

Address of
Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey
Protocolary Session of the Council of the
Organization of American States

April 14, 1965

Pan American Union

Washington, D.C.

CP Platay
Mr Ambassador - Ma Chairman
Platay

de Mora
House of
the
Americas

↳ We meet today as members of a flourishing Inter-

American system whose roots go back 139 years to the

Congress of Panama convened by Simon Bolivar in 1826.

↳ Bolivar
Then, Bolivar saw our hemisphere as comprised of

"independent nations, bound together by a common set

of laws which would govern their foreign relations and

afford them a right to survival through a general and

permanent congress."

Casa
De
Las
Americas

↳ We meet to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the

Organization of American States, which in 1890 institu-

tionalized the idea of hemispheric cooperation in a

functioning international system. ↳ We meet to commemorate

the 75th anniversary of the oldest international organization

in existence, a model for other nations who wish to move

from the uncertainty of nationalism to the stability of a

functioning regional system. I am honored to accept your

Heroes
of Freedom

of Washington
San Martin

-2- Hidalgo ~~or Hidalgo~~

Ortiz
Guggino

Secret

Morgan

Morgan

Martin

invitation to be with you in the Hall of the Americas

on this occasion. I am honored to join the repre-

sentatives of the free Republics of Latin America,

with whom, as President Johnson has stated, "My

country has always felt special ties of interest and

affection." We are friends -- we are partners and

good neighbors.

During the past 75 years, the nations of the hemis-

pheric system have developed instruments to preserve the

peace and security of the hemisphere.

The cause of peace - - peace in the hemisphere and

peace in the world -- is well served by the cooperation

and solidarity which have developed in the Americas,

Friend and foe alike would do well to take note of this

cooperation and solidarity. For it signifies our mutual

dedication to common goals and common progress.

The United States has made known its dedication to

hemispheric development and security: Through

Franklin Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy, through

the Rio Pact, and through the idealism and commitment of the

Alliance for Progress. These American initiatives have

made the hemisphere safe while laying the groundwork for

its long-term development and health.

During the past decade we have gone beyond preserving

security against external threats. We have begun to confront

the internal threat posed by economic and social inequality.

Building upon the previous proposals of Latin American

statesmen, President John F. Kennedy proposed four years

ago a new "Alliance for Progress" to "assist free men and

free governments in casting off the chains of poverty." Today

2B

the world knows and will long remember the change
that resulted in this hemisphere because of that
initiative and what followed from it.

The Alliance for Progress represents a ^{peaceful} revolution

against human injustice and deprivation in this hemisphere,

As is stated in the Declaration which precedes the Charter

of Punta del Este, the Alliance aims "to unite in a common

effort to bring our people accelerated economic progress

and broader social justice within the framework of personal

dignity and personal liberty."

It is not merely designed to promote economic develop-

ment, but to bring all men in the Americas out of the shadows

of ~~social neglect~~ ^{injustice and despair} and into the sunlight of human rights -- out

of the lethargy of social neglect into participation in the

political, social and economic life of the community.

The Alliance for Progress represents the latest development of the inter-American system. Four years of

experience have deepened our understanding of this new

development, and have sharpened our perception of what the Alliance for Progress is and what it is not. Looking at it today, what does this new development in the inter-American system represent?

↳ Today we realize that the success of the Alliance depends on more than economic development. We realize that for it to succeed, it must have a political content and an ideological substance, in addition to a strong program of economic development.

↳ The Alliance needs symbols of hope and imagination. It is not just a matter of satisfying physical needs and raising material standards of living. What is equally important is inspiring hope -- commanding the intellectual and emotional allegiance of those who will shape the future of their country.

↳ What can be accomplished in a material sense in a very

limited period of time will always fall short of expectations.

But This should not discourage us, What is important is that we

be prepared to give some evidence that progress is being

made, that material betterment is on the way, and that there

is sound reason for believing that the unmet material problems

of society will be solved in the future.

That is the Politics of Hope.

↳ This means, of course, that there must be both short-

range socially oriented programs to give visible evidence of

immediate progress, and long-range development projects

which are essential to the building of a viable economy. ↳ Both

of these must be pursued within the framework of responsible

fiscal and monetary policies essential to a growing economy.

Although the observation that Latin America is in the
midst of a political, economic and social revolution has

become a commonplace, it is true. | ~~Only a few years ago it~~

could be said that the fatalism of most Latin Americans was well expressed in the remark of the late nineteenth-century Chilean President Barros Lucco: "There are only two kinds of problems facing society: those which get solved by themselves -- and those which defy solution."

Today in most Latin American nations there is burning awareness of the enormous human cost of perpetuating systems which are based on social inequality. There is also a well-developed consciousness that the system can be changed, that significant improvement in economic and social well-being of the people can be achieved through deliberate, systematic, democratic political action. Poverty, illiteracy and disease are no longer a load to be patiently borne, but a burden to be cast off. This is true in all the Americas, North and South. The war on poverty is not a local war but a global

one.

↙ The policy of peaceful social and economic revolution
 is a correct characterization of Alliance policy. We do not
 hesitate to identify ourselves with it in this hemisphere, just
 as President Johnson associated himself with it in his "war on
 poverty" throughout the world when he recently remarked:

"If a peaceful revolution in these areas is impossible, a
 violent revolution is inevitable."

↙ The past four years have taught us that the Alliance for
 Progress must combine ~~political freedom with~~ basic reform *with*

Political freedom,

social justice with economic development, ideological substance
 with inspiration and hope, *↙ we have also learned*
~~these four years have also taught~~

~~us~~ much about the implementation of specific programs of

political, social and economic development under the Alliance.

↙ We understand more fully that "Latin America" is a

continent of diversified peoples, varied economies and both highly advanced and seriously undeveloped regions.

↳ We understand that the actions of Latin American countries are far more important than those of the United States in accomplishing the goals of the Alliance. We understand that discipline and self-help are absolutely crucial in

the achievement of our goals. *We understand that the Alliance is Partnership not paternalism.*

↳ It is no surprise, ~~therefore~~, that the development of the Alliance has been uneven, that some nations have made great progress, others much less.

↳ Where the indispensable ingredient of responsible political leadership has appeared, internal mobilization of resources ^{+ progress} has followed. ↳ Where this has occurred, the infusion of external capital can indeed be a stimulant to development, ^{economic}

↳ Of the three forms of external resources available -- aid, investment, loans

trade and private investment -- all three are and will continue

to be essential for the foreseeable future to the success of the

Alliance for Progress. But as Under Secretary Thomas

Mann has stated: "Unless conditions favorable to development

are created by each country, all the aid from and trade with

the outside ^{world} ~~world~~ will not achieve the goals of the Alliance."

↳ In implementing the Alliance for Progress we have converted the original concept of the Alliance as a cooperative effort into a concrete multilateral decision-making body, the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress.

↳ Once again, the resilience and adaptability of the inter-American system has been demonstrated.

Today CIAP is a vigorous operational instrument, possessing the flexibility and independence which an operational instrument must have. Our experience with CIAP is showing that new instruments, operating directly with governments and international ^{lending} institutions on a day to day basis, can be harmoniously blended into the existing inter-American system.

This follows a similar experience with another new and vital part of the inter-American system, the Inter-American Development Bank. Already the Bank has made an impressive record in assisting in economic and social growth. Aided by the strong support of the U. S. Government, it can play a vital role in accomplishing the economic *growth and* integration of the hemisphere.

New organizations like CIAP and the Inter-American Development Bank are part of an expanding inter-American system. They have brought order and system to bear against complex problems which cross national boundaries. Within this system the OAS Council will continue to play an important role in settling disputes between nations, in preserving the peace and security of the hemisphere.

But if the system has been successful in meeting the problems of the past, it must undergo new development if it is to meet the challenges facing us in the present. To many perceptive observers, the most urgent step in supplementing the programs already functioning under the Alliance for Progress is the acceleration of economic integration in the hemisphere.

Just as the nations of post-war Europe united to form a European Economic Community, so the nations of Latin

America naturally see their own destiny more and more in terms of an economically integrated region of continental proportions. The development of regional markets -- in a manner guaranteeing the efficiency which only competition can bring -- is now recognized as essential to the economic growth of many Latin American countries.

We welcome the recent efforts to stimulate bold action to achieve economic integration. As in the case of CIAP and IDB there is no reason why arrangements developed to deal with integration cannot be appropriately related to the other institutions of the dynamic inter-American system.

We support effective economic integration because it is essential to development under the Alliance for Progress. We support it because the modern Latin American which can

emerge from effective integration will be a more effective partner in all the great common world tasks which confront those who share the common values of Western civilization. We support it because, as our post-war experience demonstrates, our most fruitful and mutually advantageous trade and financial relations are with industrialized and diversified areas. And finally, we support it because economic integration is a fundamental part of the of the Alliance for Progress program to which we committed ourselves at Punta del Este.

In a year holding great promise for further growth of the inter-American system, I would hope that two additional subjects would be considered. Although the nations of the hemisphere are united in their preference for representative democracy and free institutions, we have not yet perfected

institutional means of bringing the full weight of the inter-American system to the defense of constitutional government when it is threatened -- from either the right or the left. This remains an urgent problem for all nations of the hemisphere -- large and small.

Finally, it is difficult to see how the economic and social aspirations of the people of Latin America can be achieved if the competition in modern weapons of the old world is emulated by the new. Surely economic growth and social welfare are to be preferred to the proliferation of weapons, which could only convert friend into foe through a costly and dangerous military rivalry. Some day we would hope to see open boundaries from Canada to Chile, just as today is true between Mexico and

the United States, and Canada and the United States.

↳ We favor control over all modern weapons. We hope that careful consideration will be given to discovering ways of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons in this hemisphere and elsewhere.

↳ If I have emphasized here today the new developments in the inter-American system, I would not want to overlook the solid accomplishments of the past. Nowhere is this more evident than in the area of hemispheric security. Aided by the Rio Treaty of 1947, we have successfully resisted military penetration of the hemisphere by hostile powers.

↳ Our present concern with social and economic problems should not obscure the need for vigilance to protect the security of the hemisphere. ↳ We in the United States know that hemispheric security is our security. Indeed, it is

the security of every nation of the Americas, large or small. We must never forget that any penetration of this area of freedom by outside powers is a threat to the whole system. This remains as true today as it was in 1962.

In confronting new problems it is well to remember that the inter-American system has demonstrated a capacity for growth. As our Latin American neighbors progress along the path of economic and social modernization, they naturally will desire to enlarge their independence, to play a more prominent role in world affairs. This is as it should be. The inter-American system should naturally reflect that change.

There are those who contend that the solution to the problems of Latin nations lies outside the hemisphere, outside the inter-American system.

In considering the destiny of nations of the Western hemisphere, we should all ponder the words of a bold new statesman, the President of Chile, Eduardo Frei. Speaking of his own country in September, 1964, he stated: " We certainly may share some economic problems with African and Asian countries as producers of raw materials who want to project themselves into an industrial age. But Chile belongs to the Americas, where our ideas have been nourished by the Judeo-Christian ethics of the western world. It is within this sphere that we must try to resolve our problems. "

In keeping with these views, the solution to our present problems can be found within the inter-American system. But the hemispheric unity presupposed by that system need not be interpreted in any exclusive sense that would discourage a greater Western European contribution to the social, economic and cultural development of Latin America. We welcome our European friends, not as rivals for power but as partners for progress.

Indeed, one of the most encouraging signs of recent years is the increased involvement of Europe in Latin America, both in terms of long-term development assistance and expansion of existing cultural and educational programs.

Latin American countries will and should continue to be different from both the United States and Europe, but they need not see their own future destiny in terms of

the non-Western southern half of the world;

~~they share with the societies of Asia and Africa a less~~

~~developed status.~~

↳ On this 75th anniversary of the OAS I have touched
~~briefly~~ on the accomplishments of the past and the
problems of the future. ↳ The record of our inter-American
system is an impressive one.

A century ago, the Argentine poet Jose Hernandez wrote: "America has a great destiny to achieve in the fate of mankind . . . One day . . . the American alliance will bring world peace . . . America must be the cradle of the great principles which are to bring a complete change in the political and social organization of other nations."

This week we observe the 20th anniversary of the death of Franklin Roosevelt, whose Good Neighbor policy helped to foster that change.

He said and we reaffirm today that

~~D. Roosevelt~~, "The only limit to our realization of

tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move

forward with a strong and active faith. "

ADDRESS OF
Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey
Protocolary Session of the Council of the
Organization of American States
April 14, 1965

(text as delivered)

Mr. Chairman, Ambassador Plate, Dr. Mora, and the distinguished Ambassadors of the Americas. It is so good and refreshing to be here with you, my brothers and sisters of the Americas, in this "Casa de las Americas." This House of the Americas is a beautiful home and one that is very dear to all of us.

We meet today as members of a flourishing inter-American system whose roots go back 139 years to the Congress of Panama convened in 1826 by that great patriot of this Hemisphere, Simon Bolivar. Then, Bolivar saw our Hemisphere as "independent nations bound together by a common set of laws which would govern their foreign relations and afford them a right to survival through a general and permanent congress." He was a man of vision and history.

We meet today to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the Organization of American States, which in 1890 institutionalized this idea of hemispheric cooperation into a functioning international system. We meet to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the oldest and, I think, the most successful international organization in existence, a model for other nations who wish to move from the uncertainty of nationalism to the stability of a functioning regional system. So, Mr. Chairman, Ambassadors, and fellow Americans, I am honored to accept your invitation to be with you in this Hall of the Americas on this memorable occasion.

I am honored to join the representatives of the free republics of Latin America, with whom, as President Johnson has stated, "My country has always felt special ties of interest and affection."

We are friends; we are partners; and we are good neighbors. Let me pay my respects to the heroes of the Americas, the father of our own country, George Washington; one whose death we have commemorated and yet whose great works we have

commemorated --

commemorated -- Abraham Lincoln; and Simon Bolivar, San Martin, Hidalgo, O'Higgins, Sucre, Morazan, and Marti, just to mention a few. These are names of history and they bind us together into a family of brothers and friends.

During the past 75 years, the nations of the hemispheric system have developed instruments to preserve the peace and the security of this hemisphere. We have made a distinct contribution to peace. The cause of peace -- peace in the hemisphere and peace in the world -- is well served by the cooperation and the solidarity which have developed in the Americas. Friend and foe alike would do well to take note of this living cooperation and solidarity for it has signified our mutual dedication to common goals and common progress. There is no greater service that one can perform than to build for an enduring peace. The United States has made known its dedication to hemispheric development and security through many measures and many men. We have done this through Franklin Roosevelt's good neighbor policy, and we are reminded of Franklin Roosevelt this week because it was just 20 years ago that he left us, after a lifetime of service to the cause of freedom. We have made known our dedication through the Rio Pact, and more recently through idealism in the commitment of the Alliance for Progress. These American initiatives have made this hemisphere safe while laying the groundwork for long-term social and economic development.

During the past decade, we have gone beyond preserving security against external threats. We have begun to confront the internal threat posed by economic and social inequality. Building upon the previous proposals of Latin American statesmen, the late, beloved President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, four years ago proposed a new charter of freedom and hope, a new "Alliance for Progress" to "assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty." I think some of us here remember that evening in the East Room of the White House when this great proposal was enunciated, and we recall so vividly the sense of the new spirit, the new strength that it gave to all of us. Today the world knows and will long remember the change and the changes that have resulted in this hemisphere because of that initiative and what has followed from it.

The Alliance for Progress is our Alliance. The Alliance represents a peaceful revolution against human injustice and deprivation here in our hemisphere. As is stated in the Declaration that precedes the Charter of Punta del Este, the

Alliance aims "to unite in a common effort to bring our people accelerated economic progress and broader social justice within the framework of personal dignity and personal liberty." It is not, however, merely designed to promote economic development -- important as that may be -- but to bring all men in the Americas out of the shadows of injustice and despair and into the bright sunshine of human rights and human dignity, to bring us out of the lethargy of social neglect and into lively participation in the political, social and economic life of the community.

The Alliance for Progress represents the latest development in the life of the inter-American system. Four years of experience under the Alliance have deepened our understanding of this new development, and have sharpened our perception of what the Alliance for Progress is and what it is not. Looking at it today, what does this new development in the inter-American system represent? Today we realize that the success of the Alliance depends on much more than economic development. We realize that for it to succeed, it must have a political content and an ideological substance, in addition to a strong program of economic development. Man does not live by bread alone. He is also moved deeply by ideas as well as by his need for material things. The Alliance needs symbols of hope and imagination. It is not just a matter of satisfying physical needs and raising the material standards of living. What is equally important is inspiring hope in the people -- commanding the intellectual and emotional allegiance of those who will shape the future of their country. What can be accomplished in a material sense in a very limited period of time will always fall short of our expectations. This should not discourage us. What is important is that we are prepared to give some evidence that progress is being made, that material betterment is on the way, and that there is sound reason for believing that the unmet material problems of society can and will be solved in the future.

It has been said many times, but it needs to be said again, that the longest journey is the first step. My fellow Americans, we have made the first step. The first step was firm and it was one that has started us on the journey to success. I am speaking in essence of the politics of hope, because man must have hope and the belief that he can overcome

his

his problems -- that he can find solutions to his difficulties. This means, of course, that there must be both short-range socially oriented programs to give visible evidence of immediate progress, and long-range development projects which are essential to the building of a viable economy. It isn't a choice of one or another, the need is there for both. Both of these must be pursued within the framework of responsible government, responsible fiscal and monetary policies essential to a growing economy. To do less than that would be to thwart our hopes and would be to deceive the people.

Although the observation that Latin America is in the midst of a political, economic and social revolution has become a commonplace, it is true. Today in most Latin American nations there is a burning awareness of the enormous human cost of perpetuating systems which are based on social inequality. There is also a well-developed consciousness that the system can be changed, that significant improvement in economic and social well-being of people can be achieved through deliberate, thoughtful, systematic and democratic free political action. This is most important -- the realization by the people and their leaders that change can be brought about through orderly processes. Poverty, illiteracy and disease are no longer a load to be patiently borne but a burden to be cast off. This is true in all the Americas, North and South. The war on poverty is not just a local war, in the highways, in the byways, in the cities, in the rural areas of these United States, but it is a global war. It is the one war that this nation wants to fight and is the one war in which we ask as allies every nation on the face of the earth.

The policy of peaceful social and economic revolution is a correct characterization of Alliance policy. We do not hesitate to identify ourselves with it in this hemisphere, just as President Johnson associated himself with it in his "War on Poverty" throughout the world when he recently stated "if a peaceful revolution in these areas is impossible, a violent revolution is inevitable."

The past four years have taught us that the Alliance for Progress must combine basic reform with political freedom, social justice with economic development, ideological substance with inspiration and hope. We have also learned much about the implementation of specific programs of political, social and economic development under the terms of the Alliance. We understand more fully that "Latin America" is a continent of diversified peoples, varied economies, different cultures, and

both highly advanced and seriously underdeveloped regions. We understand that the actions of Latin American countries are far more important than those of the United States in accomplishing the goals of the Alliance. My fellow citizens of this Republic must remember that the main burden of the Alliance is not borne by this Republic but by all of the republics of the Americas. We are but a partner. We understand that discipline and self-help are absolutely crucial in the achievements of our goals. We understand above everything else, that the Alliance is partnership, not paternalism.

It is no surprise, therefore, that the development of the Alliance has been uneven, that some nations have made great progress, and others have made less. Where the indispensable ingredient of responsible political leadership has appeared, internal mobilization of resources has followed. Where this has occurred, the infusion of external capital and technical assistance can be a stimulant to economic development. Of the three forms of external resources readily available -- aid, trade, and private investment -- all three are and will continue to be essential for the foreseeable future to the success of the Alliance for Progress. But as Under Secretary of State Thomas Mann stated recently: "Unless conditions favorable to development are created by each country, all the aid from and trade with the outside world will not achieve the goals of the Alliance."

In implementing the Alliance for Progress we have converted the original concept of the Alliance as a cooperative effort into a concrete multilateral decision-making body, the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress. Once again, the resilience and the adaptability of the inter-American system has been demonstrated. Is it any wonder that throughout this hemisphere today, the press, the columnists and the commentators herald joyfully this 75th birthday of this great Organization of American States? Today CIAP is a vigorous operational instrument, possessing the flexibility and independence which an operational instrument must have.

Our experience with CIAP is showing that new instruments, operating directly with governments and international lending institutions on a day-to-day basis can be harmoniously blended into the existing inter-American system. This follows a similar experience with another new and vital part of the inter-American system, the Inter-American Development Bank. Already this Bank has made an impressive record in assisting in economic and social growth. Aided by the strong support of the United States Government, the active participation and support of other members, it

can play a vital role in accomplishing the economic integration of this hemisphere.

New organizations like CIAP and the Inter-American Development Bank are part of a growing inter-American system. I emphasize this because our institutions are not static, they are not something just for the history books. They are living, viable instruments of social, political and economic progress. They have brought order and system to bear against complex problems which cross national boundaries. Within this system the OAS Council will continue to play a very important role in settling disputes between nations, in preserving the peace and security in the hemisphere and in promoting the general welfare of this hemisphere.

But if the system has been successful in meeting the problems of the past, it must undergo new development if it is to meet the challenges facing us in the present or the future. To many perceptive observers, the most urgent step in supplementing the programs already functioning under the Alliance for Progress is the acceleration of economic integration in the hemisphere. Just as the nations of post-war Europe united to form a European Economic Community, so the nations of Latin America naturally see their destiny more and more in terms of an economically integrated region of continental proportions. The development of regional markets -- in a manner guaranteeing the efficiency which only competition can bring -- is now recognized as essential to the economic growth of many Latin American countries.

We welcome the recent efforts to stimulate bold action to achieve economic integration. As in the case of CIAP and the Inter-American Development Bank, there is no reason why arrangements developed to deal with integration cannot be appropriately related to other institutions of the dynamic inter-American system.

We support effective economic integration because it is essential to economic and political development under the Alliance for Progress. We support it because the modern Latin America which can emerge from effective economic integration will be a more effective partner in all the great common world tasks which confront those who share the common values of

Western

Western civilization. We support it because, as our post-war experience demonstrated, our most fruitful and mutually advantageous trade and financial relations are with industrialized and diversified areas of the world. Finally, we support it because economic integration is a fundamental part of the Alliance for Progress, the Alliance program to which we committed ourselves at Punta del Este.

In a year holding great promise for further growth of the inter-American system, I would hope that two additional subjects might be considered. Although the nations of the hemisphere are united in their preference for representative democracy and free institutions, we have not yet perfected institutional means of bringing the full weight of the inter-American system to the defense of representative constitutional government when it is threatened -- from either the right or the left. This remains an urgent problem for all nations of the hemisphere -- large and small.

Finally, it is difficult to see how the economic and social aspirations of the people of Latin America can be achieved if the competition in modern weapons of the old world is emulated by the new. Surely economic growth and social welfare are to be preferred to the proliferation of costly weapons, which could only convert friend into foe through a costly and dangerous military rivalry. Some day we would hope to see open boundaries from Canada to Chile, just as today it is true from Mexico and the United States, and Canada and the United States. We favor control over all modern weapons and we hope that careful consideration will be given to discovering the ways of controlling these weapons and of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons in this hemisphere.

If I have emphasized here today the new developments in the inter-American system, I would not want to overlook the solid accomplishments of the past. Nowhere is this more evident than in the area of hemispheric security. Aided by the Rio Treaty of 1947, we have successfully resisted military penetration of the hemisphere by hostile powers.

Our present concern with social and economic problems should not obscure the need for vigilance to protect the security of this hemisphere, because there can be no progress, no social and economic development, if this hemisphere is made

the battleground for either open aggression or subversion and terrorism. We in the United States know that hemispheric security is our security. We know that your security is ours and we believe that you know that our security is yours. Indeed, hemispheric security is the security of every nation of the Americas, large or small. We must never forget that any penetration of this area of freedom by outside powers is a threat to the whole system. This remains as true today as it was in 1962.

In confronting the new problems it is well to remember that the inter-American system has demonstrated a capacity for growth. As our Latin American neighbors progress along the path of economic and social modernization, they naturally will desire to enlarge their independence, to play a more prominent role in world affairs. This is as it should be. The inter-American system should naturally reflect that change.

There are those who contend that the solution to the problems of Latin America lies outside the hemisphere, outside our inter-American system. In considering the destiny of the nations of the Western Hemisphere, we should all ponder the words of a bold new statesman, the President of Chile, Eduardo Frei. Speaking of his own country in September 1964, President Frei stated this: "We certainly may share some economic problems /referring to the African and Asian countries/ as producers of raw materials who want to project themselves into an industrial age. But Chile belongs to the Americas, where our ideas have been nourished by the Judeo-Christian ethics of the western world. It is within this sphere that we must try to resolve our problems."

It seems to me that that statement succinctly tells us where we are to look for our solutions; how we are to proceed. In keeping with these views, the solution to our present problems can be found within the inter-American system. But the hemispheric unity presupposed by that system need not be interpreted in any exclusive sense that would discourage a greater Western European contribution to the social, economic and cultural development of Latin America. We welcome our European friends, not as rivals for power but as partners for progress. One of the most encouraging signs of recent years

is

is the increased involvement of Europe in Latin America, both in terms of long-term development assistance and expansion of existing cultural and education programs. Latin American countries will and should continue to be different from one another, and different from both the United States and Europe, but they need not see their own future destiny in terms of the non-Western southern half of the world.

On this 75th anniversary of the OAS I have tried to touch on the accomplishments of the past, some of the challenges and problems of the future. The record of our inter-American system, I submit to the world, is an impressive one. A century ago, the Argentine poet Jose Hernandez wrote: "America has a great destiny to achieve in the fate of mankind...One day...the American alliance will bring world peace...America must be the cradle of the great principles which are to bring a complete change in the political and social organization of other nations." It would be well for us not only to read those words but to reflect upon them and act on them.

This week we observe not only the 75th birthday or anniversary of this great inter-American system, but with a note of sadness we observe the 20th anniversary of the death of a great friend of freedom and of the Americas, Franklin Roosevelt. President Roosevelt always inspired the people to whom he spoke; he was indeed a powerful force in a troubled world. He said, as he was penning those last words before death took him from us: "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with a strong and active faith." I submit that that is a challenge worthy of the Americas, and one that we should embrace and make our call to action.

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4-14-65

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

75th Anniversary of the Organization of American States:
The Record of the Inter-American System

Address by Vice President Humphrey¹

It is so good and refreshing to be here with you, my brothers and sisters of the Americas, in this *Casa de las Americas*. This House of the Americas is a beautiful home and one that is very dear to all of us.

We meet today as members of a flourishing inter-American system whose roots go back 139 years to the Congress of Panamá convened in 1826 by that great patriot of this hemisphere, Simón Bolívar. Then Bolívar saw our hemisphere as "independent nations bound together by a common set of laws which would govern their foreign relations and afford them a right to survival through a general and permanent congress." He was a man of vision and history.

We meet today to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the Organization of American States, which in 1890 institutionalized this idea of hemispheric cooperation into a functioning international system. We meet to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the oldest and, I think, the most successful international organization in existence, a model for other nations who wish to move from the uncertainty of nationalism to the stability of a functioning regional system.

So, Mr. Chairman, Ambassadors, and

fellow Americans, I am honored to accept your invitation to be with you in this Hall of the Americas on this memorable occasion. I am honored to join the representatives of the free Republics of Latin America, with whom, as President Johnson has stated, "... our country has always felt ... special ties of interest and affection."²

We are friends; we are partners; and we are good neighbors. Let me pay my respects to the heroes of the Americas: the Father of our own country, George Washington; and whose death we have commemorated and yet whose great works we have commemorated—Abraham Lincoln; and Simón Bolívar, San Martín, Hidalgo, O'Higgins, Sucre, Morazán, and Martí, just to mention a few. These are names of history, and they bind us together into a family of brothers and friends.

During the past 75 years, the nations of the hemispheric system have developed instruments to preserve the peace and the security of this hemisphere. We have made a distinct contribution to peace. The cause of peace—peace in the hemisphere and peace in the world—is well served by the cooperation and the solidarity which have developed in the Americas. Friend and foe alike would well to take note of this living cooperation.

¹ Made before a protocolary session of the Council of the Organization of American States at the Pan American Union, Washington, D.C., on Pan American Day, Apr. 14 (as-delivered text).

² BULLETIN of Jan. 25, 1965, p. 94.

and solidarity, for it has signified our mutual dedication to common goals and common progress. There is no greater service that one can perform than to build for an enduring peace.

The United States has made known its dedication to hemispheric development and security through many measures and many men. We have done this through Franklin Roosevelt's good-neighbor policy—and we are reminded of Franklin Roosevelt this week because it was just 20 years ago that he left us, after a lifetime of service to the cause of freedom. We have made known our dedication through the Rio Pact, and more recently through idealism in the commitment of the Alliance for Progress. These American initiatives have made this hemisphere safe, while laying the groundwork for long-term social and economic development.

The Alliance for Progress

During the past decade, we have gone beyond preserving security against external threats. We have begun to confront the external threat posed by economic and social inequality. Building upon the previous proposals of Latin American statesmen, the late, beloved President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, 4 years ago proposed a new charter of freedom and hope, a new Alliance for Progress to "assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty."³

I think some of us here remember that evening in the East Room of the White House when this great proposal was announced,⁴ and we recall so vividly the sense of the new spirit, the new strength, that it gave to all of us. Today the world knows and we long remember the change and the changes that have resulted in this hemisphere because of that initiative and what has followed from it.

³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 6, 1961, p. 175.

⁴ For an address made by President Kennedy on Oct. 13, 1961, at a White House reception for Latin American diplomats and Members of Congress, see *Ibid.*, Apr. 3, 1961, p. 471.

The Alliance for Progress is our alliance. The alliance represents a peaceful revolution against human injustice and deprivation here in our hemisphere. As is stated in the preamble to the Charter of Punta del Este,⁵ the alliance aims "to unite in a common effort to bring our people accelerated economic progress and broader social justice within the framework of personal dignity and political liberty." It is not, however, merely designed to promote economic development—important as that may be—but to bring all men in the Americas out of the shadows of injustice and despair and into the bright sunshine of human rights and human dignity, to bring us out of the lethargy of social neglect and into lively participation in the political, social, and economic life of the community.

Symbols of Hope and Imagination

The Alliance for Progress represents the latest development in the life of the inter-American system. Four years of experience under the alliance have deepened our understanding of this new development and have sharpened our perception of what the Alliance for Progress is and what it is not.

Looking at it today, what does this new development in the inter-American system represent? Today we realize that the success of the alliance depends on much more than economic development. We realize that for it to succeed it must have a political content and an ideological substance, in addition to a strong program of economic development. Man does not live by bread alone. He is also moved deeply by ideas as well as by his need for material things.

The alliance needs symbols of hope and imagination. It is not just a matter of satisfying physical needs and raising the material standards of living. What is equally important is inspiring hope in the people, commanding the intellectual and emotional allegiance of those who will shape the future of their country.

What can be accomplished in a material

⁵ For text, see *ibid.*, Sept. 11, 1961, p. 463.

sense in a very limited period of time will always fall short of our expectations. This should not discourage us. What is important is that we are prepared to give some evidence that progress is being made, that material betterment is on the way, and that there is sound reason for believing that the unmet material problems of society can and will be solved in the future.

It has been said many times, but it needs to be said again, that the longest journey is the first step. My fellow Americans, we have made the first step. The first step was firm, and it was one that has started us on the journey to success.

I am speaking in essence of the politics of hope, because man must have hope and the belief that he can overcome his problems, that he can find solutions to his difficulties. This means, of course, that there must be both short-range, socially oriented programs to give visible evidence of immediate progress and long-range development projects which are essential to the building of a viable economy. It isn't a choice of one or another; the need is there for both. Both of these must be pursued within the framework of responsible government, responsible fiscal and monetary policies essential to a growing economy. To do less than that would be to thwart our hopes and would be to deceive the people.

Global War on Poverty

Although the observation that Latin America is in the midst of a political, economic, and social revolution has become a commonplace, it is true. Today in most Latin American nations there is a burning awareness of the enormous human cost of perpetuating systems which are based on social inequality. There is also a well-developed consciousness that the system can be changed, that significant improvement in economic and social well-being of people can be achieved through deliberate, thoughtful, systematic, and democratic free political action. This is most important—the realization by the people and their leaders that

change can be brought about through orderly processes.

Poverty, illiteracy, and disease are no longer a load to be patiently borne, but a burden to be cast off. This is true in all the Americas, North and South. The war on poverty is not just a local war, in the highways, in the byways, in the cities, in the rural areas of these United States, but it is a global war. It is the one war that this nation wants to fight, and it is the one war in which we ask as allies every nation on the face of the earth.

The policy of peaceful social and economic revolution is a correct characterization of alliance policy. We do not hesitate to identify ourselves with it in this hemisphere, just as President Johnson associated himself with it in his "war on poverty" throughout the world when he recently stated, "... if a peaceful revolution is impossible, a violent revolution is inevitable."

Alliance Is "Partnership, Not Paternalism"

The past 4 years have taught us that the Alliance for Progress must combine basic reform with political freedom, social justice with economic development, ideological substance with inspiration and hope. We have also learned much about the implementation of specific programs of political, social, and economic development under the terms of the alliance. We understand more fully that Latin America is a continent of diversified peoples, varied economies, different cultures, and both highly advanced and seriously underdeveloped regions. We understand that the actions of Latin American countries are far more important than those of the United States in accomplishing the goals of the alliance.

My fellow citizens of this Republic must remember that the main burden of the alliance is not borne by this Republic but by all of the Republics of the Americas. We are

* For remarks made by President Johnson on May 11, 1964, at an informal White House meeting with ambassadors of Latin American nations. See *ibid.* June 1, 1964, p. 854.

but a partner. We understand that discipline and self-help are absolutely crucial in the achievements of our goals. We understand above everything else that the alliance is partnership, not paternalism.

It is no surprise, therefore, that the development of the alliance has been uneven, that some nations have made great progress and others have made less. Where the indispensable ingredient of responsible political leadership has appeared, internal mobilization of resources has followed. Where this has occurred, the infusion of external capital and technical assistance can be a stimulant to economic development. Of the three forms of external resources readily available—aid, trade, and private investment—all three are and will continue to be essential for the foreseeable future to the success of the Alliance for Progress. But, as Under Secretary of State Thomas Mann stated recently: *

Unless conditions favorable to development are created by each country, all the aid from and trade with the outside world will not achieve the goals of the alliance.

CIAP and the Inter-American Bank

In implementing the Alliance for Progress we have converted the original concept of the alliance as a cooperative effort into a concrete, multilateral decisionmaking body, the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress. Once again, the resilience and the adaptability of the inter-American system has been demonstrated. Is it any wonder that throughout this hemisphere today the press, the columnists, and the commentators herald joyfully this 75th birthday of this great Organization of American States? Today CIAP is a vigorous operational instrument, possessing the flexibility and independence which an operational instrument must have.

Our experience with CIAP is showing that new instruments, operating directly with governments and international lending institutions on a day-to-day basis, can be harmoniously blended into the existing in-

ter-American system. This follows a similar experience with another new and vital part of the inter-American system, the Inter-American Development Bank. Already this Bank has made an impressive record in assisting in economic and social growth. Aided by the strong support of the United States Government and the active participation and support of other members, it can play a vital role in accomplishing the economic integration of this hemisphere.

New organizations like CIAP and the Inter-American Development Bank are part of a growing inter-American system. I emphasize this because our institutions are not static; they are not something just for the history books. They are living, viable instruments of social, political, and economic progress. They have brought order and system to bear against complex problems which cross national boundaries. Within this system the OAS Council will continue to play a very important role in settling disputes between nations, in preserving the peace and security in the hemisphere, and in promoting the general welfare of this hemisphere.

U.S. Support for Economic Integration

But if the system has been successful in meeting the problems of the past, it must undergo new development if it is to meet the challenges facing us in the present or the future. To many perceptive observers, the most urgent step in supplementing the programs already functioning under the Alliance for Progress is the acceleration of economic integration in the hemisphere. Just as the nations of postwar Europe united to form a European Economic Community, so the nations of Latin America naturally see their destiny more and more in terms of an economically integrated region of continental proportions. The development of regional markets—in a manner guaranteeing the efficiency which only competition can bring—is now recognized as essential to the economic growth of many Latin American countries.

We welcome the recent efforts to stim-

*Ibid., Oct. 26, 1964, p. 593.

ulate bold action to achieve economic integration. As in the case of CLAP and the Inter-American Development Bank, there is no reason why arrangements developed to deal with integration cannot be appropriately related to other institutions of the dynamic inter-American system.

We support effective economic integration because it is essential to economic and political development under the Alliance for Progress. We support it because the modern Latin America which can emerge from effective economic integration will be a more effective partner in all the great common world tasks which confront those who share the common values of Western civilization. We support it because, as our postwar experience demonstrated, our most fruitful and mutually advantageous trade and financial relations are with industrialized and diversified areas of the world. Finally, we support it because economic integration is a fundamental part of the Alliance for Progress, the alliance program to which we committed ourselves at Punta del Este.

Other Urgent Problems To Be Solved

In a year holding great promise for further growth of the inter-American system, I would hope that two additional subjects might be considered. Although the nations of the hemisphere are united in their preference for representative democracy and free institutions, we have not yet perfected institutional means of bringing the full weight of the inter-American system to the defense of representative constitutional government when it is threatened—from either the right or the left. This remains an urgent problem for all nations of the hemisphere, large and small.

Finally, it is difficult to see how the economic and social aspirations of the people of Latin America can be achieved if the competition in modern weapons of the Old World is emulated by the New. Surely economic growth and social welfare are to be preferred to the proliferation of costly weapons, which could only convert friend

into foe through a costly and dangerous military rivalry.

Some day we would hope to see open boundaries from Canada to Chile, just as we have today between Mexico and the United States, and Canada and the United States. We favor control over all modern weapons and we hope that careful consideration will be given to discovering the ways of controlling these weapons and of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the hemisphere.

Hemispheric Security

If I have emphasized here today the new developments in the inter-American system, I would not want to overlook the solid accomplishments of the past. Nowhere is this more evident than in the area of hemispheric security. Aided by the Rio Treaty of 1947, we have successfully resisted military penetration of the hemisphere by hostile powers.

Our present concern with social and economic problems should not obscure the need for vigilance to protect the security of the hemisphere, because there can be no progress, no social and economic development, if this hemisphere is made the battleground for either open aggression or subversion and terrorism.

We in the United States know that hemispheric security is our security. We know that your security is ours, and we believe that you know that our security is yours. Indeed, hemispheric security is the security of every nation of the Americas, large or small. We must never forget that any penetration of this area of freedom by outside powers is a threat to the whole system. This remains as true today as it was in 1962.

Latin America and the Western World

In confronting the new problems I would like to remember that the inter-American system has demonstrated a capacity for growth. As our Latin American neighbors progress along the path of economic and social modernization, they naturally will

to enlarge their independence, to play a more prominent role in world affairs. This is as it should be. The inter-American system should naturally reflect that change.

There are those who contend that the solution to the problems of Latin America lies outside the hemisphere, outside our inter-American system. In considering the destiny of the nations of the Western Hemisphere, we should all ponder the words of a new statesman, the President of Chile, Eduardo Frei. Speaking of his own country in September 1964, President Frei stated this:

We certainly may share some economic problems [referring to the African and Asian countries] as producers of raw materials who want to project ourselves into an industrial age. But Chile belongs to the Americas, where our ideas have been nourished by the Judeo-Christian ethics of the Western World. It is within this sphere that we must try to resolve our problems.

It seems to me that that statement succinctly tells us where we are to look for our solutions, how we are to proceed. In keeping with these views, the solution to our present problems can be found within the inter-American system.

But the hemispheric unity presupposed by that system need not be interpreted in any exclusive sense that would discourage a greater Western European contribution to the social, economic, and cultural development of Latin America. We welcome our European friends, not as rivals for power but as partners for progress. One of the most encouraging signs of recent years is the increased involvement of Europe in Latin America, both in terms of long-term development assistance and expansion of existing cultural and education programs. Latin American countries will and should continue to be different from one another, and different from both the United States and Europe, but they need not see their own future destiny in terms of the non-Western southern half of the world.

On this 75th anniversary of the OAS I have tried to touch on the accomplishments of the past, some of the challenges and

problems of the future. The record of our inter-American system, I submit to the world, is an impressive one. A century ago, the Argentine poet José Hernández wrote:

America has a great destiny to achieve in the fate of mankind. . . . One day . . . the American alliance will bring world peace. . . . America must be the cradle of the great principles which are to bring a complete change in the political and social organization of other nations.

It would be well for us not only to read those words but to reflect upon them and act on them.

This week we observe not only the 75th birthday or anniversary of this great inter-American system, but with a note of sadness we observe the 20th anniversary of the death of a great friend of freedom and of the Americas, Franklin Roosevelt. President Roosevelt always inspired the people to whom he spoke; he was indeed a powerful force in a troubled world. He said, as he was penning those last words before death took him from us:

The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith.

I submit that that is a challenge worthy of the Americas, and one that we should embrace and make our call to action.

United Nations Day, 1965

A PROCLAMATION¹

WHEREAS the year 1965 will mark the twentieth anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Charter in San Francisco; and

WHEREAS the year 1965 has been designated by the United Nations General Assembly as International Cooperation Year, and I have so proclaimed it for the United States;² and

WHEREAS our own peace and prosperity is directly interwoven with the peace, prosperity, and development of the rest of mankind; and

WHEREAS our future is made more secure when we can share with other members of the United

¹ No. 3652; 30 *Fed. Reg.* 5415.

² BULLETIN of Oct. 19, 1964, p. 558.



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