

Addresses by
Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice President of the United States
on
U.S. Relations with Latin America



ADDRESS BY
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
AT CENTER FOR
INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
SEPTEMBER 18, 1967



Signing In At Center for Inter-American Relations

(Left) Mr. David Rockefeller, Chairman of the Board, Center for Inter-American Relations; the Vice President.

A year ago I was honored to accept an invitation to become an honorary trustee of this Center. I am even more honored to address the distinguished audience which has gathered tonight to mark its opening.

The inauguration of this Center reflects the interest in Latin America that has developed in the last decade in the United States.

It reflects, too, the new attitude that has developed toward our fellow citizens in the hemisphere: An attitude based on understanding and respect for Latin American people, for their culture, and for many of their traditions.

It is based on an increasing acceptance of Latin Americans as our full partners and on a recognition that we have much to learn from our Latin American neighbors. We pragmatic North Americans sometimes find it difficult to understand why philosophy and ideology loom so large in Latin American political life.

To understand Latin American culture we must recognize that ideological considerations assume a greater importance in their culture than in ours.

We must read Latin American poets and philosophers, hear their music, see their drama, and view their paintings. For the educated person in North America, the names of Botero and Mistral, Rodo and Sanches, Villa Lobos and Borges, should be far more familiar than they are today. This Center can make this possible by becoming a showcase for the cultural achievements of Latin America, the Caribbean and Canada—a forum for the interchange of ideas and information. And, in making it possible it can assist us in understanding their concerns and in enriching our own lives and culture.

The calibre and stature, the proven interest and dedication of the men and women who have organized this center should insure its success. For few people have done more to promote solidarity and understanding among the nations of the hemisphere than those who are here tonight.

Tonight, although we are honored by the presence of distinguished Latin American officials and private citizens, I would like to direct my remarks primarily to my fellow citizens of the United States who have founded this Center.

BASIS OF INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM

On this occasion it is appropriate to ask: What is the basis of our interest in inter-American relations? What binds us together in this common concern?

There are those for whom the link between the United States and Latin America is based chiefly on physical proximity.

They say that it is unrealistic to seek solidarity with Latin America. And they point to the observable differences between us.

They say:

—The United States is rich; most of Latin America is poor.

—Our culture is largely Anglo-Saxon and Yankee; theirs is largely Latin and Iberian.

—We are sometimes clumsily powerful; they are often self-consciously weak.

—We are to a large extent Protestant—they are to a larger extent Catholic.

The people of the United States enjoy widely the marvels of the technological and electronic age; the ordinary people of Latin America have barely begun to glimpse them.

There may have been some validity to this portrayal—at the beginning of this decade. It is surely an over-simplification now.

But the differences that divide us are small compared to the bonds that unite us.

THE NEW WORLD

One of the most ancient and enduring of these bonds is our common commitment to the idea of a New World.

Since the 16th century, men—whether English, Spanish or Portuguese—have been gripped with the desire to find, and the determination to build, a New World.

This New World has represented not just a new land to be exploited, not just a haven for the oppressed.

Above all, it has signified a vision of a new human chance—an opportunity to create in a new world a society, a human political system, which would make possible a truly human life.

From the founding of Massachusetts Bay Colony to the Declaration of Independence, from the first voyage of Columbus to the South American revolution of the 1820's, the idea of the New World has been both a dream and a battle cry on both continents.

On this common ground, we share one of the great visions and one of the great adventures in human history.

Now that alien forces in the world today have brought us closer together in danger and concern, let us not forget that we were—and we are—blood brothers in hope.

In their vision of a human society in a new world, our forefathers assumed that man need not be resigned to Providence . . . that he could to some extent master his own environment.

As President Kennedy said, "that here on earth God's work must truly be our own."

That was a basic assumption in launching the Alliance for Progress—the framework of inter-American policy today.

Since the signing of the Charter of Punta del Este six years ago, we have been acting on the premise that man can shape his environment . . . that radical improvement in the condition of ordinary people can be achieved through deliberate, systematic political action.

Just as hope brought men to the shores of our continents four centuries ago, so the hope which has been aroused by the Alliance for Progress spurs us on to create that truly human society of which we have always dreamed.

ROLE OF PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS

In pursuing this goal, the initiative and resourcefulness of private institutions are indispensable. A Center like this can stimulate the efforts of private groups . . . can provoke them to focus on the problems of the hemisphere the best thinking, the most creative insights, that men and women anywhere in the hemisphere have to offer.

Most important, it can spur them to action.

Governments must deal with the problems and crises of today—and far too rarely does their preoccupation with the present permit adequate attention to the future.

Yet the very idea of a New World implies an orientation toward the future.

Never has such an orientation been more necessary than in Latin America today, where one-half the population is under 20 years of age.

This is a role which you as representatives of private institutions can play—through institutes such as the Center, through foundations, business groups, universities, labor unions, and churches.

As the Center for Inter-American Relations, you will face the temptation to deal chiefly with established institutions, to invite mostly well-known figures, to exhibit recognized artists, to accept the conventional wisdom of the day.

In confronting this temptation—which is a pervasive temptation for all of us—you must bear in mind that what appears to be an establishment may be only the temporary pinnacle of an “established disorder.”

For many—particularly among the young—the establishment of today is not one which they aspire to join. It is an institution which they hope to see dismantled. I know the progressive and concerned Latin American leaders who are with us tonight not only recognize this fact, but that they are striving to build societies where the energies of the young will be devoted to constructive—and not destructive—ends.

IMPORTANCE OF YOUTH

In our contacts with Latin America we must give priority attention to the young leaders of the next decade. Some are on the scene. Others are yet to be identified.

To do this, it may be that a new edition of Who's Who will be required.

And in drawing up that revised Who's Who—we should avoid including only those who speak English, attend American Embassy receptions, or (if my friend George Moore will permit) have a sound credit rating at the First National City Bank.

The most imaginative, talented, and responsible Latin American leaders are not always the most North-American minded.

As you have long since known, if private institutions are to be on the cutting edge of history in this hemisphere, both their vision and their programs must be bold.

They must venture into these sensitive but vital areas where the risks are high, the immediate visible results low, and the recognition long in coming.

The private sector's contribution is needed in the area of agrarian reform and land utilization . . . modernization and equalization of tax systems and market systems . . . reform of outdated state university systems . . . and in confronting the myriad problems of the modern metropolitan area—high unemployment, sprawling slums, clogged transportation systems, inadequate housing and hospitals, insufficient schools and teachers.

It is needed in training young people, in developing programs for the media of mass communication, in assisting the building of free trade unions in both urban and rural areas, in strengthening existing professional associations and creating new ones.

The private sector must give attention to the ingredients of political and social development as well as economic development.

In the past two decades in the United States, the private sector has shown that it can effectively contribute to the resolution of the sensitive political and social issues of the day.

In the 1950's for instance, when fundamental American freedoms and institutions were called into question, private funds supported the creation of the Fund for the Republic which devoted itself to subject American institutions to searching scrutiny and to presenting their findings to the public at large.

Similarly, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was established with foundation support to assist in the resolution of the most tormenting social issue of our times—that of the relations between the races.

And now the private sector is becoming deeply involved in the unmet social needs of this nation—from rebuilding the crowded tenements of Harlem to liberating the prisoners of rural America's tarpaper shacks.

Yes, we are beginning to develop right here at home a creative partnership . . . an Alliance for Progress between free enterprise and representative government. And the lessons learned right here must be seized and put to work in other parts of the hemisphere.

It is not necessary to review here the progress of our attempts to transform the hemisphere the past six years through the Alliance for Progress. This was done at Punta del Este earlier this year where the Presidents of the hemisphere met to assess our accomplishments and to plan for the future. They agreed that top priority for the next decade should go to institutional development, and the economic integration of Latin America.

PUNTA DEL ESTE CONFERENCE

The creation of a common market and the integration of Latin America entails breaking out of confining frontiers, reaching out to forge bonds of unity, and in unity gaining strength. But the process of creating a common market also entails difficult and painful adjustments in the fabric of established societies. It would be a great misfortune if the fear of these adjustments were to delay progress of the movement toward integration.

They agreed on the urgency of opening up the inner frontiers of the South American continent.

They agreed to consider the possibility of stimulating intra-regional trade through temporary preferential trading agreements.

They agreed on the urgency of accelerating the modernization of agriculture and the rural areas.

They agreed to facilitate the dissemination of technology through the establishment of new regional institutes.

They agreed to devote increased resources to health and education in every land.

All these initiatives must, and I am confident will, be pursued.

But beyond these material necessities, there are human necessities too.

It has, for instance, become customary to distinguish between behavior patterns in developed and developing countries of the world—and to apply this distinction to North America and to Latin America.

No one who has endured the agony of the past summer in the United States can place much faith in that distinction.

NEED FOR INTEGRATION

For we have seen what happens when a small but aroused minority, awakened to full consciousness of its condition, and cut off from the bonds of society, is misled by demagogues into seeing its only outlet in anarchy and violence.

Thus, when we speak of the integration of Latin America as of the hemisphere, we must concern ourselves not only with the economic integration of a continent, but with the integration into society of millions of human beings who are becoming conscious of their condition . . . who are no longer resigned to their fate on the margin of society.

Given the conditions of everyday life in many parts of Latin America, what is a tiny minority in this country could be a dangerous and broad movement—or a majority—in other countries of the hemisphere.

Most nations in Latin America have made progress during this decade in achieving economic growth and social justice.

But progress has brought with it increased tensions that spring from hopes yet unfulfilled, from rising expectations not met fast enough.

This should neither surprise nor discourage us.

We knew that the hopes and expectations which the Alliance would arouse could not all be met in the immediate future. What can be accomplished in a material sense in a short period of time will always fall short of expectations.

What is important is that we be prepared to give convincing evidence that progress is being made, that material betterment is on the way, that there is reason for believing that the unmet problems of society will be solved in the future.

We must be able, in short, to provide the politics of hope and of faith.

What concerns me, as I look toward the next decade, is that progress may not be fast enough to sustain the hopes that have been aroused . . . that the newly awakened millions will reject the alternatives of peaceful change and accept instead the leadership of those who glorify violence and who seek not to change society but to destroy it.

"We hope vaguely," said Valery, "but we dread precisely."

PROGRESS IN THE FUTURE

I raise this question with the full realization that more has been done in the past decade in most countries than in the previous five decades.

More has been done by two United States Administrations in this decade than ever before.

More resources have been devoted to hemisphere programs during the past three years than the previous three.

And President Johnson has made unmistakably clear his determination—regardless of any temporary setbacks—to continue the large-scale commitment of resources of the United States to the Alliance for Progress program. As he stated last month: "We will persevere. There is no time limit on our commitment." And at Punta del Este: "Economic and social development is a task not for sprinters but for long-distance runners."

But I would like to be more confident that our efforts—those of all of us throughout the hemisphere—are of a magnitude equal to the task.

I would like to be more confident that the spreading guerrilla movement in some countries, the "radicalization of the left" in others, represent a temporary phase and not a long-range condition.

I would like to be more confident that the increase in gross national product is improving the lives of those who are most in need; that the majority of the coming generation sees in progressive political democracy a system to be preserved and perfected—and not a vestige to be discarded.

I would like to be more confident that the enormous contribution which a competitive free economy can make to economic and social development is widely understood; and that the advanced trading nations of the world are prepared to adjust world trade policies to reflect the needs of the less-advanced nations of the world.

I would like to be more confident that the members of the Organization of American States will improve its machinery and institutions to make it work, in times of trouble as well as tranquility.

IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

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.

Until ways are found to strengthen the political fabric of our hemisphere . . . to perfect the institutions which are the sub-structure of a stable political system, we can have no assurance that the economic and social modernization and proceed without interruption.

Political development in our hemisphere during the next decade must also focus on the expansion of the Inter-American system, the inclusion of new nations or groups of nations, the possible return of old ones.

In the Caribbean, the future course to insure the development of small states with limited resources will require a political inventiveness and creativity that is not yet assured. Can these states provide the economic and social necessities of a modern nation through federation? Or must they find some other relationship to the mainland—through independence, commonwealth status, or other ties?

Given our special and historic concern with the Caribbean, we will not be able to envision its stability so long as one nation remains not only outside the inter-American system, but intent on that system's destruction. We hope for a return of the policy of the "good neighbor" to the Caribbean. But it will not return until the policy of "leaving one's neighbors alone" is applied by Havana.

Until Cuba is prepared to leave her neighbors alone, to suspend the activities and the connections that led to her expulsion from the American family, there can be no return to participation in the inter-American system.

To our neighbor to the North, Canada—which is celebrating its centennial year—we express the hope that it will, in the future, choose to play a more active role in the affairs of the hemisphere, so that all may benefit from the talents and energies which the Canadian people have displayed in their vast and beautiful land.

RELATIONSHIP WITH EUROPE

At the outset of my remarks, I referred to the enduring bond between the Americas stemming from our belief and participation in the New World.

This should not lead us to overlook what may prove to be an even more enduring and cohesive inheritance—the Western civilization which the New World shares with the Old.

Our efforts to perfect the inter-American system, to foster hemispheric unity, should not be defined in any exclusive sense that would discourage a greater European contribution to the political, cultural, social and economic life of the Americas.

For all of us in this hemisphere are, in a sense, the children of Europe.

And thus we welcome Europe in our hemisphere, not as a rival for power, but as a partner for progress.

We welcome Europe because, like all men who carry a proud inheritance—we know from whence we came.

And we look forward to the time when Latin America may one day assume her role as equal partner of both Europe and North America in the long and enduring search which has really only begun—the search, all over this earth, for a new human chance . . . a truly just and human environment . . . a New World.

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.”

That vision can be fulfilled. A New World can be made.

I give you Franklin Roosevelt's last words: “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 AT

“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."

RECOGNITION OF NEED FOR CHANGE

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.

ACCELERATING THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

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 2½ 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.

IMPORTANCE OF RURAL MODERNIZATION

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.

ARMS LIMITATION

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.

IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

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'états—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'états 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.

PROGRESS OF THE ALLIANCE

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.”

Introductory Remarks

1.

I should like first of all to pay a word of recognition to David Rockefeller and his distinguished Board of Directors who are responsible for conceiving the idea of this Center, and for putting it into operation. David Rockefeller, following a long and distinguished record of interest in inter-American affairs on the part of his family, has contributed not only his time and ideas, but a generous sum to finance the renovation of this beautiful building.

A special word of recognition should go to the Marquesa de Cuevas who saved this building from Mar Karsak Quoy-vos

2.

demolition several years ago and recently presented it as a gift to the Center for Inter-American Relations.

I would like to congratulate the Members of the Center for their wisdom in choosing as the President of the Center one of the most gifted young men who have been involved in U.S. relations with Latin America in recent years, Mr. William Rogers. Bill Rogers played a major role in launching the Alliance for Progress and served with great distinction as the Deputy Coordinator of the Alliance.

3.

You are similarly fortunate in having as Executive Director a young man with wide experience in Latin American Affairs acquired as a journalist with Vision, and as Director of the Latin American Project at Cornell University, William McLeish.

*Distinguished son of distinguished
father Archibald Mc Leish*

At the end of paragraph 1, page 3, it would be appropriate for you to recognize the presence of the Director of Cultural Affairs of the OAS, Dr. Rafael Squirru. He is one of the few people who really made some progress in introducing Latin American culture to the U.S. You might say something like the following:

"And I am happy to see that with us here tonight is the Director of Cultural Affairs of the OAS, Dr. Rafael Squirru, who has contributed so much to achieving an understanding of Latin American culture in the United States."

Rafael Squirru

Gov Rockefeller

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

CENTER FOR INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

SEPTEMBER 18, 1967

David Rockefeller

Bill Rogers

Bill McLeish

Dr Mora

Sen Oliver

amb. Mc

Sailla

Socasa

Monkappa de Quaynes
Saw this building
from demolition
10 gift to Center

A YEAR AGO I WAS HONORED TO ACCEPT AN

INVITATION TO BECOME AN HONORARY TRUSTEE OF THIS

CENTER. I AM EVEN MORE HONORED TO ADDRESS THE

DISTINGUISHED AUDIENCE WHICH HAS GATHERED TONIGHT

TO MARK ITS OPENING.

< THE INAUGURATION OF THIS CENTER REFLECTS the over

growing INTEREST IN LATIN AMERICA THAT HAS DEVELOPED

IN THE LAST DECADE IN THE UNITED STATES.

↳ IT REFLECTS, TOO, THE NEW ATTITUDE THAT HAS DEVELOPED TOWARD OUR FELLOW CITIZENS IN THE HEMISPHERE; AN ATTITUDE BASED ON UNDERSTANDING AND RESPECT FOR LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLE, FOR THEIR CULTURE, AND FOR MANY OF THEIR TRADITIONS.

↳ IT IS BASED ON AN INCREASING ACCEPTANCE OF LATIN AMERICANS AS OUR FULL PARTNERS AND ON A RECOGNITION THAT WE HAVE MUCH TO LEARN FROM OUR LATIN AMERICAN NEIGHBORS. WE PRAGMATIC NORTH AMERICANS SOMETIMES FIND IT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND WHY PHILOSOPHY AND IDEOLOGY LOOM SO LARGE IN LATIN AMERICAN POLITICAL LIFE.

↳ ~~TO UNDERSTAND LATIN AMERICAN CULTURE WE MUST~~ RECOGNIZE THAT IDEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS ASSUME A GREATER IMPORTANCE in Latin American ~~IN THEIR~~ CULTURE THAN IN OURS.

-3-
To Know our neighbors,

WE MUST READ LATIN AMERICAN POETS AND

PHILOSOPHERS, HEAR THEIR MUSIC, SEE THEIR DRAMA,

AND VIEW THEIR PAINTINGS. FOR THE EDUCATED PERSON

IN NORTH AMERICA, THE NAMES OF BOTERO AND MISTRAL, ^{Columbian} me-stahl (Chilean Poet)

Rodriguez

RODO AND SANCHES, VILLA LOBOS AND BORGES, ^(arg. novelist) SHOULD BE

unquar-
philosophy

FAR MORE FAMILIAR THAN THEY ARE TODAY. THIS CENTER

CAN MAKE THIS POSSIBLE BY BECOMING A SHOWCASE FOR

THE CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF LATIN AMERICA, THE

CARIBBEAN AND CANADA -- A FORUM FOR THE INTERCHANGE

OF IDEAS AND INFORMATION. AND, thereby IN MAKING IT POSSIBLE.

IT CAN ASSIST US IN UNDERSTANDING THEIR CONCERNS AND

IN ENRICHING OUR OWN LIVES AND CULTURE.

Secretary of Cultural Affairs OAS

(Dr Rafael
Skler-rue)

THE CALIBRE AND STATURE, THE PROVEN INTEREST

AND DEDICATION OF THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE ORGANIZED

THIS CENTER SHOULD INSURE ITS SUCCESS. FOR FEW PEOPLE

HAVE DONE MORE TO PROMOTE SOLIDARITY AND UNDERSTANDING

AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE HEMISPHERE THAN THOSE WHO ARE
HERE TONIGHT.

TONIGHT, ALTHOUGH WE ARE HONORED BY THE
many PRESENCE OF DISTINGUISHED LATIN AMERICAN OFFICIALS AND *foreign ministers
ambassadors
etc*
PRIVATE CITIZENS, I WOULD LIKE TO DIRECT MY REMARKS
PRIMARILY TO MY FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES
WHO HAVE FOUNDED THIS CENTER.

ON THIS OCCASION IT IS APPROPRIATE TO ASK:
WHAT IS THE BASIS OF OUR INTEREST IN INTER-AMERICAN
RELATIONS? WHAT BINDS US TOGETHER IN THIS COMMON
CONCERN? ?

THERE ARE THOSE FOR WHOM THE LINK BETWEEN
THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICA IS BASED CHIEFLY
ON PHYSICAL PROXIMITY.

THEY SAY THAT IT IS UNREALISTIC TO SEEK
SOLIDARITY WITH LATIN AMERICA. AND THEY POINT TO THE
OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US.

THEY SAY:

L -- THE UNITED STATES IS RICH; MOST OF
LATIN AMERICA IS POOR.

L -- OUR CULTURE IS LARGELY ANGLO-SAXON AND
YANKEE; THEIRS IS LARGELY LATIN AND IBERIAN.

L -- WE ARE SOMETIMES CLUMSILY POWERFUL;
THEY ARE OFTEN SELF-CONSCIOUSLY WEAK.

L -- WE ARE TO A LARGE EXTENT PROTESTANT;
THEY ARE TO A LARGER EXTENT CATHOLIC.

L THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES ENJOY
WIDELY THE MARVELS OF THE TECHNOLOGICAL AND ELECTRONIC
AGE; THE ORDINARY PEOPLE OF LATIN AMERICA HAVE BARELY
BEGUN TO GLIMPSE THEM.

~~now.~~ THERE MAY HAVE BEEN SOME VALIDITY TO THIS
PORTRAYAL -- AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS DECADE. ^{But} IT IS
₁ SURELY AN OVER-SIMPLIFICATION NOW.

~~But~~ THE DIFFERENCES THAT DIVIDE US ARE SMALL
COMPARED TO THE BONDS THAT UNITE US.

↳ ONE OF THE MOST ANCIENT AND ENDURING OF
THESE BONDS IS OUR COMMON COMMITMENT TO THE IDEA OF
A NEW WORLD.

↳ SINCE THE 16TH CENTURY, MEN -- WHETHER ENGLISH,
SPANISH OR PORTUGUESE -- HAVE BEEN GRIPPED WITH
THE DESIRE TO FIND, AND THE DETERMINATION TO BUILD,
A NEW WORLD.

↳ THIS NEW WORLD HAS REPRESENTED NOT JUST A
NEW LAND TO BE EXPLOITED, NOT JUST ^{new} A HAVEN FOR THE
OPPRESSED.

↳ ABOVE ALL, IT HAS SIGNIFIED A VISION OF
A NEW HUMAN CHANCE -- AN OPPORTUNITY TO CREATE IN A
NEW WORLD A SOCIETY, A HUMAN POLITICAL SYSTEM, WHICH
WOULD MAKE POSSIBLE A TRULY HUMAN LIFE.

↳ FROM THE FOUNDING OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY
TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, FROM THE FIRST VOYAGE
OF COLUMBUS, TO THE SOUTH AMERICAN REVOLUTION OF THE 1820's,

THE IDEA OF THE NEW WORLD HAS BEEN BOTH A DREAM AND A
BATTLE CRY ON BOTH CONTINENTS.

ON THIS COMMON GROUND, WE SHARE ONE OF THE
GREAT VISIONS AND ONE OF THE GREAT ADVENTURES IN
HUMAN HISTORY.

NOW THAT ALIEN FORCES IN THE WORLD TODAY
HAVE BROUGHT US CLOSER TOGETHER IN DANGER AND CONCERN,
LET US NOT FORGET THAT WE WERE -- AND WE ARE --
BLOOD BROTHERS IN HOPE.

IN THEIR VISION OF A HUMAN SOCIETY IN A NEW
WORLD, OUR FOREFATHERS ASSUMED THAT MAN NEED NOT BE
RESIGNED TO PROVIDENCE ... THAT HE COULD TO SOME
EXTENT MASTER HIS OWN ENVIRONMENT.

AS PRESIDENT KENNEDY SAID, "THAT HERE ON
EARTH, GOD'S WORK MUST TRULY BE OUR OWN."

THAT WAS A BASIC ASSUMPTION IN LAUNCHING THE
ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS -- THE FRAMEWORK OF INTER-AMERICAN
POLICY TODAY.

↳ SINCE THE SIGNING OF THE CHARTER OF
PUNTA DEL ESTE SIX YEARS AGO, WE HAVE BEEN ACTING
ON THE PREMISE THAT MAN CAN SHAPE HIS ENVIRONMENT ...
THAT RADICAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE CONDITION OF ORDINARY
PEOPLE CAN BE ACHIEVED THROUGH DELIBERATE, SYSTEMATIC
+ economic
POLITICAL ACTION.

↳ JUST AS HOPE BROUGHT MEN TO THE SHORES OF OUR
CONTINENTS FOUR CENTURIES AGO, SO THE HOPE WHICH HAS
BEEN AROUSED BY THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS SPURS US ON
TO CREATE THAT TRULY HUMAN SOCIETY OF WHICH WE HAVE
ALWAYS DREAMED.

↳ IN PURSUING THIS GOAL, THE INITIATIVE AND
RESOURCEFULNESS OF PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS ARE INDISPENSABLE.

↳ A CENTER LIKE THIS CAN STIMULATE THE EFFORTS OF PRIVATE
GROUPS... CAN PROVOKE THEM TO FOCUS ON THE PROBLEMS
OF THE HEMISPHERE THE BEST THINKING, THE MOST CREATIVE

INSIGHTS, ~~THAT MEN AND WOMEN ANYWHERE IN THE HEMISPHERE~~
~~HAVE TO OFFER.~~

↳ MOST IMPORTANT, IT CAN SPUR THEM TO ACTION.

↳ GOVERNMENTS MUST DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS AND

CRISES OF TODAY -- AND FAR TOO RARELY DOES THEIR

PREOCCUPATION WITH THE PRESENT PERMIT ADEQUATE

ATTENTION TO THE FUTURE.

↳ YET, THE VERY IDEA OF A NEW WORLD IMPLIES AN

ORIENTATION TOWARD THE FUTURE.

and NEVER HAS SUCH AN ORIENTATION BEEN MORE

NECESSARY THAN IN LATIN AMERICA TODAY, WHERE ONE-HALF

THE POPULATION IS UNDER 20 YEARS OF AGE.

↳ THIS IS A ROLE WHICH YOU AS REPRESENTATIVES OF

PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS CAN PLAY -- THROUGH INSTITUTES

SUCH AS THE CENTER, THROUGH FOUNDATIONS, BUSINESS GROUPS,

UNIVERSITIES, LABOR UNIONS, AND CHURCHES.

As the CENTER FOR INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS,
YOU WILL FACE THE TEMPTATION TO DEAL CHIEFLY WITH
ESTABLISHED INSTITUTIONS; TO INVITE MOSTLY WELL-KNOWN
FIGURES, TO EXHIBIT RECOGNIZED ARTISTS, TO ACCEPT THE
CONVENTIONAL WISDOM OF THE DAY.

In CONFRONTING THIS TEMPTATION -- WHICH IS
A PERVASIVE TEMPTATION FOR ALL OF US -- YOU MUST BEAR
IN MIND THAT WHAT APPEARS TO BE ^{the} ~~an~~ ESTABLISHMENT MAY BE
ONLY THE TEMPORARY PINNACLE OF AN "ESTABLISHED DISORDER."

For MANY -- PARTICULARLY AMONG THE YOUNG --
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TODAY IS NOT ONE WHICH THEY ASPIRE
TO JOIN. It IS AN INSTITUTION WHICH THEY HOPE TO SEE
DISMANTLED. ~~I know~~ THE PROGRESSIVE AND CONCERNED LATIN
AMERICAN LEADERS WHO ARE WITH US TONIGHT NOT ONLY
RECOGNIZE THIS FACT, BUT ~~that~~ THEY ARE STRIVING TO BUILD
SOCIETIES WHERE THE ENERGIES OF THE YOUNG WILL BE DEVOTED
TO CONSTRUCTIVE -- AND NOT DESTRUCTIVE -- ENDS.

↳ IN OUR CONTACTS WITH LATIN AMERICA WE MUST GIVE PRIORITY ATTENTION TO THE YOUNG LEADERS OF THE NEXT DECADE. SOME ARE ON THE SCENE. OTHERS ARE YET TO BE IDENTIFIED.

TO DO THIS, IT MAY BE THAT A NEW EDITION OF WHO'S WHO WILL BE REQUIRED.

AND IN DRAWING UP THAT REVISED WHO'S WHO -- WE SHOULD AVOID INCLUDING ONLY THOSE WHO SPEAK ENGLISH, ATTEND AMERICAN EMBASSY RECEPTIONS, OR (IF MY FRIEND GEORGE MOORE WILL PERMIT) HAVE A SOUND CREDIT RATING AT THE FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK.

↳ THE MOST IMAGINATIVE, TALENTED, AND RESPONSIBLE LATIN AMERICAN LEADERS ARE NOT ALWAYS THE MOST NORTH-AMERICAN MINDED.

↳ AS YOU HAVE LONG SINCE KNOWN, IF PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS ARE TO BE ON THE CUTTING EDGE OF HISTORY IN THIS HEMISPHERE, BOTH THEIR VISION AND THEIR PROGRAMS MUST BE BOLD.

THEY MUST VENTURE INTO THOSE SENSITIVE BUT
VITAL AREAS WHERE THE RISKS ARE HIGH, THE IMMEDIATE
VISIBLE RESULTS LOW, AND THE RECOGNITION LONG IN
COMING.

THE PRIVATE SECTOR'S CONTRIBUTION IS NEEDED
IN THE AREA OF AGRARIAN REFORM AND LAND UTILIZATION...
MODERNIZATION AND EQUALIZATION OF TAX SYSTEMS AND
MARKET SYSTEMS ... REFORM OF OUTDATED STATE UNIVERSITY
SYSTEMS ... AND IN CONFRONTING THE MYRIAD PROBLEMS OF
THE MODERN METROPOLITAN AREA ^{such as} -- HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT,
SPRAWLING SLUMS, CLOGGED TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS,
INADEQUATE HOUSING AND HOSPITALS, INSUFFICIENT
SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS.

IT IS NEEDED IN TRAINING YOUNG PEOPLE, IN
DEVELOPING PROGRAMS FOR THE MEDIA OF MASS COMMUNICATION,
IN ASSISTING THE BUILDING OF FREE TRADE UNIONS IN BOTH
URBAN AND RURAL AREAS,

IN STRENGTHENING EXISTING PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS
AND CREATING NEW ONES.

↳ THE PRIVATE SECTOR MUST GIVE ATTENTION TO
THE INGREDIENTS OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
AS WELL AS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

↳ IN THE PAST TWO DECADES IN THE UNITED STATES,
THE PRIVATE SECTOR HAS SHOWN THAT IT CAN EFFECTIVELY
CONTRIBUTE TO THE RESOLUTION OF THE SENSITIVE POLITICAL
AND SOCIAL ISSUES OF THE DAY.

↳ IN THE 1950'S FOR INSTANCE, WHEN FUNDAMENTAL
AMERICAN FREEDOMS AND INSTITUTIONS WERE CALLED INTO
QUESTION, PRIVATE FUNDS SUPPORTED THE CREATION OF THE
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC WHICH DEVOTED ITSELF ~~TO SUBJECT~~ *to a searching*

scrutiny 7 AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS. ~~TO SEARCHING SCRUTINY AND TO~~
~~PRESENTING THEIR FINDINGS TO THE PUBLIC AT LARGE.~~

SIMILARLY, THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE WAS ESTABLISHED WITH FOUNDATION SUPPORT TO
ASSIST IN THE RESOLUTION OF THE MOST TORMENTING SOCIAL
ISSUE OF OUR TIMES -- THAT OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN
THE RACES,

AND NOW THE PRIVATE SECTOR IS BECOMING
DEEPLY INVOLVED IN THE UNMET SOCIAL NEEDS OF THIS
NATION -- FROM REBUILDING THE CROWDED TENEMENTS OF
HARLEM TO LIBERATING THE PRISONERS OF RURAL AMERICA'S
TARPAPER SHACKS. *to Providing Training & Jobs
for the unemployed.*

YES, WE ARE BEGINNING TO DEVELOP RIGHT HERE
AT HOME A CREATIVE PARTNERSHIP ... AN ALLIANCE FOR
PROGRESS BETWEEN FREE ENTERPRISE AND REPRESENTATIVE
GOVERNMENT, AND THE LESSONS LEARNED RIGHT HERE MUST
~~BE SEIZED AND~~ PUT TO WORK IN OTHER PARTS OF THE HEMISPHERE.

At the end of page 15, it would be appropriate for you to recognize the presence of the new Executive Director of the Action Committee for the Integration of Latin America, Horacio Godoy. You might say something like the following:

"I am happy to see here tonight the Executive Director of the Action Committee for Latin American Integration, Dr. Horacio Godoy. We know what a crucial role Jean Monnet's Action Committee played in the European integration movement. I am confident that the Latin American Action Committee can play a similar role in accelerating the integration of the Continent."

IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO REVIEW HERE THE
PROGRESS OF OUR ATTEMPTS TO TRANSFORM THE HEMISPHERE
THE PAST SIX YEARS THROUGH THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS.
THIS WAS DONE AT PUNTA DEL ESTE EARLIER THIS YEAR
WHERE THE PRESIDENTS OF THE ^{american Republics} ~~HEMISPHERE~~ MET TO ASSESS
OUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND TO PLAN FOR THE FUTURE. THEY

AGREED THAT TOP PRIORITY FOR THE NEXT DECADE SHOULD GO
TO INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT, AND THE ECONOMIC INTEGRATION
OF LATIN AMERICA.

— @ Horacio Godoy

THE CREATION OF A COMMON MARKET AND THE
INTEGRATION OF LATIN AMERICA ENTAILS BREAKING OUT OF
CONFINING FRONTIERS, ~~REACHING OUT TO FORGE BONDS OF~~
~~UNITY, AND IN UNITY GAINING STRENGTH.~~ BUT THE PROCESS
OF CREATING A COMMON MARKET ALSO ENTAILS DIFFICULT AND
PAINFUL ADJUSTMENTS IN THE FABRIC OF ESTABLISHED SOCIETIES.

~~IT WOULD BE A GREAT MISFORTUNE IF THE FEAR OF THESE ADJUSTMENTS~~
~~WERE TO DELAY PROGRESS OF THE MOVEMENT TOWARD INTEGRATION.~~

— Horacio Godoy

The President 16-

THEY AGREED ON THE URGENCY OF OPENING UP THE
INNER FRONTIERS OF THE SOUTH AMERICAN CONTINENT.

THEY AGREED TO CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY
OF STIMULATING INTRA-REGIONAL TRADE THROUGH TEMPORARY
PREFERENTIAL TRADING AGREEMENTS.

THEY AGREED ON THE URGENCY OF ACCELERATING
THE MODERNIZATION OF AGRICULTURE AND THE RURAL AREAS.

THEY AGREED TO FACILITATE THE DISSEMINATION
OF TECHNOLOGY THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW
REGIONAL INSTITUTES.

THEY AGREED TO DEVOTE INCREASED RESOURCES
TO HEALTH AND EDUCATION IN EVERY LAND.

ALL THESE INITIATIVES MUST, AND I AM CONFIDENT
WILL, BE PURSUED.

BUT BEYOND THESE MATERIAL NECESSITIES, THERE
ARE HUMAN NECESSITIES TOO.

IT HAS, FOR INSTANCE, BECOME CUSTOMARY TO
DISTINGUISH BETWEEN BEHAVIOR PATTERNS IN DEVELOPED AND

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD --

AND TO APPLY THIS DISTINCTION TO NORTH AMERICA
AND TO LATIN AMERICA.

NO ONE WHO HAS ENDURED THE AGONY OF THE
PAST SUMMER IN THE UNITED STATES CAN PLACE MUCH
FAITH IN THAT DISTINCTION.

FOR WE HAVE SEEN WHAT HAPPENS WHEN A
SMALL BUT AROUSED MINORITY, AWAKENED TO FULL CONSCIOUSNESS
OF ITS CONDITION, AND CUT OFF FROM THE BONDS OF
SOCIETY, IS MISLED BY DEMAGOGUES INTO SEEING ITS
ONLY OUTLET IN ANARCHY AND VIOLENCE.

THUS, WHEN WE SPEAK OF THE INTEGRATION OF
LATIN AMERICA, ~~AS OF THE MIDDLE EAST~~, WE MUST CONCERN
OURSELVES NOT ONLY WITH THE ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF
A CONTINENT, BUT WITH THE INTEGRATION INTO SOCIETY
OF MILLIONS OF HUMAN BEINGS WHO ARE BECOMING CONSCIOUS
OF THEIR CONDITION ... WHO ARE NO LONGER RESIGNED TO
THEIR FATE ON THE MARGIN OF SOCIETY.

~~GIVEN THE CONDITIONS OF EVERYDAY LIFE IN
MANY PARTS OF LATIN AMERICA, WHAT IS A TINY MINORITY
IN THIS COUNTRY COULD BE A DANGEROUS AND BROAD
MOVEMENT -- OR A MAJORITY -- IN OTHER COUNTRIES OF
THE HEMISPHERE.~~

We know that ~~#~~ MOST NATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA HAVE MADE
PROGRESS DURING THIS DECADE IN ACHIEVING ECONOMIC
GROWTH AND SOCIAL JUSTICE.

L that same BUT, PROGRESS HAS BROUGHT WITH IT INCREASED
TENSIONS THAT SPRING FROM HOPES YET UNFULFILLED,
FROM RIISING EXPECTATIONS NOT MET FAST ENOUGH.

L THIS SHOULD NEITHER SURPRISE NOR DISCOURAGE US.

~~WE KNEW THAT THE HOPES AND EXPECTATIONS WHICH
THE ALLIANCE WOULD AROUSE COULD NOT ALL BE MET IN THE
IMMEDIATE FUTURE. WHAT CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED IN A MATERIAL
SENSE IN A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME WILL ALWAYS FALL SHORT
OF EXPECTATIONS.~~

WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS THAT WE BE PREPARED TO
GIVE CONVINCING EVIDENCE THAT PROGRESS IS BEING MADE
THAT MATERIAL BETTERMENT IS ON THE WAY, ~~THAT THERE~~
~~IS REASON FOR BELIEVING~~ THAT THE UNMET PROBLEMS OF
SOCIETY WILL BE SOLVED IN THE FUTURE.

WE MUST BE ABLE, IN SHORT, TO PROVIDE
THE POLITICS OF HOPE AND OF FAITH.

WHAT CONCERNS ME, AS I LOOK TOWARD THE NEXT
DECADE, IS THAT PROGRESS MAY NOT BE FAST ENOUGH TO
SUSTAIN THE HOPES THAT HAVE BEEN AROUSED ... THAT THE
NEWLY AWAKENED MILLIONS ~~may~~ REJECT THE ALTERNATIVES
OF PEACEFUL CHANGE AND ACCEPT INSTEAD THE LEADERSHIP
OF THOSE WHO GLORIFY VIOLENCE AND WHO SEEK NOT TO CHANGE
SOCIETY BUT TO DESTROY IT.

"WE HOPE VAGUELY," SAID VALERY, "BUT WE
DREAD PRECISELY."

L I RAISE THIS QUESTION WITH THE FULL REALIZATION
THAT MORE HAS BEEN DONE IN THE PAST DECADE IN MOST
COUNTRIES THAN IN THE PREVIOUS ^{Ten} ~~FIVE~~ DECADES.

~~MORE HAS BEEN DONE BY TWO UNITED STATES
ADMINISTRATIONS IN THIS DECADE THAN EVER BEFORE.~~

^{100 years}
L ¹ MORE RESOURCES HAVE BEEN DEVOTED TO HEMISPHERE
PROGRAMS DURING THE PAST ^{ten} ~~TEN~~ YEARS THAN THE PREVIOUS ^{100 years} ~~TEN~~

L AND PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAS MADE UNMISTAKABLY
CLEAR HIS DETERMINATION -- REGARDLESS OF ANY TEMPORARY
SETBACKS -- TO CONTINUE THE LARGE-SCALE COMMITMENT OF
RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE ALLIANCE FOR
PROGRESS PROGRAM. AS HE STATED LAST MONTH: "WE WILL
PERSERVERE. THERE IS NO TIME LIMIT ON OUR COMMITMENT."
AND AT PUNTA DEL ESTE: "ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
IS A TASK NOT FOR SPRINTERS BUT FOR LONG-DISTANCE
RUNNERS."

✓ BUT I WOULD LIKE TO BE MORE CONFIDENT THAT
OUR EFFORTS -- THOSE OF ALL OF US THROUGHOUT THE
HEMISPHERE -- ARE OF A MAGNITUDE EQUAL TO THE TASK.

✓ I WOULD LIKE TO BE MORE CONFIDENT THAT THE
SPREADING GUERRILLA MOVEMENT IN SOME COUNTRIES, THE
"RADICALIZATION OF THE LEFT" IN OTHERS, REPRESENT A
TEMPORARY PHASE AND NOT A LONG-RANGE CONDITION.

✓ I WOULD LIKE TO BE MORE CONFIDENT THAT THE
INCREASE IN GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT IS IMPROVING THE
LIVES OF THOSE WHO ARE MOST IN NEED, THAT THE MAJORITY
OF THE COMING GENERATION SEES IN PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL
DEMOCRACY A SYSTEM TO BE PRESERVED AND PERFECTED -- AND
NOT A VESTIGE TO BE DISCARDED. !

✓ I WOULD LIKE TO BE MORE CONFIDENT THAT THE
ENORMOUS CONTRIBUTION WHICH A COMPETITIVE FREE ECONOMY
CAN MAKE TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IS WIDELY
UNDERSTOOD;

AND THAT THE ADVANCED TRADING NATIONS OF THE
WORLD ARE PREPARED TO ADJUST WORLD TRADE POLICIES
TO REFLECT THE NEEDS OF THE LESS-ADVANCED NATIONS
OF THE WORLD.

✓ I WOULD LIKE TO BE MORE CONFIDENT THAT THE
MEMBERS OF THE OAS ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES WILL

IMPROVE ITS MACHINERY AND INSTITUTIONS TO
MAKE IT WORK, IN TIMES OF TROUBLE AS WELL AS TRANQUILITY.

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.

But UNTIL WAYS ARE FOUND TO *further* STRENGTHEN THE
POLITICAL FABRIC OF OUR HEMISPHERE ...TO PERFECT THE
INSTITUTIONS WHICH ARE THE SUB-STRUCTURE OF A STABLE
POLITICAL SYSTEM, WE CAN HAVE NO ASSURANCE THAT ~~TO~~
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL MODERNIZATION *can* ~~we~~ PROCEED WITHOUT
INTERRUPTION.

↳ POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN OUR HEMISPHERE
DURING THE NEXT DECADE MUST ALSO FOCUS ON THE EXPANSION
OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM, THE INCLUSION OF
NEW NATIONS OR GROUPS OF NATIONS *and* THE POSSIBLE RETURN
OF OLD ONES.

↳ IN THE CARIBBEAN, THE FUTURE COURSE TO INSURE
THE DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL STATES WITH LIMITED RESOURCES
WILL REQUIRE A POLITICAL INVENTIVENESS AND CREATIVITY
THAT IS NOT YET ASSURED. ↳ CAN THESE STATES PROVIDE THE
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL NECESSITIES OF A MODERN NATION THROUGH
FEDERATION?

L OR MUST THEY FIND SOME OTHER RELATIONSHIP TO THE
MAINLAND -- THROUGH INDEPENDENCE, COMMONWEALTH STATUS,
OR OTHER TIES? ~~A~~

And L GIVEN OUR SPECIAL AND HISTORIC CONCERN
WITH THE CARIBBEAN, WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ENVISION
ITS STABILITY SO LONG AS ONE NATION REMAINS NOT ONLY
OUTSIDE THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM, BUT INTENT ON
THAT SYSTEM'S DESTRUCTION. *L* WE HOPE FOR ~~a~~ RETURN
OF THE POLICY OF THE "GOOD NEIGHBOR" TO THE CARIBBEAN.
BUT IT ~~WILL~~ ^{Can} NOT RETURN UNTIL THE POLICY OF "LEAVING
ONE'S NEIGHBORS ALONE" IS APPLIED BY HAVANA.

But UNTIL CUBA IS PREPARED TO LEAVE HER NEIGHBORS
ALONE, TO SUSPEND THE ACTIVITIES AND THE CONNECTIONS
THAT LED TO HER EXPULSION FROM THE AMERICAN FAMILY, THERE
CAN BE ^{NO} RETURN TO PARTICIPATION IN THE INTER-AMERICAN
SYSTEM.

Canada

TO OUR NEIGHBOR TO THE NORTH, CANADA --
WHICH IS CELEBRATING ITS CENTENNIAL YEAR -- WE
EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT IT WILL ~~IN THE FUTURE~~ CHOOSE TO PLAY
A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE HEMISPHERE,
SO THAT ALL MAY BENEFIT FROM THE TALENTS AND ENERGIES
WHICH THE CANADIAN PEOPLE HAVE DISPLAYED IN THEIR
VAST AND BEAUTIFUL LAND. ~~##~~

L AT THE OUTSET OF MY REMARKS, I REFERRED TO
THE ENDURING BOND BETWEEN THE AMERICAS STEMMING
FROM OUR BELIEF AND PARTICIPATION IN THE NEW WORLD.

L THIS SHOULD NOT LEAD US TO OVERLOOK WHAT
MAY PROVE TO BE AN EVEN MORE ENDURING AND COHESIVE
INHERITANCE -- THE WESTERN CIVILIZATION WHICH THE
NEW WORLD SHARES WITH THE OLD.

L OUR EFFORTS TO PERFECT THE INTER-AMERICAN
SYSTEM, TO FOSTER HEMISPHERIC UNITY, SHOULD NOT BE
=)

DEFINED IN ANY EXCLUSIVE SENSE THAT WOULD DISCOURAGE
A GREATER EUROPEAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE POLITICAL,
CULTURAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE AMERICAS.

↳ FOR ALL OF US IN THIS HEMISPHERE ARE, IN A
SENSE, THE CHILDREN OF EUROPE.

↳ AND THUS WE WELCOME EUROPE IN OUR HEMISPHERE,
NOT AS A RIVAL FOR POWER, BUT AS A PARTNER FOR PROGRESS.

↳ WE WELCOME EUROPE BECAUSE, LIKE ALL MEN
WHO CARRY A PROUD INHERITANCE -- WE KNOW FROM WHENCE
WE CAME.

↳ AND WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE TIME WHEN LATIN
AMERICA MAY ONE DAY ASSUME HER ^{full} ROLE AS EQUAL PARTNER
OF BOTH EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA IN THE LONG AND
ENDURING SEARCH WHICH HAS REALLY ONLY BEGUN -- THE
SEARCH, ALL OVER THIS EARTH, FOR A NEW HUMAN CHANCE ...
A TRULY JUST AND HUMAN ENVIRONMENT ... A NEW WORLD.

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 PWORLD 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."

 L THAT VISION CAN BE FULFILLED, A NEW WORLD
CAN BE MADE.

I GIVE YOU FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT'S LAST WORDS:
"THE ONLY LIMIT TO OUR REALIZATION OF TOMORROW WILL
BE OUR DOUBTS OF TODAY. LET US MOVE FORWARD WITH A
STRONG AND ACTIVE FAITH."

#

On the Occasion of the Opening of the
CENTER FOR INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS

September 18, 1967

Introductions and Remarks by
HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
Vice President of the United States

Introductions

Mr. Rockefeller: Mr. Vice President, Governor, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, to all of us in the United States who have a feeling of warmth and friendship to our friends south of the border, this is a very happy and a very important occasion.

In these very troubled times that we're living through in the world with wars in far too many parts of the world, with difficulties which seem to crop up on every side, I think we realize more than ever the importance and value of friendship, and those of us who have had the good fortune, as most of us in this room have, to visit Latin America, to know Latin American friends, know the warmth that they have for this country and the fact that we in this country can count on them when we are in trouble.

Sometimes I feel that we don't give sufficient evidence of that --show sufficient appreciation to them for what they have meant to us. I hope very much that this house, which was given to the Center for Inter-American Relations by the Marquesa de Cuevas, whose husband came from Chile, and which is one of the very beautiful old houses of New York with a great tradition, an interesting and varied tradition, as well, I might say, that this house is now to be the central meeting point for people from the Americas in the private sector. People, whether they be from the academic world, from the arts, from the professions, from business, can feel that this is their home, where they can meet with one another; where they can read, if they have a few moments, the latest magazines and newspapers from Latin America; where they can find a reference library; where they can come to discuss problems of economic and political importance; where they can come to see art exhibitions and to hear beautiful music. I hope that this will, in fact, serve to bring closer still together people of the Americas. I don't believe there's ever been a time when that has been more important.

The President of the Center, who has done an enormous amount, perhaps more than any other one person to make this evening possible and to bring all of the others together under his leadership, is Bill Rogers, a relatively young man as it now seems to me, who has had a distinguished career in Latin America, who was one of the architects with President Kennedy of the Alliance for Progress, who is now practicing law in

Washington. I would like to ask Bill Rogers to say a few words to you about what he conceives to be the role of this house. Bill Rogers.

Mr. Rogers: Mr. Vice President, Governor, Ministers, Ambassadors, Directors, Members and Guests. We are of course profoundly grateful that you have come here tonight to honor us with your presence. This is a peculiarly appropriate occasion, it seems to me, for a gathering of this sort, in which the representatives of all the peoples of the Americas could meet here with members of the Center for Inter-American Relations and hear the Vice President of the United States.

As David has indicated, we see this house as indeed a center of inter-American relations, a place in which there can be frank, honest, private discussion and analysis of the real issues which are the concern of this Hemisphere and the great achievements --cultural, ideological, economic, social, and political of the peoples of the Americas. It is therefore a great honor for us to welcome you here and to mark this the occasion of the beginning of the Center's program. As I have indicated, and as David has hinted, we hope here in this house to come to grips with those issues and those achievements, and we hope to do so with humility, compassion, and sincere respect for all the peoples of the Americas who are represented here tonight. Thank you so much.

Mr. Rockefeller: Thank you, Bill. I think it would be natural for the Governor of New York to be here this evening, under any circumstances, to welcome such a distinguished delegation, to welcome so many foreign ministers and ambassadors from the American Republics, and I am sure that he would have been here under any circumstances. In this particular case, I suspect that perhaps it is a special pleasure for this particular Governor to be here, because my brother Nelson has, I think, more fondness and affection for Latin America than any other part of the world outside the United States that I know of. I suspect that some of the very happiest years of his life were those which he spent during the war as Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America. It was thanks to him and the introductions which he provided me that I became acquainted with Latin America and came to realize what tremendous warmth and affection he felt for so many people throughout the Americas and to see him in action in Latin America, to realize the degree to which that warmth was reciprocated.

In recent years he has had less opportunity to go back to Latin America, but whenever he meets a friend from Latin America his face and eyes light up in a way that suggest that he has by no means forgotten, so I'd like to present to you now our Governor, my brother, and the friend of Latin America.

Governor Rockefeller: Señor Vice Presidente. Para nosotros, aquí en el Estado de Nueva York, todos los ciudadanos, es un honor y un placer recibirle aquí en el Estado y estamos esperando sus palabras. Señor Director General y mi querido amigo el Decano de todos los Embajadores en Washington, compañeros de veinticinco años, quiero decirles a ustedes mis compañeros cómo me complace estar aquí hoy en la noche.

David and Mr. President, Mr. Rogers, of all the wonderful things that have happened in New York State in recent years, I think this effort of Mr. Rogers' and Dave's in developing this magnificent center as a home, as a point of friendship, an evidence of the warmth and the feeling of mutuality of interest and the respect and the affection which is felt here in the United States and here in this State for those citizens and representatives of the other American Republics there could not be a spot more appropriate, with greater sense of dignity for our affection and admiration for visitors who come here to join and share with us in the mutual interests which have such unlimited possibilities for the future of the peoples of the Americas. And so it is a pleasure and an honor as Governor of the State of New York to thank Mr. Rogers and Dave for what they've done. I think it's one of the most significant and important contributions of our times. Dave, thank you very much for inviting me.

Mr. Rockefeller: Thank you very much, Nelson. We are very grateful to you for being here.

The Vice President of the United States does not need an introduction, and it would be presumptuous of me to suggest one. Let me only say that, from personal knowledge and experience, he is a great friend of Latin America, and therefore let me welcome him in that role, as well as his distinguished role as Vice President of the United States. Mr. Vice President.

Mr. Vice President: Thank you very much, David Rockefeller. I gather that it is fitting and appropriate to address David first in the presence of the distinguished Governor of the State. May I say that my friend Governor Rockefeller was kind enough as he yielded the podium to whisper to me, "what I said about you, Mr. Vice President, was complimentary." And just to erase any doubts that any of you may have as to this bi-partisan spirit that exists here tonight, I accept that statement in full faith and all truth. And that I know I can.

There are so many people here this evening that I should like to pay my respects to that I hesitate to say a word about any, but it surely would be amiss on my part if I did not recognize the wonderful service that the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps gives to all of us, to every nation, to all peoples, and particularly to those of us in this Hemisphere, and I salute this distinguished and wonderful Ambassador, your friend and my friend, Sevilla-Sacasa, the Ambassador from Nicaragua. And how pleased I am to sit along side of a friend of many years, Dr. Mora, who has given such exemplary service to that great organization of the Hemisphere, the Organization of the American States, and by our Assistant Secretary for Latin American Affairs, Secretary Oliver, and, of course, Bill Rogers, who has been mentioned here, and so many others one should pay proper respect to.

Today, I have been informed, is the anniversary --the Independence Anniversary-- of the Republic of Chile, and I think it would be good if we just acknowledged that.

To my friend, the Governor of this State, may I say that my affection for you is exceeded only by my affection for the President. And in light of the two poles I've seen --Gallup and Harris-- may I say that I love you both. It's a joke, but it's true, too. I have been told, however, that the last man to speak from these premises was Khrushchev, and you know what happened to him. I gather that's why everyone up to now was so brief. But I have faith in the democratic process.

There are men here who have given truly a life-time of service to the Good Neighbor policy, to the desire and to the purpose of building friendly and constructive relationships between our great countries. And Governor Rockefeller said to me earlier this evening, he said, (well, we do address each other in first names, and I hope it's all right if I do that without being in any way unmindful of protocol or formality). He said, "Hubert, I'm the Dean of the Governors." And he is. He's the Dean of the Governors, and he's the Dean of the Assistant Secretaries of State for Latin American Affairs, unless we included Archibald MacLeish --Dr. MacLeish. So I don't really have much to claim tonight, except that I've seen so many of you around at other meetings, there's very little new I can say to you. But you invited me, and I'm so happy that I am here.

I wanted very much to share this evening with you. I think we all know that we owe a very great debt of gratitude to David Rockefeller for --not only his leadership for the Center for Inter-American Relations, but for

his generosity, which is characteristic of this good man and his family. We owe much, of course, to Bill Rogers, and we owe much to many who are here, that this establishment, this facility, so much a part of this great city of New York, that it is now what it is -- a center for inter-American relations. How proper. I am delighted, as one of our colleagues tonight said, to see that we've been successful somewhat in our policy that someone here once had referred to as the roll-back. We've reoccupied this territory. I don't think I need to explain it any further.

It was about a year ago that I had the opportunity to be honored by an invitation to become an Honorary Trustee of the Center. I've never quite known what the obligations were of an honorary trustee, except to try to honorably serve. And tonight I'm even more honored to have the privilege of addressing distinguished ambassadors, foreign ministers, other ministers of government, very distinguished fellow citizens of the United States. It's quite a challenge, and I doubt there's much new that any of us can say on this occasion or any other, but possibly we can rethink some of the things we have been thinking, to try to get a little different perspective or maybe some new insight.

The inauguration of this Center reflects, of course, one observation that we can make -- the ever-growing interest and concern in Latin America that has developed in the last decade in the United States. We've made the phrase "Good Neighbor" more than a phrase. It always was, but we've added tissue, muscle in a sense, to the framework. I think this Center reflects, too, the new attitude that has developed toward our fellow citizens in this Hemisphere, an attitude that's not based on sentimentality, but based on understanding and respect for Latin American people, for the wide varieties of people in Latin America, for the individuality of the nations and peoples, for their culture, and for many of their traditions.

And it is based on an increasing acceptance of Latin Americans as our full partners and on a recognition that we here in the United States have much to learn from our Latin American neighbors, and I think some very important things to learn.

We North Americans are rather pragmatic. Sometimes that's interpreted as being simply materialistic. I doubt that that's a fair interpretation. But as pragmatists, we sometimes find it difficult to understand why philosophy and ideology loom so large in Latin American political life, but I think it's time we understood this is a fact. Now, I'm no expert in Latin American culture, and that's why I enjoy talking about it. I like to learn as I speak out loud. One of the sure ways to find out how little you know is to say what you know, then people correct you. The sure way to stay uninformed is to think about it silently, then you live in the silence of your own ignorance. It's never been a problem of mine, may I say.

Now, to know one's neighbors, you have to know more than their names or just the countries. I think we need to know Latin American poets, and we need to read their poetry and their philosophers. That can happen here.

Hear their music and see their drama, and view their paintings. I've been doing a little of that in my responsibilities as Vice President.

For the educated person in North America --or should I say for the intellectual-- the names of Botero, and Mistral, and Rodo, and Sánchez and Villa Lobos, and Borges, should be far more familiar than they are today -- One a Colombian, a Chilean, a Uruguayan, two Uruguayans, Brazilian, Argentinian-- we ought to know more about these great intellects, these great spirits. And this Center, I think, can make it possible for us to know and to put the proper emphasis out of this great center of journalism and of communication.

This Center can make this possible by becoming a showcase for the cultural achievements of Latin America, the Caribbean, and Canada -- a forum for the interchange of ideas and information, and thereby it can assist us in understanding their concerns and enriching our lives and our culture. I don't think you can really know a people until you know their pain and their sorrow, their music, their culture, just their traditions. The little things really tell more about people than that which is written in bold print.

Tonight, we are privileged to have Dr. Rafael Squirru with us. He traveled with me by plane and with Secretary Oliver and we're deeply indebted to this man, who is the Director of Cultural Affairs of the OAS. I think he has contributed a great deal to our better understanding of Latin American culture in the United States, but he's got a long way to go yet. It's a fertile field. We know so little.

Well, the calibre of this Center is testified to by the Directors, by its leadership, by Bill MacLeish, by Bill Rogers, by David Rockefeller, and others. So, I'm not going to spend much time more on the Center. I think it will speak for itself.

I'd like to direct my remarks tonight primarily to my fellow Americans of the United States, my fellow citizens from this country, even though we're honored by the presence of so many truly great leaders of our sister republics.

I think it's appropriate to ask this question: What is the real basis of our interest in inter-American relations? Why, like our little children say, why? What binds us together in this common concern? What is it? What makes up this cement that holds us together?

Well, there are those for whom the link between the United States and Latin America is based chiefly on what they think is physical proximity. Of course, we're really not that close to some of the countries.

They say that it's unrealistic to seek solidarity with Latin America --that is, some do, and they point to the observable differences between us. You know, there are always cynics and critics, and I have to get in my favorite jibe -- That doesn't prove you're intelligent. It may just prove you're of little faith. Well, what do they say, these cynics? Well, they say the

United States is rich, and most of Latin America is poor, so how can we have much in common? Our culture is largely Anglo-Saxon and Yankee, and theirs is largely Latin and Iberian. So they say. We are sometimes clumsily powerful, and they are self-consciously weak. And they say we are to a large extent Protestant, and they are to a larger extent Catholic.

The people of the United States enjoy widely the marvels of the technological and electronical age --or the electronic and scientific age. Yet the ordinary people of Latin America have barely begun to glimpse this. So they say: What is the affinity? What are the bonds that tie us?

Well, now, there may have been some validity to this portrayal that I've given you, at the beginning of this decade, or, let's say, twenty years ago. But I think it's very much an over-simplification of the facts. The differences that divide us are really small. They are matters of detail compared to the bonds that unite us. And I have spent most of my life trying to unite people, and I'm going to continue to do so.

Nelson, I'll have to tell you, Governor, that I have a little phrase down in Washington. I'm accused perennially, continuously, of being the perennial congenital optimist. And I've said I accept that accusation and that description and there's several reasons for it. First of all, the area of pessimism is so crowded with experts. Secondly, because I recognize my limitations, I like to be over in that broad expanse of the area of optimism where there are so few with whom to compete. And thirdly, I think that our history gives me reason to be optimistic.

I do not believe that the United States of America is the sum total of failures. I just can't believe it. I think it's the sum total of trial and error, experience and great faith and great ideals, and those faith and ideals are not unique to us.

One of the most ancient and enduring of these bonds between our countries and peoples is our common commitment to the idea of a new world, and that's what we occupy.

Since the XVI Century, men, whether they were English or Spanish or Portuguese, have been gripped with the desire to find and the determination to build the new world, and we're still at it. This new world has represented not just a new land to be exploited, and not just a new haven for the old and the oppressed. It has signified a vision of a new human chance --a chance to be something, and opportunity to create in a new world, a society, a human political system, which would make possible a truly human life. That's what binds us together. From the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony to the Declaration of Independence, from the first voyage of Columbus, to the South American revolution of the 1820's, the idea of the new world has been both a dream and a battle cry on both continents. And it's on this common ground that we share one of the great visions and one of the great adventures in human history.

We've been builders, nation-builders together, for a new world, a new chance, a human society. Now, we live in a time when alien forces in the world have brought us closer together in danger and concern, and let us not forget that we were and we are blood brothers in hope, and that's why we're here tonight.

In their vision of a human society in a new world, our fore-fathers assumed that man needed not be resigned to providence alone--respect for providence, great faith in providence, but not resigned entirely-- that he could, to some extent, master his own environment.

The late beloved President Kennedy said that here on earth God's work must truly be our own. A very simple preacher back in my home town of Waverly, Minnesota, said not too long ago that the way you treat people is the way you treat God.

There's so much that binds us. Now, that was a basic assumption, that we could add something to our environment, that came in the launching of the Alliance for Progress, the framework of inter-American policy today an Alliance that was conceived not in partisanship, but in this blood brother relationship of a common hope.

Since the signing of the Charter of Punta del Este six years ago --and I saw my friend Doug Dillon here tonight, who had so much to do with the earliest days of our development in the grant of this great Alliance. Paul, good to see you. Paul Hoffman. David Bell and others, who have contributed so much, and all of these assistant secretaries of state, and, my goodness, I just listed them out -- I just looked over there and saw Lincoln Gordon, Tom Mann over here to my right and your left, and there, of course, is Nelson Rockefeller, and there are many here tonight who have been faithful allies with them, working to build a better community in this Hemisphere.

Well, since the signing of that Charter of Punta del Este, we have been acting on the premise that man can shape his environment... that radical improvement in the condition of ordinary people can be achieved, and it can be achieved, through deliberate systematic political, economic and social action.

Just as hope brought men to the shores of our continents centuries ago, so the hope which has been aroused by the Alliance for Progress spurs us on to create that truly human society of which we dreamed.

In pursuing this goal, the initiative and the resourcefulness of private institutions are indispensable. This is not a meeting of government officials. We're a meeting of private citizens in a very real sense. And a center like this can stimulate the efforts of private groups, and I hope it does, I hope that's its main function. It can provoke them to focus on the problems of the Hemisphere, the very best thinking that this Hemisphere has to offer. Most important, it can spur the private institutions and private people's private enterprise into action and not just talk.

Now, governments are compelled to deal with the problems and the crises of today, at the moment, and far too rarely does their preoccupation with the present permit adequate attention to the future. Everybody that's ever served in Government knows he's almost fighting a losing battle every day to keep up with the day's job, much less to project his thoughts to tomorrow. I'm always having somebody say to me, "Did you read that book?" I say, "Good Lord, I'm lucky if I've met the author." I think one of the great virtues of our political system is it does give you forced retirement once in a while so you can refresh the spirit.

Yet, this very idea of the new world implies an orientation towards the future. You can't have a new world thinking only of the yesterdays and of today. And never has such an orientation been more necessary than in Latin America today, where one half of the population is under 20 years of age. What a young continent!

Now this is a role which you as representatives of private institutions can play through institutes such as this Center, foundations, business groups, universities, labor unions, cultural activities, churches, you name it. And at the Center for Inter-American Relations you are going to face the temptation that's with us always --the temptation to deal with the established institutions, and, frankly, to deal with just each other in this room. It's so comfortable that way. We know each other. We sort of know how we're going to react. There's the temptation to invite mostly well-known figures to your meetings, to exhibit only the recognized artists, --I don't always know who recognizes them, but the recognized artists-- René, forgive me. To accept the conventional wisdom of the day. Now this is natural.

Now in confronting this temptation, this Center has a real unique opportunity. You must bear in mind what appears to be the establishment as you see it today, may be only the temporary pinnacle of an established disorder. I have long believed and said and some of my friends in the State Department will remember those rather brash arrogant notes that came over from a Senator that said, "Why, don't you fellows get acquainted with the guys that are going to take over, not the fellows who are just in charge?" You know, because I was speaking hopefully of myself.

But as one who had to scramble up the political ladder in early life, I used to say this back home to my friends in Minnesota, but in all seriousness, governments must by necessity deal with the established order. That's the imperative of government. But a private institution, a center such as this, can bring the attention of all of us --peoples, individuals-- achievements that seem to be breaking through, that may represent a change, hopefully for the good, not always for sure.

For many, particularly among the young, and that's true here as well as abroad, the establishment of today is not one which they aspire to join. I don't like to say that, but I'm afraid I have to. It is an institution which they hope to see dismantled. The progressive and concerned Latin American leaders, many of you who are here with us tonight, not only

recognize this fact, but they are striving to build societies where the energies of the young will be devoted to constructive and not destructive ends. I hope we're doing that here at home. I think we are. We're trying at least.

In our contacts with Latin America, we must give, therefore, priority attention to the young leaders of the next decade, to bring them into responsibility before they become addicts to irresponsibility. And you can become that way. Some are already on the scene. Others are yet to be identified. To do this, it may be a new edition of "Who's Who" will have to be edited, and in drawing up that revised "Who's Who" we maybe should avoid including only those who speak English, attend the American Embassy receptions, or have a sound credit rating at the First National City Bank -- David. (But just remember, you always have a friend at the Chase Manhattan! I didn't forget.)

The most imaginative and talented and responsible Latin American leaders are not always North American-minded. It's hard to say that, too, but it may be true.

Now, as you have long since known, if private institutions are to be on the cutting edge of history, in this Hemisphere or anywhere else, both their vision and their programs must be bold. And I want to say to this audience what I said to every audience of prominente businessmen I can get to: we've got to demonstrate that these free economic and political institutions of ours can meet any challenge. And we cannot be satisfied with the record thus far.

We're being challenged as never before in our own streets, in our own cities, and surely being challenged in Latin America and all over the world. I have really an over-abundance of faith that we can do it if we will to do it.

Private institutions. They must venture into those sensitive but vital areas where the risks are really high, the immediate visible results low, and the recognition long in coming. The private sector's contribution is needed in a host of areas. You know them --agrarian reform, land utilization, modernization, equalization of tax systems, and market systems, reform of out-dated university systems; and in confronting the myriad of problems of the modern metropolitan area, such as high unemployment and under-employment and really being incapable of being employable, sprawling slums and clogged transportation systems, inadequate housing and medical care, insufficient schools and teachers.

Now these are not all just the responsibilities of government. These are the responsibilities of a free society, and that free society has only a limited area of government. The real strength of our free economy is in its free institutions, its people, its voluntary institutions, its private enterprise, and I really call upon the business people of our respective Hemispheres and the men who are dedicated to these free economic social institutions to give these institutions new

dimensions, new meaning, to lift them up to a little higher plateau.

I think it's possible to have profit and morality all in the same package, and I think it's possible to have profit and social progress all in the same package. In fact, I don't think it's possible to have profit over the long run without social progress. And since I believe in the profit system, it pays my salary -- and it is the greatest system I know, then I want it to meet the new challenge.

Now this system is needed in training our young people, in the young people in Latin America, too, in developing programs for the media of mass communication, in the assisting of the building of pre-trade unions in both urban and rural areas, in strengthening existing professional associations and creating new ones.

The private sector, we call it. But it must give attention to the ingredients of political and social development as well as economic development, because the economic development can't last without the other. In the past two decades in the United States, I believe our private sector has shown that it can effectively contribute to the resolution of sensitive political and social issues of the day. At least, it can come in contact with them and deal with them.

For example, private funds supported the creation of the Fund for the Republic, which devoted itself to a searching inquiry and scrutiny of American institutions and then talked to the public about it. This could never have been done by government. It would have been a hopeless failure.

Private funds helped finance the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which established --which assisted-- in the resolution of the most tormenting social issue of our times, that of the relations between the races.

And now the private sector is becoming deeply involved in the un-met social needs of this nation from rebuilding the crowded tenements of our slums to liberating the prisoners of rural America's tarpaper shacks, training for jobs, and employment. We are beginning to develop, right here at home a creative partnership --our own Alliance for Progress-- between free enterprise and representative government.

And the lessons learned right here, my fellow citizens, must be put to work in other parts of the hemisphere. Why should we experiment on other people? Why not experiment on our own? And prove it that it works here. And when we've got something that works, we'll export it.

Now, I'm not going to take your time to review the accomplishments of the past six years of the Alliance for Progress. You know them better than I do, and this was done very much in detail at the Punta del Este Conference earlier this year, where the presidents of the American republics met to assess our accomplishments and to plan the future.

But they agreed that the top priority for the next decade should go to institutional development and economic integration of Latin America. And Dr. Godoy is here tonight, who as you know, is the new Executive Director of the Action Committee for the Integration of Latin America, and I know that he has played a crucial role in this development, just as Jean Monet's Action Committee played a crucial role in the European integration movement, and we are pleased that this movement in this hemisphere is so well under way.

The presidents at Punta del Este agreed on the urgency of opening up the inner frontiers of the South American continent. Indeed, the whole area of Latin America. They agreed to consider the possibility of stimulating intra-regional trade to temporary preferential trading agreements. They agreed on the urgency of accelerating the modernization of agricultural areas. They agreed to facilitate the dissemination of technology through the establishment of regional institutes, and here is another place where we can be so helpful, so helpful. They agreed to devote increased resources to health and education in every land, and I'm happy to say that your Congress with all its problems and all the criticism has taken that forward step.

All these initiatives must --and I am confident will--be pursued. But beyond these material necessities, there are human necessities. It has become customary, for example, to distinguish between the behavior patterns in the developed and developing countries of the world, and of course to apply that distinction to North America and Latin America.

Now, no one who has endured the agony of this past summer in the United States can place much faith in that distinction. For we have seen right here what happens when a small but aroused minority, awakened to full consciousness of its conditions and cut off from the bonds of society, is misled by demagogues into seeing its only outlet in anarchy and violence. We've seen it right here. Rising expectations is not a unique phenomenon for Asia, and Africa, and Latin America. We have the same thing taking place in our cities, in our countryside.

Thus, when we speak of the integration of Latin America, we must concern ourselves not only with economic integration, but with the integration into society of millions of human beings who are becoming conscious of their condition and who are no longer willing to be resigned to their fate of living on the margins of society.

That's what it's all about in New York. That's what it's all about in Minneapolis. That's what it's all about all over the country. People are no longer willing to be shoved aside. The television and the transistor radio fixed that up for you. They now know that it can be better.

We know that most nations in Latin America have made great progress during this decade in achieving economic growth and social justice, but that same progress has brought with it increased tensions that spring

from hopes yet unfulfilled. It's almost paradoxical, it's ironical, that, as you make progress, you arouse the very appetites that ask for more. Well, I don't suppose this really should surprise us when you think of it, and it better not discourage us.

What is important is that we are prepared to give convincing evidence that progress is being made, that material betterment is on the way, that it's not a fraud, that it isn't a false hope, and that the unmet problems of society can and will be solved in the future. We must be able in short to provide both the politics of hope and faith.

People really do not live by bread alone. But they cannot live by failure. And they cannot live by being rejected, either --they must be included and needed.

Now, what concerns me as I look toward the next decade is that the progress may not be fast enough to sustain the hopes that have been aroused. It's hard for those of us in this room maybe to feel that. We're very lucky, very fortunate. What concerns me is that the newly awakened millions may reject the alternatives of peaceful change and accept those who glorify violence and who seek not to change society but literally to destroy it. That's my concern.

So I raise this question -- or all of these questions-- with the full realization that more has been done in the past decade in most countries than in the previous ten decades. I'm a political man, and I've learned how little good it does to go to somebody and tell him, "Look what we've done for you." The answer always comes back, "What have you done lately?" Or, "What do you intend to do?"

More of our resources, I know, have been devoted right here in America to the Hemisphere programs in the past ten years than in the previous one hundred, gentlemen and ladies. We've done more in ten than in a hundred years. But not enough.

President Johnson has made unmistakeably clear his determination regardless of any temporary setbacks --and we've surely had them-- to continue the large-scale commitment of the resources of the United States of America to the Alliance for Progress program. And he stated last month that we will persevere, and we will. There's no time limit on our commitment. And at Punta del Este, he said "Economic and social development is a task not for sprinters, but for long-distance runners."

And might I say, my fellow citizens, that's true of a lot of other things, too. There's one failing that we of the United States seem to have above all others. We want instant solutions. And as I have said so many times, I am for instant coffee and instant tea, but instant solutions, I don't know how you get. The longer I've been in this public life, the more difficult I find that miracle to perform.

What this nation of ours and our neighbors needs to have is a will to persevere. I think that the enemies, whether they're physical enemies, human enemies or psychological enemies can all be defeated if we have the will to persevere, if we make it crystal-clear that we do not leave the battlefield until the victory is won. I feel that so strongly everywhere.

Well, I'd like also to be a little more confident about that--our efforts --and that means all of us-- not just the United States, all of us --are of the magnitude equal to the task. We always say never send a boy out to do a man's work. Don't put a dime where a dollar is needed. I'm a pharmacist by original profession, and I learned one thing a long time ago, that it's no use giving people 25,000 units of penicillin when they need a million. It's just a waste of time and effort, and it builds up its own resistance. We've got to do the job big enough to make an impact, and I think we have those plans and those commitments.

You see, I'd like to be more confident that the spreading guerrilla movement in some countries --the guerrilla movement, you know what I mean-- the radicalization of the left in others, represents a temporary phase and not a long-range condition.

I'd like to be more confident that the increase in gross national product that we note, is improving the lives of those who need it most; that the majority of the coming generation sees in progressive political democracy a system to be preserved and perfected -- and not a vestige to be discarded.

I would like to be more confident that the enormous contribution which a competitive free economy can make to economic and social development is widely understood and appreciated, and you know it isn't. We need to make it so. And that the advanced trading nations of the world are prepared to adjust world trade policies to reflect the needs of the less-advanced nations of the world.

And I would like to be more confident that the members of the Organization of American States will improve its machinery and institutions to make it work, in times of trouble as well as tranquility --vitalize it, revitalize it, give it the muscle that it needs. And you men in this room know of what I speak. But until ways are found to further strengthen the political fabric of our Hemisphere to perfect these institutions which are the substructure of a stable political system, we can have no assurance that economic and social modernization can proceed without interruption.

Political development in our Hemisphere during the next decade must therefore focus on the expansion of the inter-American system, and there are gentlemen here tonight to which this refers directly --the inclusion of new nations or groups of nations in that system and the possible return of old ones.

In the Caribbean, the future course to insure the development of small states with limited resources will require a political inventiveness and creativity that is not yet assured, and yet you know, as a political scientist, I think this is one of the most interesting and challenging

developments of modern time. Can the small nation state --compact, manageable in a very real sense in terms of size and population, be made a viable and living instrument of political and economic progress? I think we really ought to concentrate our attention on it. I think we've got something here. Can these states provide the economic social necessities of a modern nation, to a federation, or must they find some other relation to the mainland --through independence, commonwealth status, or other ties?

Given our special and historic concern with the Caribbean, we will not be able to envision its stability so long as one nation remains not only outside the inter-American system, but intent on that system's destruction. We truly hope for a return of the policy of the "Good Neighbor" to the Caribbean. I'm sure we all do. But it will not return until the policy of "leaving one's neighbors alone" is applied by Havana. But until Cuba is prepared to leave her neighbors alone, to suspend the activities and the connections that led to her expulsion from the American family, I'm afraid there can be no return to participation in the inter-American system.

Really, we should look upon this development with sadness rather than anger, because so many wonderful people really ought to be officially members of the inter-American family. And what a shame it is that momentarily through developments that we need to review here these dear and good people have been denied the chance to be members of the official family. But I'm sure that it will change. It can't help but do so.

Now, to our neighbor to the North, finally, Canada -- which is celebrating its centennial year, and my, how they've done it! Isn't it great? They've surely shown all of us what it means to be able to put on a celebration with zest and dignity. We express the hope that it will choose to play a more active role in the affairs of the Hemisphere, so that we all may benefit from the boundless talents and energies which the Canadian people and their leaders have displayed in their vast and beautiful land. We need them so much.

At the outset of my remarks, I referred to the enduring bond between the Americas stemming from our belief and participation in the new world. This should not however lead us to overlook that what may prove to be an even more enduring and cohesive inheritance -- the Western civilization which the new world shares with the old.

Our efforts to perfect this inter-American system, to foster Hemispheric unity, should not be defined in any exclusive sense that would discourage a greater European contribution to the political, cultural, social and economic life of the Americas. In fact, we welcome it. All of us in this Hemisphere are, in a sense, the children of Europe.

And thus we welcome Europe in our Hemisphere, not as a rival for power, but as a partner for progress. The Alliance is so broad, it needs so much help. We welcome Europe because, like all men who carry a proud inheritance --we know from whence we came.

And we look forward to the time when Latin America may one day assume her full role as equal partner of both Europe and North America in the long and enduring search which has really only begun --the search, all over this earth, for a new human chance... a truly just and human environment... a

new world.

A century ago, the Argentinian poet José Hernández wrote: "America has a great destiny to achieve in the face 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." A poet with the dream, the faith, and maybe with prophecy.

I think that vision can be fulfilled. I think a new world can be made, and I think we have the stuff for it, the ingredients for it.

Franklin Roosevelt said in his last words, "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with a strong and an active faith." I think that's good doctrine for good neighbors.

Thank you very much.

Mr. Rockefeller: Thank you, Mr. Vice President. Through your presence here this evening you have greatly honored all of us who wanted the Center for Inter-American Relations and all it stands for in terms of greater inter-American understanding, but I think that in the very remarkable address that you have just given us so full of wisdom and understanding, so full of so many profound things and insights, and yet delivered with such humor and charm that you have established the type of pattern, the type of dialogue, that I hope will be continued by this Center in the years to come.

We're very honored that the Vice President and the Governor are in fact Honorary Trustees of the Center, as are both our senators from New York State and the Mayor of the City, as well as the lady who gave the building, the Marquesa de Cuevas.

We have a telegram here that has just come in from one of our Honorary Trustees, Senator Jacob Javits, which I would like to read to you. It says, "Dear David, I deeply regret that due to commitments in Buffalo I am unable to be with you tonight along with Governor Rockefeller and your distinguished Latin American guests to hear Vice President Humphrey. The work the Center is about to begin is vitally important. It is filling a tremendous need for a forum where leaders of Latin American culture, scholarship and politics can establish close communication with their counterparts in North America and thereby create new areas of understanding between our people. I wish you every success in this endeavor. Warm regards."

I think it's very significant that not only the Governor of our State, but both of our Senators are tremendously and deeply and personally interested in Latin America, and I hope that this tradition continues in the future.

I would like to just say in closing how very grateful we are to the several foreign ministers of the American republics and the very many distinguished members of the diplomatic corps, both here in the United Nations and Washington, to have taken the time and trouble to be with us here this evening. We hope that your presence, as well as that of Vice President Humphrey and the Governor and others who over the years have shown their interest in inter-American affairs bodes well for a successful venture in better and greater inter-American friendship and understanding.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the evening now comes to a close. There are refreshments available for any of you who could stay and visit with us for a while or who would care to visit the art gallery below. Thank you very much for being here.



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