

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OPERATION AMIGO DINNER
PAN AMERICAN UNION
WASHINGTON, D. C.
NOVEMBER 10, 1966

It is a pleasure to honor Operation Amigo in the presence of so many "amigos" of long-standing.

Tonight we meet in the same spirit of friendship that first inspired the creation of Operation Amigo and has carried it across two continents.

It is only natural that this friendship should flourish in our hemisphere.

We share a common European inheritance which has left in the Americas -- North and South -- a widespread belief in constitutional government, in political democracy, in social justice and in economic progress.

We share, too, the Judao-Christian belief in the dignity of the individual.

Out of this Western cultural and political inheritance have come lasting bonds which have held our peoples together, despite acknowledged differences between individual nations.

The spirit of Operation Amigo is that which inspired President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy. It is that of the Alliance for Progress which President John Kennedy launched in 1961, and which President Johnson vigorously supports today.

In our own policy toward our neighbors, we in the United States have come a long way since the days of Brigadier General Smedley Butler, who in 1916 declared that the purpose of our policy was to make the area "safe for the boys of the National City Bank."

Our neighbors have come a long way since the days when a President of Chile could say "there are only two kinds of problems confronting society: those which get solved by themselves -- and those which defy solution."

The purpose of United States policy today is summarized in the Declaration of the Peoples of America which precedes the Charter of Punta del Este:

"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."

Peoples of our hemisphere today approach the task of modernizing their societies free of the fatalism of earlier days.

They increasingly realize that the status quo is neither an inheritance to be enjoyed nor any longer a burden to be patiently borne.

They realize that a status quo which benefits the few at the expense of the many bears an intolerable human cost.

They know that deliberate, systematic political action can bring genuine improvement to the lives of ordinary and humble citizens.

All of us know today that rapid change in the socio-economic structure is possible.

We are determined to see the people of the Americas emerge from the shadows of social serfdom into the sunlight of human rights . . . out of the lethargy of neglect into participation in the political, social and economic life of the community.

Possessed of this vision and determination, a new generation of leaders in our hemisphere has begun to tackle the problems posed by rapid population growth . . . rural isolation and agricultural backwardness . . . inadequate education in both quality and quantity. . . and the conversion of local economies into the larger regional markets required for economic growth.

Latin American nations have initiated tax and land reforms, built new schools and trained more teachers, embarked on national development plans, entered commodity stabilization agreements and encouraged responsible private enterprise.

As the leaders of our hemisphere prepare to meet next year, it is already clear our sights must be raised if the original economic goals of the Alliance for Progress are to be reached.

President Johnson has called for the raising of targets for annual growth rates -- from 2-1/2 to 4 or 6 per cent per capita annually.

To accomplish this, special attention must be given to the fields of economic integration, agricultural and rural modernization, and education.

It is now widely recognized that the progress we seek will be achieved only if the process of economic integration of the hemisphere is accelerated.

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 market of continental proportions.

The development of regional markets -- in a manner guaranteeing the efficiency which only competition and larger markets can bring -- is now recognized as essential to the economic growth of many Latin American countries. The Central American Common Market has already shown what can be accomplished when a national outlook is replaced by a regional one.

We in the United States support effective economic integration because you yourselves regard it as essential.

We support it because the modern Latin America which can emerge from effective integration will be a more effective partner in all the great common world tasks which confront us.

We support it because, as our post-war experience demonstrates, our own 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 Alliance for Progress to which we committed ourselves at Punta del Este.

The progress we seek will elude us so long as agriculture remains stagnant and rural Latin America remains isolated from the booming cities that have sprung up across the continent. Today half the people in Latin America live in rural areas, but receive only one-fourth of the total income.

Today per capita food consumption is lower than a decade ago.

Through science and technology . . . heavy capital investment . . . investment in new fertilizer, machinery and skills . . . development of marine food resources . . . and through widening of markets, Latin American agriculture can both feed a growing population and finance the modernization of rural America.

All this will require even greater attention to education -- particularly to training in the skills required for a modern society.

In most Latin American countries schools and universities are too few, too small, and too poor to meet the need.

Economic growth requires more trained talent -- more engineers, scientists and agronomists, more electricians, carpenters and machinists.

The democratization of society requires an end to illiteracy, an extension of educational opportunities beyond the favored few.

The preservation and enrichment of our culture requires more poets, painters and musicians.

The educational needs of the continent cannot be met through conventional means.

Modern methods of radio and television and audio-visual techniques must be applied. New multi-national centers for training and research must be established to train the specialists needed. Only with such centers can trained talent be retained in Latin America and the "brain drain" be halted.

Expanding educational opportunities also means enlarging the possibility for participation in public life, for enlarging the middle class, and increasing social mobility.

But this progress in the fields of integration, agriculture and education will be threatened if the desire of some for modern military weapons cannot be checked.

We recognize that the economic and social aspirations of the people of Latin America cannot be achieved without security. We know that externally-supported guerrilla movements exist in some Latin American countries. But surely these security problems do not require highly sophisticated weaponry.

For many years we have been told that military budgets in Latin America are "sacred cows."

But with all being asked to contribute to the common effort, it is time that the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress consider whether precious resources are being utilized unnecessarily for military equipment.

But a further step is needed. The time has come for the nations of Latin America to consult with each other about the weapons they believe are truly necessary for their security.

We would hope that Latin American nations could agree that there are certain large and sophisticated weapons they do not need and will not buy.

This alone would be an important contribution to economic and social growth and political harmony.

So long as supersonic fleets are considered the best guarantee of security in any one nation, the security of all nations has no guarantee.

Surely breaking the poverty barrier is more important to the peoples of the Americas than breaking the sound barrier.

If unnecessary expenditure on conventional weapons represents a threat to the solvency of many, the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the hemisphere would threaten the security of all.

The time is right for a regional arms agreement which would bar the nuclear arms race from our hemisphere.

Nuclear weapons would serve no useful purpose in preserving the security of Latin American nations -- but would only imperil the peace of the continent.

They would further endanger the precarious economies of countries which already possess military forces too large for their security needs and too expensive to be maintained without outside assistance.

If the nations of Latin America support such an agreement -- and such a proposal was initiated several years ago -- they can be sure that the United States will enthusiastically respond.

As we face the next decade, we are more aware today than five years ago that the economic progress we seek, and the social justice we aspire to, can be securely achieved only where political institutions are strong and where political leadership is secure.

Perfecting political democracy and strengthening constitutional government are an essential part of the Alliance for Progress.

Where political leadership has been strong, democratic institutions have survived.

But there is no doubt that progress in preserving and extending democratic political institutions has at best been uneven. There have been recent hopeful signs -- such as the peaceful transfers of power in Venezuela, Chile, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic.

In other countries military coup d'etats -- not free elections -- have brought changes in the government.

Until ways are found to strengthen the political fabric of Latin societies . . . to perfect the institutions which are the sub-structure of a stable political system, we cannot be sure that military coup d'etats represent only a temporary aberration and not a permanent trend.

By the political sub-structure, I mean those institutions such as political parties, labor unions, business organizations, campesino federations, co-operatives and civic organizations that are the channel for much of our participation in political life.

The problem of perfecting political institutions applies to all the American nations -- North and South. In responding to the pressures of rapid change, we are all experimenting with new forms of political organization . . . with new ways of strengthening established institutions.

For North Americans it may be the problem of governing the urban megalapolis or of incorporating marginal groups into the society. For Central and South Americans, it may be building political parties, improving administration or strengthening labor unions.

In view of this continued political turbulence, our people and leaders should consider giving the same attention to political development that has been given in the past two decades to economic development.

Economic and social development can help significantly to provide the basis for civic advancement, but it will not guarantee it. The past and prospective inadequacy of economic and social progress argues strongly for more conscious action to develop political systems that can enable rapidly-changing societies to contain and manage explosive tensions with them.

Maximum use should be made of collaboration between counterpart organizations: Student groups working with student groups . . . businessmen with businessmen . . . intellectuals with intellectuals . . . labor groups with labor unions.

Why this special concern with political development?

Because it will be necessary if modernizing Latin American societies are to accommodate the demand of their people for participation and progress without sacrificing the requirement of domestic peace.

These three elements -- participation, progress, and peace -- often conflict with one another, and even in the best of circumstances their reconciliation is difficult.

Peace--or domestic order--can temporarily be achieved by military dictatorship.

Progress--the more abundant and equitable provision of goods and services to the citizens--can be achieved through technocracy.

But participation--full participation of the citizens--is possible only in a democracy.

The defects of military government are obvious. The allure of technocracy should not deceive. The difficulties of democracy should not repel. Only when economic modernization is matched by popular participation will modernization be a permanent achievement and not a passing phase.

The Alliance for Progress today is moving ahead in those countries where political leaders have been able to offer their people the prospect of participation as well as peace and progress. In a number of countries -- Chile, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela and Mexico to name a few - the validity of the original assumption of the Alliance for Progress is being demonstrated: That economic progress and social justice are best achieved within a framework of constitutional democracy.

Progress is being achieved in the political dialogue of the Americas.

The Alliance for Progress is today the standard by which political leaders and governments are judged -- even in those countries which do not fully adhere to the standard. This is an important achievement. For it has been truly said that "countries will not go where their leaders will not take them."

There are many who say that, after five years, the progress of the Alliance is unimpressive. The Alliance has done better than many had hoped -- and not as well as we would prefer. There is no doubt that only a beginning has been made. The crippling poverty and staggering injustice of centuries will not be ended in five years -- nor in a decade. But what is most important is that men of vision have offered reason for hope.

As our own experience with the New Deal taught us, what can be accomplished -- in a material sense -- in a very limited period of time will always fall short of expectations.

We should not be discouraged.

Where there is evidence that progress is being made, this will sustain the confidence of the people that the unmet problems of society will be solved in the future.

Today there is hope.

Whether those hopes will finally be fulfilled will depend on the people and the leaders of Latin American nations.

But it will also depend on us.

In meeting our responsibilities -- let it not be said that we could not match the greatness of our resources with the grandness of our vision.

We look forward to the day when a strong Latin America can play a larger role in the Western world -- in the Atlantic world -- and can be a full partner of the United States and Europe.

It is only then that the nations of our hemisphere will realize the desire of Bolivar to see the Americas fashioned into the greatest region of the world -- greatest "not so much by virtue of her area and her wealth, as by her freedom and her glory."

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Dr Mora
Dr Kohley

REMARKS

Dr Today - Governor
President
Donna Rep

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

OPERATION AMIGO DINNER

Gov Collins
your excellencies
Mr Morrison

PAN AMERICAN UNION

WASHINGTON, D.C.

NOVEMBER 10, 1966

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Mr Bennett
Miss Manning
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Youth-Organization - Latin America

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It is only natural that this friendship should flourish in our hemisphere.

We share a common European inheritance which has left in the Americas -- North and South -- a widespread belief in constitutional government, in political democracy, in social justice and economic progress.

We also share a faith in individual enterprise - private, voluntary activity.

↳ We share, too, the Judao-Christian belief in the dignity of the individual.

↳ Out of this Western cultural and political inheritance have come lasting bonds which have held our peoples together, despite acknowledged differences between individual nations.

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~~the spirit of~~ the Alliance for Progress which President John Kennedy launched in 1961, and which President Johnson vigorously supports today. - Operation Amigo *youth!!*

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"To unite in a common effort to bring our people }
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a new day - *This is the spirit of operation Amigo!*

Peoples of our hemisphere today approach the task of modernizing their societies free of the fatalism of earlier days.

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They know that deliberate, systematic political action can bring genuine improvement to the lives of ordinary and humble citizens.

and All of us know today that rapid change in the socio-economic structure is possible.

Together, as good neighbors,

We are determined to see the people of the Americas emerge from the shadows of social serfdom into the sunlight of human rights ... out of the lethargy of neglect into participation in the political, social and economic life of the community.

This is the meaning of Democracy.

↳ Possessed of this vision and determination, a new generation of leaders in our hemisphere has begun to tackle the problems posed by rapid population growth ... rural isolation and agricultural backwardness ... inadequate education in both quality and quantity ... and the conversion of local economies into the larger regional markets required for economic growth.

*operation
America
generation*

↳ Latin American nations have initiated tax and land reforms, built new schools and trained more teachers, embarked on national development plans, entered commodity stabilization agreements and encouraged responsible private enterprise!

But, As the leaders of our hemisphere prepare to meet next year, it is already clear our sights must be raised if the original economic goals if the Alliance for Progress are to be reached.

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But ↳ The progress we seek will elude us so long as agriculture remains stagnant and rural Latin America isolated from the booming cities that have sprung up across the continent. ↳ Today half the people in Latin America live in rural areas, but receive only one fourth of the total income.

↳ Today per-capita food production is lower than a decade ago.

↳ Through science and technology ... heavy capital investment ... investment in new fertilizer, machinery and skills ... development of marine food resources ... and through

widening of markets, Latin American agriculture can both
feed a growing population and finance the modernization of
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But. ^{vast} The educational needs of the continent cannot be met through conventional means.

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Weapons

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But ~~any~~ ^{costly} these security problems ~~do~~ require highly sophisticated weaponry *- I doubt it,*

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Barrett ~~common effort,~~ it is time that the Inter-American Committee *to* for the Alliance for Progress consider whether precious resources are being utilized unnecessarily for military equipment.

*President
Barrett
is
Barrett -
arm the
people
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a
pile
implies*

But a further step is needed. The time has come for the nations of Latin America to consult with each other about the weapons they believe are truly necessary for their security.

Even a small arms race is too expensive + dangerous.

We would hope that Latin American nations could agree that there are certain large and sophisticated weapons they do not need and will not buy.

This alone would be an important contribution to economic and social growth and political harmony.

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Surely, breaking the poverty barrier is more important to the peoples of the Americas than breaking the sound barrier.

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~~If the nations of Latin America support such an agreement -- and such a proposal was initiated several years ago -- they can be sure that the United States will enthusiastically respond.~~

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↳ The problem of perfecting political institutions applies to all the American nations --- North and South,

↳ In responding to the pressures of rapid change, we are all experimenting with new forms of political organization ... with new ways of strengthening established institutions.

↳ For North Americans it may be the problem of governing the urban megalopolis or of incorporating marginal groups into the society.

For Central and South Americans, it may be building political parties, improving administration or strengthening labor unions, free enterprise, + Cooperatives

↳ In view of this continued political turbulence, our people and leaders should ~~consider~~ ^{give} giving the same attention to political development that has been given in the past two decades to economic development.

They go hand in hand,

Economic and social development can help significantly to provide the basis for civic advancement, but it will not guarantee it. The past and prospective inadequacy of economic and social progress argues strongly for more conscious action to develop political systems that can enable rapidly-changing societies to contain and manage explosive tensions with them.

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Because it will be necessary if ^{modern}~~modernizing~~ Latin American societies are to accommodate the demand of their people for participation and progress without sacrificing the requirement of domestic peace.

↳ These three elements -- participation, progress and peace -- often conflict with one another, and even in the best of circumstances their reconciliation is difficult.

↳ Peace -- or domestic order -- can temporarily be achieved by military dictatorship.

↳ Progress -- the more abundant and equitable provision of goods and services to the citizens -- can be achieved through technocracy.

↳ But participation -- full participation of the citizens -- is possible only in a democracy.

↳ The defects of military government are obvious. The allure of technocracy should not deceive. The difficulties of democracy should not repel. Only when economic modernization is matched by popular participation will modernization be a permanent achievement and not a passing phase.

The Alliance for Progress today is moving ahead in those countries where political leaders have been able to offer their people the prospect of participation as well as peace and progress. ~~In a number of countries — Chile, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela and Mexico to name a few —~~ the validity of the original assumption of the Alliance for Progress is being demonstrated: That economic progress and social justice are best achieved within a framework of constitutional democracy.

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The Alliance for Progress is today the standard by which political leaders and governments are judged -- even in those countries which do not full adhere to the standard.

This is an important achievement. For it has been truly said that "countries will not go where their leaders will not take them."

There are many who say that, after five years, the progress of the Alliance is unimpressive. The Alliance has done better than many had hoped -- and not as well as we would prefer. ~~There is no doubt that only a beginning~~ ^{But a good} has been made. The crippling poverty and staggering injustice of centuries will not be ended in five years -- nor in a decade. But what is most important is that men of vision have offered reason for hope.

~~As our own experience with the New Deal taught~~ ^{Our own experience has taught} us that, what can be accomplished -- in a material sense -- in a very limited period of time will always fall short of expectations.

But We should not be discouraged.

Where there is evidence that progress is being made, this will sustain the confidence of the people that the unmet problems of society ~~will~~ ^{can still} be solved in the future.

Today there is hope.

Whether those hopes will finally be fulfilled will depend on the people and the leaders of Latin American nations.

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We look forward to the day when a strong Latin America can play a larger role in the Western world -- in the Atlantic world -- and can be a full partner of the United States and Europe.

It is only then that the nations of our hemisphere will realize the desire of Bolivar to see the Americas fashioned into the greatest region of the world -- greatest "not so much by virtue of her area and her wealth, as by her freedom and her glory."

Nov. 10, 1966

Transcript - Operation
Amigo

I couldn't help but note as I look across the room tonight some very honored and distinguished personages that have made this Hall of the Americas one of the great Halls of our nation and of this hemisphere.

I want to say how happy I am to see once again Dr. Godoy, the provisional President of the Dominican Republic, and one that I had the privilege of visiting with on the occasion of the inaugural of President Balaguer when I was in the Dominican Republic.

I am happy also to note on the program tonight that one of the names of a city in the State of Minnesota is evident. Since I have just come back from Minnesota with wounds and bruises, I make note of this and because I see the city of Stillwater, Minnesota, as an intricate part of the program OPERATION AMIGO, with students from Buenos Aires, Argentina, having visited our city there.

And, I am happy to note also tonight that the Great Minnesota Mining Company is represented here by Mr. William Bennett. All of this makes me feel so much at home, because I have just been there and I am still somewhat in the atmosphere of the chilly climate of a warm and wonderful state called Minnesota. But I recognize that I am here tonight in a different capacity and I want to tell you why I came.

First of all, it is a singular honor to be included in the program OPERATION AMIGO, and to be in the presence of so many amigos of long standing. Secondly, I am here because this program is for you, and about young people. It gets right to the heart of what I think is one of the most important endeavors of our time, the relationship between the young people of the many countries of this Hemisphere.

Also, this is a private program, non-governmental, as Governor Collins has just mentioned. And it is so important that we in this country remember that our relationships with our other friends in other parts of the world are more than official diplomacy, that those relationships are also the product of our private endeavors, as well as our official endeavors.

.../

I will put it another way. That the strength of our country is not to be found in its Government, but rather in the people that the Government represents. And when you bring together Government and the private sector in partnership and cooperation, you begin to feel the real impact or the real strength of a country, a free country such as ours.

So I am here because this program represents a call to youth. It represents private free enterprise at work in one of the most important endeavors of free men, namely understanding and cooperation. And I am here because this program is directed towards a part of the world that I consider to be of the utmost importance for the future of the United States and of all free men and free nations, namely, Latin America.

Tonight we meet in the same spirit of friendship that first inspired the creation of OPERATION AMIGO and has carried it across two continents. I have read with considerable interest the brochure entitled "OPERATION AMIGO", a successful program in hemispheric understanding and I commend it to your attention because it tells a great human interest story.

Not the story of governments, but the story of people and it tells the story of a spirit of friendship that prevails among us even when our officials may have honest disagreements. I say that this spirit of friendship is one that inspired the creation of OPERATION AMIGO, and it is only natural that this friendship should flourish in this hemisphere.

We share a common European inheritance, which has left in the Americas, both North and South, a widespread belief in constitutional Government, in political democracy, in social justice and in economic progress. But we also share a faith in individual enterprise, in individual dignity and in private and voluntary activity. And I will constantly remind my compatriots that as we think of building a better world, let us not think in terms of governments alone, but more important, let us think in terms of individuals, and of that great source of strength and of inspiration and of power for the good that is found in private endeavors and in what we are proud to call our free enterprise system.

We share too the Judeo-Christian belief in the dignity of the individual. These are the common bonds that tie us together. And out of this Western cultural and political inheritance have come these lasting bonds which hold our peoples together. Despite the acknowledged differences between individual nations and may I say, differences that only add to the beauty of a hemisphere, the diversity that gives importance and individuality to each of the countries and their peoples.

The spirit of OPERATION AMIGO is the same spirit which inspired President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Good Neighbor" policy, and the spirit of OPERATION AMIGO is the spirit of the Alliance for Progress, which President Kennedy launched in 1961, and which President Lyndon Johnson vigorously supports today, and indeed encouraged me to be present at this very gathering.

OPERATION AMIGO, "the friend", that symbolizes our hemisphere and it must. OPERATION AMIGO, the youth, it symbolizes if I may say, the spirit of this hemisphere, because we are young nations and as young friends we must dare to try things together. I could review the past for you, unkind things that have been said, foolish judgements that have been made, but I prefer to speak of today and of tomorrow. The purpose of the United States policy for Latin America today is summarized simply and clearly in the Declaration of the Peoples of America, which precedes the charter of Punta del Este.

We need say no more than to remember the commitments that we have made on the binding treaty and that purpose I recite: "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." This is a big order and it places heavy demands upon us. But it is the least that we must do and this is in fact the very spirit that motivates this gathering tonight and this program OPERATION AMIGO.

It is important for us that we recognize that there is a new day. Governor Collins has called your attention to past changes which have taken place. Those changes are not merely scientific and technological. The greatest change is in human relations and indeed in internal relations. Sometimes when we think of the fantastic scientific and technological changes that move men and nations we are prone to think that is all that really happens, and we stand in awe, in wonderment of the fantastic changes. But I remind you of what St. Augustine said once, that the most wondrous thing of all is man himself. And really what we are talking about now is what can mankind do to make this planet of ours worthy of God's finest creation, namely man.

The peoples of our hemisphere today approach the task of modernizing their societies, modernizing those societies free of the fatalism of earlier days. A fatalism which was once suggested by a leader of a country that said: "there are only two kinds of problems confronting society, those which get solved by themselves and those which defy solution".

That kind of fatalism has no place in the final quarter of the 20th century. People today increasingly recognize that the status quo is neither an inheritance to be enjoyed, nor a burden to be patiently born. They realize that the status quo which benefits the few at the expense of the many bears an intolerable human cost. They know that deliberate systematic political action can bring genuine improvement to the lives of ordinary and common citizens.

They know in fact that they can control their destiny. All of us know today that rapid change in the social economic structure is possible, the question is, will the change come peacefully, orderly, within democratic institutions, or through democratic processes, or will that change come violently, with disorder, revolution and dictatorship?

Together as good neighbors we are determined to see the people of the Americas emerge from the shadows, social serfdom into the sunrise of human rights, out of the lethargy of neglect into participation in the political, social and economic life of the community, because participation is the very essence of democracy.

Now possessed of this vision and determination a whole new generation of leaders in our hemisphere has begun to tackle the problems posed by rapid population growth, world isolation, indeed even world backwardness, inadequate education in both quality and quantity and the conversion of local economies into the larger regional markets required for economic growth.

Young people understand these facts and this is why OPERATION AMIGO plays such an important role today in the future of this hemisphere. Those that are older may wish to resist the inevitable truth, but the young know they must come to grips with it.

Latin American nations have done many things of late, many things that should commend our attention and our very, very hearty congratulations. They have initiated tax and land reforms. They built new schools and trained thousands more teachers. Embarked on new national development plans. Entered commodities stabilization agreements and encouraged responsible private enterprise.

I think the check list of achievements is impressive, but as the leaders of our hemisphere prepare to meet next year and many of them are here with us tonight, it is already clear that our sites must be raised if the original goals of the Alliance for Progress are to be reached.

President Johnson has called for the raising of the targets, the economic targets for annual growth rates from 2-1/2% to 4% to 6% annually, that is per capita annually. And to do less, is to admit defeat. To do as much, is to embrace progress. To accomplish this, special attention must be given to the fields of economic integration, agriculture, world modernization, and above all, education.

The development of regional markets in a manner guaranteeing the efficiency which only competition and larger markets can bring, is now recognized as essential to the economic growth of many Latin American countries. In other words, continental economic integration is no longer merely a dream, it is

becoming a pressing necessity. The Central American Common Market is already showing what can be accomplished when a national outlook is replaced by a regional one.

We in the United States support economic integration, we have it in our own great land and we support it because the modern Latin America which can emerge from effective integration will be a more effective partner in all the great common world task which confronts us. We support it because economic integration means a higher standard of living for the people in the areas that it serves. We support it because as our own post-war experience demonstrates, our own most fruitful and mutually advantageous trade and financial relations are with the industrialized and diversified areas. And finally, we support it because economic integration is a fundamental part of the Alliance for Progress, which is a treaty commitment to which we have committed ourselves at Punta del Este.

But I suggest to all of us that the progress that we seek will elude us so long as agriculture remains stagnant and rural Latin America isolated from the booming cities that have sprung up across the continent. Today half of the people in Latin America, in fact more than half, live in rural areas, but they receive only about one fourth of the total income. And may I add that in my own work in the Government of the United States, first as a Senator and now as Vice President, I have long urged our own Government agencies to stress agriculture modernization. I recognize how much more impressive it seems to be to dream great dreams of massive industries of the great modern society. But I suggest that all too often those are dreams unfulfilled. And what is truly needed is emphasis upon providing the raw materials, upon providing a decent standard of living, upon providing incentive and motivation in the rural areas in the United States even, as well as in the vast areas of this hemisphere.

Today per capita, food production is lower than a decade ago, though through science and technology, through heavy capital investment, investment in new fertilizers, machinery and skills, to the development of marine food resources and through the widening of markets, Latin American agriculture can both feed a growing population and finance the modernization of all America. It seems to me that this is where the emphasis is being long needed and long overdue.

All this would require even greater attention to education, particularly to training in the skills required for a modern society. And OPERATION AMIGO has as its central theme education. In fact, if there is any one key to the better tomorrow, if there is any key that will unlock the door of opportunity it is education. And there has never been a society that became insolvent because of investment in education.

I preach this at home and I preach it abroad. And what a tragedy it is that so many of our fellow humankind are more interested in instruments of destruction than they are in the tools of construction. Interested more in things that they are in the mind and in the enlightenment of humanity.

In most Latin American countries schools and universities, fine as they are, are too few, too small, frequently too poor to meet the needs. The economic growth requires more trained talent, more engineers, scientists, agronomists, more electricians, carpenters, machinists, more and better managers. I often think that we speak so frequently of what we call the capital shortage and the desperate need of capital, but what good is capital without the ability to use it? Of what good is vast amounts of loaned or grant capital without the skill and the managerial talent to put it to work? It is the mind, it is the capability of the mind that produces capital. And therefore the emphasis upon education, the democratization of society required an end to illiteracy. It requires an extension of educational opportunity and far beyond the favored few, far beyond the favored few in fact the hope of nations is to be found in the poor.

If ever there was a living testimonial to what I said, it is the United States of America. Because this nation was blessed with the poor and from the poor came the rich. Those who came to the gates of this country, as well as other countries of this hemisphere, came there with little in material goods and much in hope. The desire to be free. And out of that desire of freedom, out of that abundance of hope, with the fact of their poverty, they built a great nation and a great hemisphere.

So let me once again emphasize the importance of educational opportunities to the many and not just to the few. And the project of OPERATION AMIGO I am happy to say, extends its hand of friendship and help to those who are not the favored few, but rather to those among the peoples who possess great latent talent amongst those of the poor or middle income group.

The preservation and enrichment of our culture requires more than engineers too, or scientists, it requires poets and painters and musicians. But the vast educational needs of this continent I submit, cannot be satisfied through conventional means. Once again, there must be a daring, a willingness to take a chance, to risk, to adventure. Modern methods of radio and television and audiovisual technique must be applied on a massive scale. New multinational centers for training and research must be established, to train the specialists needed. Most countries cannot individually afford these institutions. But together they can pool their resources.

And, mind you, here in our own United States, we are beginning to find out how much better we can do in education by the pooling of the resources of a number of the smaller colleges and universities to make great educational centers. Only with such centers can trained talent be retained, as well as trained, in Latin America, and the brain drain be halted. Expanding educational opportunities also means enlarging the possibility for participation in public life, for enlarging the middle class and increasing social mobility. And no group has a greater stake in educational opportunity than those who bleed in freedom; free enterprise and free political institutions.

But this progress in the fields of economic integration of agricultural education to which I have referred will be threatened if the expenditure for modern military weapons cannot be checked. I am deeply concerned over what I see, and not only among the superpowers but among those who are not super. Modern military weapons are an extravagance which hardly the rich can afford, much less the poor, without even entering into a moral justification.

We recognize that economic and social aspirations of the people of Latin America, indeed of any part of the world, cannot be achieved without security. Security is essential for progress. And we know that externally operated guerrilla must exist in some Latin America countries and are at work. But we must ask ourselves if this security problems, which are important and difficult, require highly sophisticated, costly, modern weaponry. I frankly doubt it.

It is time that the Interamerican Committee for the Alliance for Progress consider whether precious resources are being utilized unnecessarily for military equipment. It is time in other words, to ask ourselves whether or not we are going to equip our respective nations with the tools of war or as President Barrientos of Bolivia said, "to arm the people with the tools of agriculture and of the jobs and the trades". I think the answer is quite obvious.

But a further step is also needed. The time has come for the nations of Latin America to consult with each other about the weapons that they believe are truly necessary for their security. Even a small arms' raise is too expensive and dangerous for countries that are literally impoverished or fighting for their economic survival. I happen to think that arms raises as such, for even the rich, are dangerous. And therefore your Government, the Government of the United States my fellow Americans, has long advocated a program of general disarmament under adequate and effective inspection and supervision. We will hope that Latin American nations could agree that there are certain large and sophisticated weapons they do not need and will not buy, rather than conserve their resources or other things. This alone would be an important contribution to the economical and social growth and political harmony which is so necessary.

So long as supersonic fleets are considered the best guarantee of security in any one nation, the security of all nations has no guarantee. Once one nation gets these fleets, others demand it. Surely breaking the poverty barrier is more important to the people of the Americas than breaking the sound barrier. I can tell you as one who lives within the path of the supersonic boom, it is costly, even for those on the ground, much less for those in the air.

If necessary, expenditure on conventional weapons represents a threat to the solvency of many, then let me say that proliferation of nuclear weapons in the hemisphere would threaten the security of all. I think the time is right, the time is ripe and right, for a regional arms' agreement which would ban the nuclear arms from our hemisphere and indeed would re-examine the whole subject of armament in the respective countries.

Nuclear weapons would serve no useful purpose in preserving the security of Latin American nations, but would only imperil the peoples of the continent. And a nuclear non-proliferation agreement in this area could set an example for the rest of the world.

The economic progress that we seek and the social justice that we aspire to can be securely achieved only where political institutions are strong and where political leadership is relatively secure.

Perfecting political democracy and strengthening constitutional government are an essential part of the Alliance for Progress. And I hope that we will keep in mind that the Alliance for Progress means progress in democracy as well as in economics. Where political leadership has been strong, democratic institutions have survived, but there is no doubt that progress in preserving and extending democratic political institutions has at best been uneven.

There have been recent hopeful signs, such as peaceful transfers of power in Venezuela, Chile, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Colombia, the Dominican Republic and others. In some of the countries regrettably there had not been changes in government through free elections. Ways and means must be found therefore to strengthen the political fabric of Latin societies, to perfect the institutions which are the sub-structure of a stable political system. By political sub-structure I mean those institutions such as political parties, labor unions, business organizations, campesino federations, cooperatives and civic organizations that are the channel for much of our participation in public life.

This is the pluralism which was spoken a moment ago. The problem of perfecting political institutions applies to all the American nations, North and South. In responding to the pressures of rapid change we are experimenting with new forms of political organization, with new ways of strengthening established

institutions. For example, for North Americans it may be the problem of governing the urban megalopolis, the huge metropolitan area, which today frankly is a crazy quilt pattern of confusion and complication of government. Or the incorporating of marginal groups into our society. For Central and South Americans it may be building political parties, improving administration, strengthening free labor unions, developing free enterprise and cooperatives. In view of this continued political turbulence our people and our leaders should give the same attention to political development that has been given in the past two decades to economic development. They are one and inseparable, they go hand in hand.

Economic and social development can help significantly to provide the basis for civic advancement, but it will not guarantee it. The past and prospective inadequacy of economic and social progress are due strongly for more conscious action to develop political systems that can enable rapidly changing societies to contain and manage explosive tensions within them.

Maximum use therefore should be made of collaboration between counterpart organizations, student groups working with student groups: OPERATION AMIGO, businessmen working with businessmen, intellectuals with intellectuals, labor groups with labor unions. Now why therefore this special concern that I expressed tonight with political development. Because it will be necessary if modern Latin American societies are to accommodate the demand of their people for participation and progress, without sacrificing their requirement of domestic peace. These three elements: participation, progress and peace, often conflict with one another and even in the best of circumstances their reconciliation is difficult.

Peace or as some put it, domestic order, can be temporarily achieved by force by military dictatorship. Progress, the more abundant and adequate provision of good and services to the citizens can be achieved through technocracy, by participation, for participation of the citizens is possible only in a democracy. The defects of military governments are obvious. The allure of technocracy should not deceive. The difficulties of democracy should not repel. Only when economic modernization is matched by popular participation will modernization be a permanent achievement and not a passing fancy.

The Alliance for Progress therefore today is moving ahead in those countries where political leaders have been able to offer their people the prospect of participation as well as peace and progress.

The validity of the original assumption of the Alliance for Progress is being demonstrated. That economic progress and social justice are best achieved within a framework of constitutional democracy. The Alliance for Progress is today the standard by which political leaders and governments are judged, even

in those countries which do not fully adhere to the standard. This is an important achievement, where it has been truly said that countries will not go where their leaders will not take them. The Alliance for Progress places a premium upon leadership. There are many who say that after five years the progress of the Alliance is unimpressive. I do not agree with that. The Alliance has done far better than many had ever hoped. And of course, not as well as some of us would prefer. But a good beginning has been made.

The crippling poverty and the staggering injustice of centuries cannot and will not be ended in five years, nor in a decade. There are no instant solutions to age old problems. But what is most important is that now men of vision have offered reason for hope to the people and the politics of hope is really the very bread of life for so many. Our own experience has taught us that 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, nor should we be discouraged. Where there is evidence that progress is being made, I submit that this will sustain the confidence and the spirit of the people. That the own problems of society can and will be solved in the future and today there is hope.

This is the greatest dividend of the Alliance for Progress, the hope that people have of a better day and the evidence to demonstrate that that hope is not an idle dream. Whether those hopes will finally be fulfilled will depend on the people and the leaders of Latin American nations. And I come here tonight to participate in OPERATION AMIGO, because I know that this program touches the lives of young men and women who will be the leaders of tomorrow. And we need to work with those leaders. They need to know us, as we are, not as somebody says we are. They need to hear the voice of America as it is spoken, not as somebody translates it. They need to experience the spirit of this nation as it is, not as somebody describes it. And I am so delighted that a program even of this limited dimension is a going proposition. It proves that where you have faith and where you have will, you can move mountains.

But I want to say, as much as we must depend on the people of Latin America and their new leaders, the success of the Alliance and the hope of this hemisphere also depends on us, we the citizens of the United States. In meeting our responsibilities let it not be said that we could not match the greatness of our resources with the grandness of our vision. We look forward to the day and I don't think the day is far off, when a strong Latin America, the many republics of this hemisphere, can play a larger role in the western world, indeed in the Atlantic world, and can be a full partner of the United States and of Europe.

It is only then that the nations of our hemisphere will realize the desire of Bolivar, to see the Americas fashioned into the greatest region of the world. "Greatest" as he put it, "not so much by the virtue of her area and her wealth, as by her freedom and her glory".

I remind you that the great leaders of history were men of inspiration, of indomitable will, of unlimited faith and what I think is needed more today than anything else is the belief that the dream of a better world can be a reality. The belief in it, the faith in it, and if OPERATION AMIGO along with other programs of the people-to-people type, of the voluntary and private community, if such a program can add even ever so little to the realization of that dream and that hope of a better day, a more just and free world, then it is a wise investment and a worthy endeavor.

Thank you.



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