

From the Office of
SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
1311 New Senate Office Building
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The Senate Democratic Whip, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D.Minn) said last night in Miami that he is recommending to President Kennedy that he visit not just briefly in Latin America, but "a full tour of every major nation of Latin America."

Senator Humphrey, who has just returned from a three weeks visit with Latin American leaders, told a Miami audience that "the greatest export we could make to our neighbors to the South this year would be such a visit from President and Mrs. Kennedy."

"Such a visit," he said, "would signal that the United States considers the Alliance for Progress a major program of historic importance, that we intend it to have in Latin America the same impact that the Marshall Plan had in Western Europe."

"It would be an unmistakable demonstration that the United States is in earnest, that we intend to keep our full commitment to our neighbors to the South, and the Presidential visit would have dramatic results in terms of strengthening Latin American confidence and belief in the economic future of Latin America."

At the same time, Senator Humphrey proposed a major new American program -- the establishment of an Inter-American Free Trade Area -- "A Common Market for the Western Hemisphere which would become an equal partner with the European Common Market, and which would protect the legitimate interests of our Latin American neighbors, who rely so heavily upon their exports of raw materials to the vast industrial complex of Western Europe."

The Minnestoan said that he intends to take up this proposal with the President upon his return to Washington shortly. (Senator Humphrey, prior to visiting Latin America, made an extensive tour of Western Europe, holding numerous conversations with the top European leadership responsible for the development of the European Common Market).

"Castroism and Communism in Latin America can be put on the run," Senator Humphrey observed, "and I am very optimistic about it."

"President Kennedy is extremely popular: he is believed in, and his program has raised great hopes throughout Latin America." There is much other good news: the young people are sensing their responsibility for social and economic reform; the Catholic hierarchy is responding to the challenge of Pope John's encyclical; the free trade union movement and the cooperatives are on the move; American businessmen in Latin America are coming to realize the powerful drives not for nationalization of American investments, but for "naturalization."

Senator Humphrey outlined what he felt were the essentials upon which Latin American and United States leaders must agree if the Alliance for Progress is to make its full impact:

1. "That this is fundamentally a Latin American program, designed for Latin American purposes and resting for its success fundamentally on degree of commitment and participation of Latin Americans.
2. "That political and economic reform, particularly in the fields of agriculture and tax and fiscal policies, must be carried out."

3. "That there must be detailed planning, not only country by country, but project by project."
4. "That priorities be set, and regular progress checks made."
5. "That there be integrity and efficiency in administration."
6. "That an inventory of resources, internal and external, available for the fulfillment of the objectives, be made."

Senator Humphrey indicated a strong impatience with those who proposed to proceed over-cautiously, and only after a great many more studies of the situation.

"What the people in North America and Latin America want is to see a little more earth moved, and a little less paper shuffling -- a lot more bricks laid, a lot more houses, hospitals, and schools built!"

NOTES FOR SPEECH IN MIAMI BEACH
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December 9, 1961

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I return from Latin America basically optimistic. Despite the tremendous problems in that great area, there is much good news to tell.

- Young people, the new generation, are sensing their responsibility for social and economic progress.
- The free trade union movement is making progress.
(Workers have been denied social and economic justice by political manipulators and demagogues, often by Communist domination of the unions themselves).
- The cooperative movement is growing -- production co-ops, supply co-ops, credit unions, housing co-ops, savings and loan institutions. (Note that there is much need for increase in the managerial skills of the co-ops, so that they are run on a businesslike basis).
- American businessmen are beginning to realize that they must permit a sharing of control with the local national^{als} -- they are coming to realize that the great urge is not to nationalize them, but to naturalize them.
- Savings -- private savings for investment purposes, are growing.
- The Catholic hierarchy is responding to the call and the challenge of Pope John's great encyclical.

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- President Kennedy is very popular in Latin America -- he is trusted, and looked upon as the Good Neighbor of the 60's, as Roosevelt was in the 30's and 40's.
- There is a basic vitality in Latin America, tremendous natural resources.

As we commence the Alliance for Progress, there are certain stereotypes that we in the United States should forget:

- Latin America is not to be considered as a monolithic bloc. Even, greatly simplified, there remain two major groupings of states, with distinct characteristics -- the Caribbean area and the Southern Cone of Argentina, Chile and Peru. Brazil is the bridge between the two.
- We have been critical of Latin Americans because they appeared to lack a sense of urgency; but we have failed to see that we in North America have shared in the lack.

We are going to have wego all out or
lose out in Latin America!

- We have tended to downgrade Latin America, or at least to assign aid to Latin America a far lower priority than to some other areas.

The strengthening and improvement of Latin America must be our major commitment in the 60's/
Our commitment must be enduring and continuing.
Our Latin American friends must be brought to

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realize that we in the United States intend to stay with them to the end of the line -- that we have as basic a commitment to their freedom and their welfare as we made to Western Europe under the Marshall Plan, the European Recovery Program and the NATO Alliance.

And there are certain points on which Latin American and North American leadership must agree if the Alliance for Progress is to be successful:

- This is fundamentally a Latin American program, designed for Latin American purposes and resting for its success fundamentally on the degree of commitment and participation of Latin Americans.
- Political and economic reform -- particularly in the fields of agriculture and tax and fiscal policies -- must be carried out.
- There must be detailed planning - not only country by country, but project by project.
- Priorities must be set and regular progress checks made.
- An inventory of resources (both internal and external) which are available for the fulfillment if the Alliance must be made.
- There must be integrity and efficiency in administration.

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The Alliance must be more than an agreement, a treaty, a piece of paper. It must be more than a line of credit, or a checking account. It must represent concrete, specific progress -- land reform, individual land ownership, farm credits, a modernized agriculture. It must be measured in the terms of the schools that are built, the new homes, the water wells, the sewage and water systems, the electrical energy available, the price of food in the market. We want to feel this Alliance come alive, to see it, to touch it.

What the people in both North and South America want to see now is a little more earth moved and a lot less paper shuffling -- a lot more bricks laid, a lot more houses and hospitals and schools built!

All of the commitment of American capital for the Alliance for Progress can be dissipated unless there are certain major tasks accomplished along with this direct investment:

1. -- The prices of Latin American raw material exports must be stabilized -- principally, a better and more stable price for coffee, as well as for copper, other minerals, for cocoa, etc.

(The total loss to the coffee-producing 14 countries during the last seven years because of price drops amounted to 10 billion dollars -- half of the capital which we have pledged under the Alliance).

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We must stop this economic hemorrhage. Transfusions of new capital alone can only result in standing still -- not progress.

2. -- The markets for Latin American exports in Europe must be kept open. The United States, who has been the strong partner and protector of Western Europe during its sensational recovery program and the development of the Common Market, must now insist that the prosperous nations of the Common Market give fair treatment to our Latin American neighbors.

I propose another major step, in addition to the Alliance for Progress -- the establishment of an Inter-American Free Trade Area -- a common market for the Americas which would become an equal partner with the European Common Market, and which would protect the legitimate interests of our Latin American neighbors, who rely so heavily upon their exports of raw materials to the vast industrial complex of Western Europe. Just as Europe found that the reduction of barriers to the free movement of goods released unknown energies from the nations involved, so too the economic integration of the Western Hemisphere can prove that a whole can be greater than the apparent sum of its parts.

Despite the promise and the hopes that have been reaped by the bold early steps taken toward getting the Alliance for Progress on the road, there are some criticisms that I would make, and which I will bring to the attention of the President and his officials responsible for the program:

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- 1.-- Things are starting too slowly. We need to get on the ball, and to ask our Latin American friends to do the same. We must be bolder in concept, for some problems are too deep and widespread to be cured by anything less than massive and immediate action.
- 2.-- Our information programs are shockingly inadequate -- under-financed and inadequately staffed. We are just not in the game. Our book and periodical programs in Spanish are almost insultingly inadequate. People in Latin America speak and read Spanish or Portuguese, and our technical, agricultural, medical documents must be printed in those languages. Our radio programs, which are nearly all in short wave, simply are not getting to the people.
3. -- Our medical and educational programs are barely scratching the surface -- hospitals without doctors, schools without textbooks. Literary programs are receiving too little support from us.
- 4.-- The AID program still underemphasizes agriculture. We must make a far greater concentration on agricultural productivity, on food and fiber distribution, the improvement of diet, the care and processing of food.

There is a great reservoir of good will toward the United States - not only among the leaders, but among the people in the slums and the villages where I visited. Yet there is widespread unrest and dissatisfaction with things as they are in Latin America -- with the

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widespread poverty, disease, illiteracy, and lack of opportunity. Upon these conditions the Communists feed, and their professional agitators - trained and expert - are hard at work everywhere.

We must make it clear to our friends and our foes alike that we are here to stay, that we are fully, intimately committed to Latin American freedom, and that we will not tolerate the spread of Communism to the mainland of Latin America.

Nothing could be more effective than the personal assurances of the President of the United States --speaking in Latin America to Latin Americans.

The greatest export that we can make to our neighbors to the South this year would be a visit from President and Mrs. Kennedy -- and I am strongly urging that the President visit not just briefly in Latin America, but make a full tour of every major nation of Latin America.

Such a visit would signal that the United States considers the Alliance for Progress a major program, of historic importance, that we intend it to have in Latin America the same impact that the Marshall Plan had in Western Europe.

That visit would be an unmistakable demonstration that the United States is in earnest, that we intend to keep our full commitment to our neighbors to the South and the Presidential visit would have dramatic results in terms of strengthening Latin American confidence and belief in the economic future of that great area.



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