and the Cold War', 604–5.

6. Acting Secretary of State Lovett to U.S. Embassy (Brazil), Washington, DC, 19 Dec. 1947, in FRUS, 1947, vol. 8, The American Republics, 455–6.

7. John Abbink to the Acting Secretary of State, Rio de Janeiro, 24 Dec. 1948, in FRUS, 1948, vol. 9, The Western Hemisphere, 373–5 (quote on p. 373); J. Abbink, 'One World: Its Sales Significance' (an address to the Marketing Conference of the American Management Association, New York, 5 Jan. 1945, subsequently published in pamphlet

form, n.d., copy at Columbia University, Butler Library). On suspicion of US ‘dollar-a-year-men’, see: McCann, The Brazilian-American Alliance, 264–5, 341, 382; Weis, Cold Warriors and Coups d'Etat, 14; and Getúlio Vargas comments as reported by the US Ambassador to Brazil in Herschel Johnson to the Department of State, Rio de Janeiro, 9 May 1952, in FRUS, 1952–1954, vol. 4, The American Republics, 576–7.

8. The Technical Commission's work is outlined in: FRUS, 1948, vol. 9, The Western Hemisphere, 364–75; FRUS, 1949, vol. 2, The United Nations; The Western Hemisphere, pp. 552–64; J. Abbink, et al., Report of the Joint Brazil-United States Technical Commission (Washington, DC, 1949). See also: Skidmore, Politics in Brazil, 72–3; Haines, The Americanization of Brazil, 117–18; Weis, Cold Warriors and Coups d'Etat, 26–7; Hilton, ‘The United States, Brazil, and the Cold War’, 603–4.

9. Johnson to the Secretary of State, Rio de Janeiro, 18 Nov. 1948, in FRUS, 1948, vol. 9, The Western Hemisphere, 367–8 (quote on p. 368); John Abbink to the Acting Secretary of State, Rio de Janeiro, 24 Dec. 1948, in ibid., pp. 373–5 (quote on p. 374).

10. Abbink, Report..., passim (quotes on pp. 1, 190); Bandeira, Presença dos Estados Unidos, 317; Skidmore, Politics in Brazil, 72; Weis, Cold Warriors and Coups d'Etat, 26. On official Brazilian dissatisfaction with the work of the Abbink Commission, see, for example, ‘Memorandum of Conversation, by Mr. Harold Midkiff of the Division of Brazilian Affairs’, Washington, DC, 26 May 1949, in FRUS, 1949, vol. 2, The United Nations; The Western Hemisphere, 574–7.

11. Abbink, Report ... passim (for the differences of opinion, see 121n, 278–87).

12. Ibid., 137.

13. John Abbink to the Secretary of State, Washington, D.C., 17 Mar. 1949, in FRUS, 1949, vol. 2, The United Nations; The Western Hemisphere, 552–64 (quote on p. 564).

14. John Abbink to the Acting Secretary of State, Rio de Janeiro, 24 Dec. 1948, in FRUS, 1948, vol. 9, The Western Hemisphere, pp. 373–5 (quote on p. 374).

15. On the Commission, including the pressures that brought it into being, see: Joint Brazil-United States Economic Development Commission, The Development of Brazil (Washington, DC, 1954), quote on p. vi; Edward G. Miller to Acting Secretary of State Webb, Washington, DC, 5 Oct. 1950, and attachments, in FRUS, 1950, 2:763–71; ‘Memorandum of Conversation, by the Secretary of State’, in ibid., 2:775–778; FRUS,

1951, vol. 2, The United Nations; the Western Hemisphere, 1184–1237, passim (see esp. 1192–4, 1197, 1204, 1218–19, 1231–4); FRUS, 1952–1954, vol. 4, The American Republics, 576–7, 610–22, 624–6; Haines, The Americanization of Brazil, 119 ff; Hilton, 'The United States, Brazil, and the Cold War', 607–8, 612–14; K. Sikkink, Ideas and Institutions: Developmentalism in Brazil and Argentina (Ithaca, NY, 1991), 64–5. The Joint Commission's US Commissioner explained its purpose confidentially as follows: 'the Commission was the heart of a political not an economic program. It was designed to play the major role in an effort to recapture the spirit of mutual confidence which from the days of Elihu Root and the Baron of Rio Branco down to the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt had characterised Brazilian-American relations.' Merwin L. Bohan to the Department of State, Rio de Janeiro, 20 May 1953, in FRUS, 1952–1954, vol. 4, The American Republics, 616–21 (quote on 617).

16. On Brazilian efforts to prolong the life of the Joint Brazil-United States Economic Development Commission, see FRUS, 1952–1954, vol. 4, The American Republics, 610–22; Hilton, 'The United States, Brazil, and the Cold War', 614. For Brazilian responses to what was seen as its untimely end: V.F. Bouças, 'Açúcar amargo', O Observador Econômico e Financeiro, Sept. 1960, 3. Brazilian officials likewise had attempted to obtain permanent status for the Joint Brazil-United States Technical Commission, but Abbink, in his words, 'was instructed to "soft-pedal" the idea'. See John Abbink to Edward G. Miller, Washington, DC, 13 Apr. 1950, in FRUS, 1950, vol. 2, The United Nations; the Western Hemisphere, 757–9 (quote on p. 758). On Eisenhower administration resistance to a 'Joint Brazil-U.S. Economic Board', see Henry F. Holland to the Acting Secretary of State, Washington, 16 Apr. 1954, in FRUS, 1952–1954, vol. 4, The American Republics, 650–51 (quotes on p. 650).

17. Rudolf E. Cahn to Henry F. Holland, Washington, DC, 14 Oct. 1955 (subject: 'Brazil: Program of Economic Reforms'), and enclosure, in FRUS, 1955–1957, vol. 7, American Republics: Central and South America, 674–7; also, Hilton, 'The United States, Brazil, and the Cold War', 617–18. On Operation Pan-America, see: FRUS, 1958–1960, vol. 5, American Republics, 39–40, 275–6, and 676–88 passim; Bandeira, Presença dos Estados Unidos, 381–5, 387–90; Hilton, 'The United States, Brazil, and the Cold War', 621–3; Skidmore, Politics in Brazil, 173–4, 179–80; Weis, Cold Warriors and Coups d'Etat, chap. 5.

18. For example, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. to John F. Kennedy, Washington, DC, 10 Mar. 1961, and attachment, in FRUS, 1961–1963, vol. 12, American Republics, 10—8 (quotes

on p. 15).

19. Arthur Schlesinger Jr. to Ralph A. Dungan, Washington, DC, 15 Oct. 1962, in ibid., 107–10. On Brazil policy, in particular, during these years, see ibid., 423–512 (see esp. 429 ff., 458, 461, 466, 472 ff.); Skidmore, Politics in Brazil, 194–5, 199–200, 216–17, 240–41, 244–5, 257, 270–1, 323–4; Weis, Cold Warriors and Coups d'Etat, chap. 6; C. Fico, O grande irmão: da Operação Brother Sam aos anos de chumbo (Rio de Janeiro, 2008), chaps. 1–2; R. Leacock, Requiem for Revolution: The United States and Brazil (Kent, OH, 1990), chaps. 1–10; P.R. Parker, Brazil and the Quiet Intervention, 1964 (Austin, TX, 1979).

20. Robert M. Sayre to McGeorge Bundy, Washington, DC, 30 Sept. 1964, in FRUS, 1964–1968, vol. 31, South and Central America; Mexico, 479–80 (quotes on p. 479); Lincoln Gordon to Thomas Mann, Rio de Janeiro, 10 Aug. 1964, in ibid., 471–9; Walt Whitman Rostow to Lincoln Baines Johnson, Washington, D.C., 23 Feb. 1968, in ibid., 520–1. See also ibid., 499–503; Skidmore, Politics in Brazil, 328–9; Skidmore, The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964–1985 (Oxford, 1988), 37–9, 55, 60; Fico, O grande irmão, chap. 3; Leacock, Requiem for Revolution, chaps. 10–11; Parker, Brazil and the Quiet Intervention, 80–3, 88–91, 93–7, 107.

21. NSSM-67, ‘Analytical Summary: Brazil Program Analysis’ (1970), National Security Archive, Washington, DC (copy in author's possession).

22. H.W. Arndt, Economic Development: The History of an Idea (Chicago, 1987), remains an essential introduction. See also P. Worsley, The Three Worlds: Culture and World Development (Chicago, 1984), in which the great polymath writes, ‘“development” is a post-Second World War concept’ (p. 1), and the stimulating contributions found in F. Cooper and R. Packard (eds), International Development and the Social Sciences: Essays on the History and Politics of Knowledge (Berkeley, CA, 1997), which—quoting from the editors' introduction—examine ‘[t]he form of the development idea that captured the imagination of many people across the world from the 1940s onward’ (p. 7). Works tying the birth of ‘development’ specifically to the cold war include: B. Weinstein, ‘Developing Inequality’, American Historical Review, cxiii, 1 (Feb. 2008), 1–18 (see esp. pp. 3–4); A. Escobar, ‘Power and Visibility: Development and the Invention and Management of the Third World’, Cultural Anthropology, iii, 4 (Nov. 1988), 428–43; and M.H. Hunt, Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy (New Haven, CT, 1987), 159–62, in which ‘Development was the younger sister of containment’ (p. 159). Some

of the contributors to Staging Growth: Modernization, Development, and the Global Cold War, D.C. Engerman et al. (eds) (Amherst, MA, 2003), note the deeper history of developmentalist ideas, but the book as a whole focuses on that particular cold-war conception called ‘modernization theory’. Nils Gilman, a contributor to Staging Growth, has also written a book-length study of modernisation theory in which he states, ‘the idea of development was the postwar response to the economic problems associated with decolonization’; see his Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America (Baltimore, 2003), 35. M. P. Cowen and R.W. Shenton note that ‘the period of development is invariably assumed to be a span of imperial and post-colonial history since 1945’; their Doctrines of Development (New York, 1996) takes a longer view, but does so without making the semantic distinction between actual usage of the terms ‘development’ and ‘economic development’ and the circulation of ideas that later came to be understood as signified by these terms (the quote is on p. 4). For an early appreciation of historicist approaches to development like that advanced herein, see N. Cullather, ‘Development? It's History’, Diplomatic History, xxiv, 2 (Fall 2000), 641–53.

23. Arndt, Economic Development, 9 (emphasis added). Elsewhere, Arndt traced the use of the word ‘development’ in the ‘counterculture of Marxist theory’ directly back to Marx's Capital and discussed at greater length the use of the word in the ‘white settler’ colonies of Australia and Canada. He did so, however, by way of making the same arguments: that the idea of development was confined to Marxist and colonial ghettoes until the late 1930s and early 1940s, when ‘the postwar meaning’ of ‘economic development’ emerged suddenly and seemingly spontaneously. See his ‘Economic Development: A Semantic History’, Economic Development and Cultural Change, xxix, 3 (Apr. 1981), 457–66. This line of argumentation led him to make a pair of erroneous statements regarding US history: (1) that ‘“economic development” in the transitive sense’ was never used in the nineteenth-century United States; because (2) ‘In the United States … economic development happened, as immigrants from Europe streamed in; settlers went west to take up fertile land; communities established towns and cities; private companies constructed railways; and mining, logging, manufacturing, banking and other enterprises grew, within (and sometimes without) legal rules made by government’ (ibid., 462). On (1), cf. n. 24 below; on (2), one need only consider the former slave south, where immigrants were rare, unclaimed fertile land was scarce, and the fruits of such economic growth as occurred were relatively unimpressive.

24. For example, ‘One Need of the South’, New York Times, 7 Dec. 1881, 4 (for ‘a late and high stage of economic development’ as the opposite and potential overcoming of ‘the backwardness of the South’); Richmond Dispatch, 22–23 June 1894, quoted in C.V. Woodward, Origins of the New South (Baton Rouge, LA, 1951), 291 (on the founding of the Southern Development Association ‘to promote the colonization and improvement of the South’); ‘The Spanish Rule in Cuba’, New York Times, 5 Jan. 1897, 7; ‘Review and Outlook’ (subheading, ‘Effect of South American Development’), Wall Street Journal, 2 Apr. 1903, 1; C.C. Manifold, ‘Recent Exploration and Economic Development in Central and Western China’, Geographical Journal, xxiii, 3 (Mar. 1904), 281–308 (see esp. p. 307); Baron S. von Sternberg, ‘Germany's Designs on Brazil’, North American Review, reprinted in ‘Business Literature’, Wall Street Journal, 19 May 1906, 6; A. MacWillie, ‘Impressions of the Orient,’ The 57 Life, 2 May 1907, 1, 2, quoted in M. Domosh, American Commodities in an Age of Empire (New York, 2006), 172; J. Barrett, ‘Development of South America’, Banker’s Magazine (New York), reprinted in ‘Business Literature’, Wall Street Journal, 29 June 1907, 6; J.H. Hollander, ‘The Regeneration of San Domingo’, The Independent (New York), 28 Aug. 1913, 489–93 (see esp. 493); ‘Mustn't Intervene, Says N. O. Winter’, New York Times, 21 Nov. 1913, 2; ‘For Campaign for Conquest of South American Trade’, Boston Globe, reprinted in ‘Business Literature’, Wall Street Journal, 14 Sept. 1914, 6; Franklin D. Roosevelt, longhand diary, January 1917, quoted in L.A. Pérez, Jr., ‘“La Chambelona”: Political Protest, Sugar, and Social Banditry in Cuba, 1914–1917’, Inter-American Economic Affairs, 31 (1978), 14; ‘British Banks First to Exploit South America’, Wall Street Journal, 3 Dec. 1918, 10; W.S. Culbertson, ‘An Open Door of World Trade’ (Dec. 1918), Nation's Business, Mar. 1919, 34; H.A. Franck, Working North from Patagonia: Being the Narrative of a Journey, Earned on the Way, Through Southern and Eastern South America (New York, 1922), 287; J. Klein, ‘Economic Rivalries in Latin America’, Foreign Affairs, 15 Dec. 1924, 236–43 (see esp. pp. 240–1, 243); ‘Trade with Latin America to Expand’ (subtitled, ‘United Fruit Head Says Next Ten Years’ Development Will Exceed That Since Spanish Conquest’), Wall Street Journal, 5 May 1927, 13; ‘The New Pan-Americanism’ (transcript of ‘A radio talk… delivered through the courtesy of the National Broadcasting Company, … November 24, 1928, from Station WRC, Washington, D.C.’), Papers of J. Klein, Hoover Institution Archives, box 1; Julius Klein, ‘The Key to Latin-American Trade’, The Nation, 16 Jan. 1929, 65–7; ‘Latin America as Trade Field’, Wall Street Journal, 12 Apr. 1929, 13; W. Irwin, ‘South America Awakes’, Nation's Business, May 1929, 27; Minutes of Representatives’ Meeting, 20 Aug. 1929, J[.]W[alter] T[hompson Company] A[rchive], [Duke University], Staff Meeting Minutes, box 2; H. M. Bratter, ‘The Role of Subsidies in

Japan's Economic Development', Pacific Affairs, iv, 5 (May 1931), 377–93; P. Winterton, 'Soviet Economic Development Since 1928', Economic Journal 171 (Sept. 1933), 442–52; G. Hirschfeld, 'Can China Stem the Communist Tide?', North American Review, Mar. 1935, 257–62 (see esp. 259, 260, 261); P.E. James, 'Industrial Development in São Paulo State, Brazil', Economic Geography 11/3 (July, 1935), 258–66. Early uses of 'underdevelopment' in ways resembling its post-1945 sense include: O.M. Miller, 'The 1927–1928 Peruvian Expedition of the American Geographical Society', Geographical Review, xix, 1 (Jan. 1929), 1–37 (p. 31); F.L. Kluckhohn, 'A Dictatorship Belt in the New World', New York Times Magazine, 5 Sept. 1937, 12–13, 20 (p. 13). At an even further remove from economics-department seminar rooms, people who might otherwise be imagined as having been the objects of development processes themselves engaged and elaborated upon the idea of development itself. Nick Cullather, citing Sun Yat-Sen's The International Development of China (1922), notes that 'Chinese intellectuals used the language of modernity [i.e., of 'development'] in the 1920s', decades before the development idea absorbed the attention of prominent economists. See his 'Development? It's History', 650. Arndt himself had cited Sun's book as '[a]n interesting exception, though one that may prove the rule', based on its author having been 'influenced by the October Revolution in Russia and thus indirectly by the Marxist tradition and partly [and less convincingly] that his use of "economic development" is, after all, closer to that of [Lord] Milner than of Marx.' Arndt, 'Economic Development', 464.

25. Mona Domosh's American Commodities in an Age of Empire makes the case that what she calls 'America's "civilization through consumption"', promoted abroad by various companies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was a set of ideas involving 'assumptions [that] were critical to the discourse of economic development that was formalized after World War II,' while cautioning, 'I do not mean to suggest that the complex set of ideas and practices that constitute the term "development" began in this time and place' (quotes on pp. 188, 191, 192). The 'civilization through consumption' idea is an awkward fit with her evidence in two regards. First of all, her two most important case studies (Singer Manufacturing Company and McCormick/International Harvester) produced, distributed, and marketed items (sewing machines and farm machinery, respectively) that were themselves designed to be used in the production of further goods. They were, in short, capital goods rather than consumer goods (or, perhaps, in the case of Singer's sewing machines for the home, a petty capital good and a consumer durable). Second, at least

one of her subjects (a representative of the H.J. Heinz Company rather than of Singer or McCormick) was already using the terms ‘developing’ and ‘development’ rather than ‘civilization’ as early as 1907: ‘Japan of the Nineteenth Century is rapidly passing away, and Japan of the Twentieth Century is developing to an extent not even surpassed by the growth of our own great republic’; ‘Railways, which play such an important part in the development of any country, are being projected in all directions throughout China’ (quotes on p. 172).

26. W.E. Aughinbaugh, Selling Latin America: A Problem in International Salesmanship (Boston, 1915), 7, 11–12; ‘W. E. Aughinbaugh’, New York Times, 19 Dec. 1940, 25.

27. H. Sibley, ‘Look South, Business Man!,’ Nation's Business, Mar. 1937, 44.

28. ‘Latin America as Trade Field’, Wall Street Journal, 12 Apr. 1929, 13.

29. C.H. Watson, ‘Markets Are People – Not Places’, The News Bulletin, July 1928, 18–19, JWTA.

30. C.E. Bosworth, ‘Speaking of Foreign Trade’, Nation's Business, July 1919, 69 (original emphasis). Cf. the Advertiser and Mail (Montgomery, AL), 1 Jan. 1880, quoting from an issue of the Philadelphia Press published the previous year: ‘The plantation negroes are beginning to see beyond bare floors, “nigger's” shoes, and gaudy head “kerchiefs”. Neat carpets, good Lynn shoes, and tasteful millinery begin to find a market in the South. Even the corset trade finds a developing outlet.’ In Woodward, Origins of the New South, 114.

31. R.H. Powers (‘Former Advertising Manager, The China Weekly Review, Shanghai’), ‘What the Chinese Want in Advertising’, Nation's Business, 25 Apr. 1930, 102, 104, 108–9.

32. L.D. Ricci, ‘Latin America Today Offers an Outstanding Market’, Advertising Abroad, Nov. 1929, 1, 20.

33. A. Rittenhouse, ‘Our Peacetime A. E. F.’, Nation's Business, Aug. 1929, 56, 58, 180 (quotes on p. 56). See also V. de Grazia, Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe (Cambridge, MA, 2005). The phrase ‘Developing Goods' is Arnold J. Bauer's. See his Goods, Power, History: Latin America's Material Culture (Cambridge, 2001), chap. 6.

34. L. Pasvolsky, ‘The World Depends on America’, Nation's Business, Apr. 1931, 48, 138. On Pasvolsky and the UN, see S.C. Schlesinger, Act of Creation: The Founding of the United Nations (Boulder, CO, 2003), esp. chap. 3 and 55–7, 69, 121, 161–2, 220, 233–4.

35. ‘America Motorizing Mankind’ (transcript of ‘A radio talk… delivered through the courtesy of the National Broadcasting Company, … July 21, 1928’), Papers of Julius Klein, Hoover Institution Archives, box 1; ‘Net Profits of General Motors Double Ford's for 1926’, The News Bulletin, May 1927, 20, JWTA; E. Cray, Chrome Colossus: General Motors and its Times (New York, 1980), 236, 243, 250; de Grazia, Irresistible Empire, 135, 230–1; F.G. Donner, The World-Wide Industrial Enterprise: Its Challenge and Promise (New York, 1967), 15–16; C.H.A. Dassbach, Global Enterprises and the World Economy: Ford, General Motors, and IBM. The Emergence of the Transnational Enterprise (New York, 1989), 141–4.

36. J.D. Mooney, ‘Making the World Move Faster,’ Nation's Business, Dec. 1928, 21.

37. Ibid., 21–2.

38. Ibid., 22.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid. In another telling of the same story, the storekeeper's wife and daughter had been ‘barefoot, dressed in the simplest calico’, prior to his purchase of ‘an American automobile’; now, not only do they ‘wear silk stockings’, they also ‘emulate the latest Paris fashions’ and their village is connected to the outside world by ‘three radio sets’, all of which added up to ‘a higher degree of happiness’. J.D. Mooney, ‘The Automobile Remodeling Life’, New York Times, 3 Mar. 1929, sec. xx, 14.

41. Mooney, ‘Making the World Move Faster’.

42. H. Tipper, ‘General Motors Around the World’, The News Bulletin, Mar. 1928, 5–7, JWTA. For an entertaining introduction to the overseas adoption of the ‘service ethic’ evoked in Tipper's speech, see de Grazia, Irresistible Empire, chap. 1.

43. J.W. Alexander, ‘The American Car Abroad’, Nation's Business, Nov. 1920, 18.

44. C.D. Snow, ‘Putting the World on Wheels’, Nation's Business, July 1924, 24–6 (quote on 24).

45. C.F. Kettering, ‘Why Research in Advertising’, Printer's Ink, 19 July 1928, 148.

46. Henry C. Flower, interviews by Colin Dawkins, Greenwich, CT, 20 July 1979 and 16 Oct. 1979, 102, JWTA, Colin Dawkins Papers, Oral Interview Series; unsigned memorandum on General Motors, 25 July 1928, JWTA, James Webb Young Papers, International Branch Notebooks, box 1; de Grazia, Irresistible Empire, 231.

47. P.T. Cherington, ‘Are American Manufacturers Foolish Exporters?’, The News Bulletin, Dec. 1922, 12, JWTA; de Grazia, Irresistible Empire, 237.

48. J.L. Hutchinson, ‘Brass Tacks in Foreign Trade’, The News Bulletin, Feb. 1923, 9, JWTA.

49. ‘The Many Worlds of Sam Meek’, JWTA, Biographical Information, box 12; also, S. Resor, ‘Advertising as a Career’, Printer's Ink, 12 May 1927, 65–80; M. Mayer, Madison Avenue, USA (New York, 1958), 75–6.

50. R. Pierce, Gringo-Gaucho: An Advertising Odyssey (Ashland, OR, 1991), 20–1.

51. The quote is from Fox and Lears, The Culture of Consumption, xiii.

52. Watson, ‘Markets Are People’, 6, 14.

53. Minutes of Representatives' Meeting (entitled ‘Group Meeting’ in this case), 30 Apr. 1930, JWTA, Staff Meeting Minutes, box 2.

54. Aughinbaugh, Selling Latin America, passim (see esp. chaps. 1, 27, and plates); Aughinbaugh, Advertising for Trade in Latin-America (New York, 1922).

55. R. Dickinson, ‘London Discusses Advertising's Place in World Selling’, Printer's Ink, 17 July 1924, 10.

56. M. Thorpe, ‘Advertising's Present Opportunity’, Printer's Ink, 5 Dec. 1929, 80.

57. R.B. Lockwood, ‘American Advertising Standards Are Being Accepted Overseas’, Printer's Ink, 6 Feb. 1930, 124, 129–30, 132 (original emphasis).

58. Klein's speech was published in the June 1931 issue of Export Advertiser as ‘Export Advertising Finds Some New Responsibilities’ (pp. 10–11). Klein's earlier professions of faith in foreign advertising and U.S. consumer culture include: ‘Keep an Eye on Latin America’, Printer's Ink, 31 Dec. 1925, 124, 126–7; ‘Fundamental Bases of

Our Prosperity', New York Times, 15 Dec. 1929, sec. xx, 3, 20. For third-person reporting on Klein's activities and his advocacy of US advertising: 'American Goods in Need of More Advertising Abroad', Printer's Ink, 27 Mar. 1924, 113–14; 'Present-Day Handicaps to Foreign Trade', Printer's Ink, 21 Jan. 1926, 113–14, 116, 121; 'Urges Advertising for World Trade', New York Times, 24 June 1926, 16; 'Huge Gains in Trade Shown for 1925–26', New York Times, 7 Sept. 1926, 23; 'Dr. Klein Says Europe is Fast Recovering', New York Times, 21 Oct. 1926, 9. Klein, an interesting figure in his own right (he was, among other things, a Harvard-trained historian of the Spanish Mesta and a one-time commercial attaché in Buenos Aires), plays a bit part in Leach, Land of Desire, 360–8.

59. Klein, 'Export Advertising Finds Some New Responsibilities', 10.

60. Leach, Land of Desire, 381. Cf. Cross, An All-Consuming Century, chap. 3.

61. J.J. Daly, 'Brazil – Postwar Cash Customer', Nation's Business, Jan. 1945, 46, 48.

62. T. Fielding, 'Reminder: Latinos [sic] Are People Too', Nation's Business, Dec. 1949, 33.

63. 'Tendências dos negócios', Publicidade & Negócios, 1 May 1950, 5, 27.

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