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HUMPHREY OFFERS NINE-POINT PLAN

FOR IMPROVING U.S. - LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico, Dec. 2 -- Senator Hubert H. Humphrey today offered a nine-point program to improve U.S. relations with Latin America and "to recapture the warm bonds of friendship which characterized the best days of the Good Neighbor policy."

Senator Humphrey, who spoke yesterday at Christiansted, St. Croix, Virgin Islands, appeared here today at a Lions Club luncheon following a reception for him by Governor Munoz Marin.

The 9-point proposal, much of which the Senator said could be carried out through a strengthened Organization of American States (OAS), follows in outline:

1. "The United States should increase the volume of its economic aid in support of Latin American efforts to develop diversified and expanding economies so that they will not be dependent, as they now are, on a few commodities. . . ."

2. "The United States should accelerate, expand and strengthen its programs of technical assistance in agriculture, health, education, vocational training, and public administration. . . ."

3. "The United States should support vigorously the current moves within Latin America to establish regional markets -- yes, a common market for Latin American trade..."

4. "The United States should review its trade and tariff policies as they affect imports from Latin America. It is self-defeating for us to provide economic assistance with one hand and then take it away with the other by shortsighted trade restrictions..."

5. "The United States should give wholehearted support to the health programs under the direction of the Pan American Sanitary Organization. . . ."

6. "The United States in cooperation with our Latin American neighbors should develop a broad and imaginative program of public education, student and cultural exchange. We should offer generous assistance and cooperation in 'waging war on illiteracy'. . . ."

7. "The U.S. press, radio, and TV networks should give wider and better balanced news coverage of Latin American affairs. This, of course, is something our Government can do little about. But it is essential that the American people have a continuous report and interpretation of Latin American developments. . . ."

8. "The United States should thoroughly reappraise its military assistance

(more)

program in Latin America." Sen. Humphrey warned against encouraging a Latin American arms race, and pointed out that coordination of hemispheric military policy and strategy "might well result in a decrease in the requirements of national military establishments." Further, he said, "our military assistance to certain dictatorial governments has raised the question of whose freedom those governments are defending."

9. "The United States should lend its support and give leadership to the idea of regional arms control." Such a plan has been submitted to OAS by Costa Rica, and it should be considered at the Inter-American Conference in Quito in 1960, he said.

"The people of Latin America," Sen. Humphrey said, "need jobs, economic opportunity - they need homes, health, education, and food. They need to know that the United States is the undaunted champion of peace and progress with a deep and meaningful concern for people - their needs, hopes and aspirations."

Of Cuba, Sen. Humphrey said:

"We watch with grave anxiety the course of revolution in Cuba. Revolutionary governments, particularly those coming after a prolonged period of dictatorship and oppression, face great difficulties. Their leaders are confused by conflicting advice, sometimes honest and sometimes the result of selfish ambition or hidden design. . .

"We are concerned that private investment be respected because we believe that increased private investment is not the sole but one of the keys to economic growth and democratic political stability for Cuba and other Latin American countries. But we must be most careful that such concern is not exploited to give the impression that we are opposed to the social and economic changes which are required to make a democratic Cuba serve the interests of all her people.

"In this difficult task of interpreting America to Cuba and other Latin American countries, Puerto Rico has a most important role to play. Puerto Rico can do much to foster healthy inter-American cooperation and to give the United States a better understanding of Latin American problems, feelings and needs and to dispel the unwarranted suspicion and distrust of the United States in Latin America."

Sen. Humphrey said, "Puerto Rico's own development in the past two decades reflects the Latin American ferment to shed semi-feudal economic and social structures which shackle their people to poverty and stifle economic growth. . ."

"Americans above all other peoples should be able to understand and sympathize with the craving to break the old order. To our everlasting shame, the United States has managed to appear callous and indifferent to the drama being enacted in our own Hemisphere. In our real dread of the spread of Communist tyranny, we have eagerly sought Latin American support. At the same time, we have demonstrated a peculiar non-chalance toward despotisms of the home-grown variety."

Senator's Reading Copy 000063

~~EXCERPT~~

LATIN AMERICAN-UNITED STATES RELATIONS

San Juan, Puerto Rico, Dec. 2

Today, I want to talk about Latin America and United States policy toward our Latin American neighbors. Puerto Rico's geographic setting and Spanish heritage inevitably heighten your interest in Latin American developments and sharpen your insights. ~~It is not often that I have the pleasure to speak to a group who are so well-informed about Latin American affairs, and who have a concern that is sustained beyond the latest headline.~~

↳ Puerto Rico provides a most important bridge of understanding between the United States and Latin America. Politically, Puerto Rico is an American Commonwealth sharing and cherishing the democratic traditions and practices of the United States. But Puerto Rico also shares and cherishes much of the rich cultural traditions of her Latin American neighbors. Puerto Rico can help the United States to understand the feelings and aspirations and problems of our Latin American neighbors. Puerto Rico can help the struggling Latin American countries to make democracy work as it works in ~~the States~~ of the United States and in the ~~American~~ Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

~~Until very recently~~ ^{has been} one of the weaknesses of our foreign policy ~~was~~ the tendency to underestimate Latin American developments; there was a general assumption that nothing much could go wrong within our Hemisphere.

But there has been no disagreement on the importance of cordial, cooperative relations with our 20 sister Republics. Everyone agrees that strategically,

ICBM's notwithstanding, Latin America remains one of the key foundations of our defense shield. Politically, close and harmonious relations with the Latin American people, who now number over 180 million, add to the free world's strength in the larger issues of the cold war.

Economically, the American Republics constitute a vital ~~ingredient~~ ^{factor} in our own well-being. The area is second only to Europe as a purchaser of United States exports. Last year 26 percent of our commercial exports went there. One-third or more of all United States exports of machinery, transportation equipment, iron and steel-mill products, and medicinals were purchased by the 20 American Republics. Latin American purchases add up to a lot of jobs for a lot of people in the United States. In addition, the region is the principal source of United States imports, last year supplying 28 percent of the total. These imports consist of many strategic minerals as well as materials essential to our peacetime industries.

Despite general agreement on the value of close inter-American ties, relations ^{have} deteriorated in the post-war period. The violent outbursts against Vice President Nixon exploded any illusions we might have held.

It is not my purpose to affix blame for the corrosion which developed in United States relations with Latin America. The important thing now is to heal the estrangement and to forge a program aimed at strengthening the Hemisphere both economically and politically.

^{and} ~~I think~~ our gravest error has been a misreading of the revolutions gripping the region. Some people are prone to dismiss Latin American revolts as mere changes in the palace guard, while others see Communist influence in every upheaval. These stereotypes can be our undoing.

Today, the nations to the south are in the midst of an epic social revolution. We and the Communists have vied with each other in telling people the world over that they no longer have to live out their lives in hopeless misery. Modern means of communication have carried the message of hope into the remotest villages.

But neither we nor the Communists can take credit for the stirring from apathy that is sweeping the continent. The old order inherited from the colonial period began to be challenged decades ago. Whether in bloody revolution, as in Mexico in 1910, or by the evolutionary processes preached by such parties as Acción Democrática in Venezuela and APRA in Peru, Latin Americans are demanding an end to semi-feudal conditions in which 5 percent of the population owns from 80 to 90 percent of the land; in which a handful of nations and foreigners live in luxury, while the majority live in squalor; in which disease strikes down their children and hunger and ignorance perpetuate their slavery; in which the wealthy minority join with the army to keep things just as they are.

Puerto Rico's own development in the past two decades reflects the Latin American ferment to shed semi-feudal economic and social structures which shackle their people to poverty and stifle economic growth. Many of us here can remember when this island was referred to as "the stricken land." Densely populated and tied to an agricultural economy dependent almost entirely upon the export of sugar cane, there were many who felt that Puerto Ricans had no alternative to low wages, mass unemployment, few schools, miserable housing and a high death rate. To everyone's good fortune, men sometimes labeled as "visionaries" came to power simultaneously in mainland United States and in Puerto Rico. Unfettered by rightist dogma condemning government planning or

leftist dogma banning private investment, Puerto Rico's government in a relatively short time made the island a veritable testimony to what can be accomplished when honest government ^{planning,} and private capital complement each others efforts.

You know well that many thousands of Latin Americans have risked exile, imprisonment, torture and death to achieve similar responsible governments, responsive to the needs of their people. Your beautiful island and understanding people have offered refuge to many valiant exiles, including Rómulo Betancourt, the man who ^{man} after years of sacrifice is leading Venezuela on the tortuous road to political and economic democracy. These courageous people usually come from the classes that produce political leadership--students, union leaders, professional and business men. The rash of revolutions that toppled tyrannies in Argentina, Colombia, Venezuela and Cuba attests to the continuing determination to achieve freedom and bread despite periodic setbacks.

Americans above all other peoples should be able to understand and sympathize with the craving to break the old order. To our everlasting shame, the United States has managed to appear callous and indifferent to the drama being enacted in our own Hemisphere. In our real dread of the spread of Communist tyranny, we have eagerly sought Latin American support. At the same time, we have demonstrated a peculiar nonchalance toward despotisms of the home-grown variety.

Here in Puerto Rico, where you follow Latin American events so closely, there is no need to spell out the foolish actions which helped create a distorted impression of what the American people really stand for. It is sufficient to mention the medals bestowed on Pérez Jiménez and Tabernilla, the man who

commanded air raids against the Cuban people. We can hardly wonder that Latin Americans began to view the United States as a nation selfishly engrossed in defending its own freedoms while heedless of the aspirations of others.

Meanwhile, our economic attitudes toward Latin America created a companion image of the United States as arrogant, paternal, interested primarily in promoting the interests of United States investors, and unconcerned for the well-being of ordinary human beings. It is painful to think that the generous impulse of the United States, which first created the idea of technical assistance in Latin America in 1942, now seems so perverted.

On the question of Latin America's economic development the United States has presented an ambiguous picture. At Harvard University 12 years ago, Secretary of State Marshall described our policy in these terms: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos." Hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos well described Latin American conditions.

We then proceeded to provide billions in aid to Europe and Asia. To Latin American pleas for assistance, we replied with advice that they should look to private investments and private enterprise as the principal channels for their needed capital.

The frequent reiteration that private capital would meet Latin American requirements insulted and irritated our neighbors. We Americans like our system of free enterprise. It has worked for us, although not in the simon-pure form that some people like to pretend. Latin Americans, on the other hand, have some sour memories of robber-baron type investments, both domestic and foreign, the kind which we ourselves have long since ceased to tolerate at home.

In addition, the advice ignores the plain fact that private enterprise goes in to make a profit, and will hardly be attracted when the basic sinews of a national economy, such as roads, power and sanitation facilities, are lacking.

Moreover, overdependence on private investment results in a piece-meal approach to economic development as private funds haphazardly move into a mine here and a factory there. In the urgent circumstances which Latin Americans find themselves--trying to raise living standards in a race with an explosive population growth--they can hardly wait patiently for the trickle-down theory of economics to maybe work.

The image of the United States resulting from policy errors never accurately reflected American sentiment. Public reaction to the violent demonstrations against Vice President Nixon, surprised and hurt rather than indignant and bellicose, proved that our citizens sincerely desire understanding with Latin America. The American people would never knowingly support a policy designed to promote stability in the area at the cost of clamping a lid on an unjust status quo.

The Administration recently has moved toward creating a policy which reflects the American people's deep interest in the formation of prosperous, democratically oriented republics in the Western Hemisphere.

On March 10 the Department of State announced what amounts to a major change of heart, as follows:

Not only must account be taken of the private capital and technical know-how required to create employment for those who today are under-employed, but also of the need to create new jobs for an even larger number of workers. In addition to the expansion of industry and agriculture which this implies, very large additional amounts of public funds will be required for facilities which only governments can provide, for example, highways, sanitation facilities, hospitals and schools.

On the heels of this departure, the Administration took other steps away from the inflexible, doctrinaire principles which had been clogging inter-American economic cooperation. United States support for the Inter-American Development Bank was finally announced. We also agreed to consult with the American Republics before making decisions which could affect their exports. We have indicated our willingness to take a fresh look at efforts to deal with instability and fluctuation in the commodity market. We have lent our support to the idea of regional markets within Latin America.

In the political sphere, the State Department has realized that it must demonstrate that the American people stand unequivocally for those principles of individual freedom and human dignity which are our proudest heritage.

The old argument that we cannot distinguish between Hemisphere dictators and democrats in conducting foreign relations is, of course, absurd. Those of us who advocate making sharp distinctions between the two in the conduct of our Hemisphere policy are not advocating armed intervention to overthrow dictators. Rather, it is a question of moral and psychological support for the democratic elements in the Americas. The visits of Presidents Frondizi and López Mateos, and the coming visit of President Lleras Camargo of Colombia, are cases in point. They offer the opportunity to make crystal clear the respect and esteem in which the American people hold the democratic leaders of the continent.

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What to do about the remaining tyrannies continues to pose a problem for all the American republics. In this regard I would like to discuss a bitter and wholly unjustified charge made by the Cuban Government in an official note last month.

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Meanwhile, we watch with grave anxiety the course of revolution in Cuba. Revolutionary governments, particularly those coming after a prolonged period of dictatorship and oppression, face great difficulties. Their leaders are confused by conflicting advice, sometimes honest and sometimes the result of selfish ambition or hidden design.

This is a period of trial and agony for patriotic Cubans. It is a period of anxiety for you and ^{me} I, friends of an emergent democratic Cuba. We are concerned that private investment be respected because we believe that increased private investment is not the sole but one of the keys to economic growth and democratic political stability for Cuba and other Latin American countries. But we must be most careful that ~~that~~ ^{such} concern is not exploited to give the impression that we are opposed to the social and economic changes which are required to make a democratic Cuba serve the interest of all her people. In this difficult task of interpreting America to Cuba and other Latin American countries, Puerto Rico has a most important role to play.

Puerto Rico can do much to foster healthy ^y inter-American cooperation and to give the United States a better understanding of Latin American problems, feelings and needs and to dispel the unwarranted suspicion and distrust of the United States in Latin America.

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Such tactics should only harden our resolve to inaugurate a forceful, imaginative program to help Latin Americans realize their aspirations for freedom and progress. The recent steps taken by the Administration to repair our tottering Latin American policy should be applauded. They are steps in the right direction, but they will not be enough if the escalator of history is going faster in the opposite direction.

A coordinated program on the order of the Marshall plan would give the Latin Americans new hope of attaining bread and freedom. The possibilities of such an effort should be explored carefully, not primarily as an anti-Communist strategem, but because it is good for Latin America and for the United States. We should not be ashamed of our humanitarian tradition. Nor should we be embarrassed if humanitarian and security objectives sometimes coincide in our national policy.

I offer for your study and comment
~~On April 15 I proposed in Congress~~ the following 9-point program for improving United States relations with Latin America. I believe this program is realistic and workable and in harmony with the best interests of our country and of our 20 sister republics. ~~I would welcome your comments and suggestions.~~

First. The United States should increase the volume of its economic aid in support of Latin American efforts to develop diversified and ^{expanding} ~~whole~~ economies so that they will not be dependent, as they now are, on a few commodities. Requests for loans from the Development Loan Fund and the Export-Import Bank should be dealt with expeditiously and sympathetically. We should cooperate fully with the new Inter-American Development Institution. The proposed corps of technical experts within the Institute could help the smaller, inexperienced countries draw up coordinated development plans.

much of this program could be implemented through the OAS (Organization of American States), ^{should}

The OAS needs to be strengthened by use - developed by activity

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expand

"Second. The United States should accelerate and strengthen its program of technical assistance in agriculture, health, education, vocational training, and public administration. The time has come to recapture the original fervor of President Truman's bold new ^{Point four} program which was widely hailed in Latin America when it was first announced a decade ago.

"Third. The United States should support vigorously the current moves within Latin America to establish regional markets. ^{Yes a common market for Inter-American trade.} Elimination of inter-American trade barriers would broaden markets for Latin American products and would make low-cost manufacturing feasible. Both are indispensable prerequisites to diversification and economic growth.

"Fourth. The United States should review its trade and tariff policies as they affect imports from Latin America. It is self-defeating for us to provide economic assistance with one hand, and then take it away, with the other, by shortsighted trade restrictions. If policies designed to strengthen our trade with Latin America cause hardship to any domestic industry, the Government has a responsibility to aid those so affected. In the Senate, I recently co-sponsored an amendment to the Area Redevelopment Act (S. 722) to make such aid possible; but, unfortunately, it did not pass the committee stage.

"Fifth. The United States should give wholehearted support to the health programs under the direction of the Pan American Sanitary Organization. Widespread disease which stalks Latin America is a tremendous economic drain as well as a human tragedy. Investment in health is perhaps the cheapest, most effective investment we can make in the future of the Western Hemisphere.

"Sixth. ^{in cooperation with our Latin American neighbors} The United States should develop a bold and imaginative program of ^{public} student and cultural exchange. *We should offer generous assistance and cooperation in "waging war on illiteracy" - Latin America needs schools - vocational schools - professional schools. It needs teachers - thousands of them.*

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We need to reexamine our methods of screening Latin American scholarship recipients. Too frequently the test has been the friendliness of the recipient toward the United States. Young Latin Americans of so-called leftist tendencies have been excluded, when they are often the very ones who would benefit most from the program.

Seventh. The U. S. press, radio, and TV networks should give wider and better balanced news coverage of Latin American affairs. This, of course, is something our Government can do little about. But it is essential that the American people have a continuous report and interpretation of Latin American developments if they are to understand the magnitude of the problems in that region and what we are being asked to support. When news of revolutions and executions dominate our newspapers, it is hard for the American taxpayer to form an understanding of the underlying realities in the 20 American Republics, and of our interest in them.

Eighth. The United States should thoroughly reappraise its military assistance program in Latin America. What we have given one nation for hemispheric defense has often provoked demands by another for an equal amount of aid. Great care should be taken not to encourage this type of arms race, which Latin American governments can ill afford. We should give greater attention to the coordination of military policy and strategy in the hemisphere. This might well result in a decrease in the requirements of national military establishments.

Further, our military assistance to certain dictatorial governments has raised the question of whose freedom those governments are defending. The use by Batista of U.S.-supplied armaments against his own people, contrary to stipulations of our defense treaty, has greatly damaged U.S. prestige throughout

Latin America. It makes little sense to speak of hemispheric defense while arming a tyrant who uses weapons to intimidate his own people.

"Ninth. The United States should lend its support to the idea of regional arms control. Last year Costa Rica submitted such a plan to the Organization of American States, and received nominal support from the U. S. delegation. Our Government should now press for the consideration of the Costa Rican plan, or some similar project, at the 11th Inter-American Conference to be held at Quito next year.

"The quality of our overall policy toward Latin America will be determined not only by what we do, but by how we do it.

"Unless we pursue our policies with a genuine interest in the welfare of our fellow human beings, they will do little to heal our wounded inter-American relations. The steps already taken by the ~~Department of State~~ ^{our Government}, many of them complete reversals of former policy, will avail us little if they are done reluctantly and only under Latin American pressure.

"We must, if we are to recapture the warm bonds of friendship which characterized the best days of the good neighbor policy, breathe into inter-American cooperation that intangible spirit which then characterized our relations--a deep rooted conviction that the Western Hemisphere can, indeed it must, be a new world where freedom and opportunity flourish."

(X) The people of Latin America need jobs, economic opportunity - they need homes, health, education and food. They need to know that the U.S. is the undaunted champion of peace and progress with a deep and meaningful concern for people - their needs, hopes and aspirations.



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