

Long range progress in
political order. Leaders and
political movements dedicated
to progress and democracy
are gaining. In some
countries they are in
power - in others destined
to some day rule. In
program of the alliance is an
issue - and leaders must take
a stand - for or against

Influence of Castro faded

education - schools are too small - too
few - too poor to meet the
need.

Argentina - throw off political shackles

D. Hodgson

Latin America - playing a larger
role in the (Western) Atlantic Community

belong in the common destiny
of the New World.

We are crippled by the
dimness of our vision - not
the inadequacy of our diplomacy

the self-important illusions of
generals

We do not demand simple
adherence in foreign affairs -
while remaining indifferent to
internal policy in a country

How has Alliance worked -
better than ~~as~~ many had
shape - and not as
well as we would prefer.

The philosophy of

Bento Juarez - democracy is
the destiny of future humanity.

Balaban spoke of her desire
to see the Americas fastened
into the greatest region
in the world - greatest
"not so much by virtue
of her area and her
wealth, as by her
freedom and her glory".

Men and nations are
 moved ^{to action} by inspiration
 and hope. ~~The nation~~
~~All~~ Men are not
 moved by a feasibility
 study.

Then (LAs) willness to endure
 sacrifice and ~~take~~ ^{make} gainful
 decisions will ~~all~~ ^{most part} shape the
 future of their continent.

DA - For a great nation to command
 respect - it must not only
 do something - but stand
 for something

①

The tide of history will someday wash tyranny from the shores and islands of the Caribbean as well as the jungles and mountains of and valleys of the continent.

the allurement of technocracy ~~is~~ should not deceive ~~is~~ no substitute for participation ~~should~~

The difficulties of democracy should not be met only when modernization is matched by popular political participation will be fruitful modernization represent a permanent achievement and not a passing phase.

So long as super sonic fleets are considered the best guarantee of security for any one nation, the security of all nations has no guarantee. The appetite for

modern military hardware can be curbed in one nation only where limitations are firmly implanted in all nations through appropriate

when the vision of the new
world is accompanied
by the
experience of the old.

US policy come along way since
the days of Brig General Smedley
Butler who in 1914 defined US
policy in ~~the~~^{in country} as having as its
purpose: to make that country
safe for the days of the
National City Bank".

Breaking the poverty barrier
is more important to the
peoples of America than
smoothing the sound barrier.

When this is accomplished
then it will not go

unnatural in other countries
or other continents

As was indicated ~~last~~
in the ~~last~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~vision~~

~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~vision~~ ~~and~~
first year, when
and courage, ~~chaos~~ ~~chaos~~
discipline ~~chaos~~ ~~chaos~~
continue ~~chaos~~ ~~chaos~~
follows ~~chaos~~ ~~chaos~~
as well as the old new
the leader the new
the old new

Outline
Subjects to be covered

Operation Amigo

vs - history - Dr Butler - to

Alliance for Progress - partnership
reciprocal involvement

Accomplishments of 5 years

a) Consciousness of possibility of change
need for deliberate systematic change

b) realization that Latins must
do the job - crucial
decision makers are on the
other side of the Rio
Grande.

c) seek abroad the alliance
what we seek at
home than van Frooten
and Great Society

Regional assessment - ^{connections} ~~rules~~

Phd of Mustafa beyaz (1971)

Memorandum Conference

Integration

preferred family 1

Inter-Bank

get Samy de Samba Muna letter

L B J - quote on copy of hemiple
p. 56 ^{thousand} spent

Smalley Butler

fatalism - to deliberate change
long way to L.A. - Lucco - fatalism

~~fat~~

hemispheric meeting

1) integration

national markets

modernization / agriculture

education for development

(brain drain
not to pol. participation)

(plus - others - summary
p. 7 - L.A.)

2) arms limitation

a) conventional

b) nuclear.

Treaty of Rio
Charter of Bogotá

3) participation

political leadership

Frei - Lleras - Lora - Belandier

preferential tariff

From the Office of:
SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
1313 New Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.
CApitol 5-2424

FOR RELEASE: Wednesday PM's
September 9, 1964

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

U. S. Senate

September 9, 1964

THE CHILEAN ELECTION:

A TRIUMPH FOR PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY IN THE HEMISPHERE

On September 4 the people of Chile chose a bold new leader to guide their country along the path of "progress with freedom" during the next six years. The people of Chile decisively chose Senator Eduardo Frei and his program of Christian Democracy over the Marxist alternative offered by Socialist Salvador Allende. The people of Chile chose a party with a program embodying the principles of the Alliance for Progress and rejected the Marxist-Communist model for achieving economic and social justice in Latin America. The triumph of Senator Frei represents a victory for Chile, for Latin America, for the Western Hemisphere, for the Alliance for Progress. The election brings to power a new leader and a new program in the hemisphere -- that of Christian Democracy.

The Chilean election last week -- like the Venezuelan election last December -- indicates that when the people are presented with a party and a program which grasps the realities of contemporary Latin America, they do respond. The victory of Senator Frei in Chile, like that of President Leoni in Venezuela, indicates once again that in the revolutionary atmosphere which exists in many countries ideological factors are often as important as straight economic programs.

The Accion Democratic Party and the Social Christian Party in Venezuela and the Christian Democratic Party in Chile are flourishing today among the impatient idealistic younger groups because they offer an ideological alternative to Marxism, an integrated approach to the political, economic and social problems of society. It is through reformist political movements like these and through responsible political leaders like these that we are most likely to see the aims of the Alliance for Progress realized and our own interests served in Latin America.

In his campaign Senator Frei promised the Chilean people progress with freedom -- to be achieved through hard work. That is a pledge of a statesman, not a demagog. As a statesman he did not deceive the people by easy promises and baseless pledges. He stated candidly what is known to political leaders in every country on every continent: that rapid social and economic progress is not easily achieved, that sound enlightened policies and discipline, sacrifice and hard work are required. In Chile as elsewhere there is no progress in evasion, no solution in abdication -- no relief in irresponsibility. Senator

Frei has indicated that there will be national burdens to be shared as well as individual burdens to be lifted. His determination to follow enlightened policies and to mobilize the resources of Chilean society to meet the needs of his people should be matched by a parallel willingness on the part of the U.S. Government, European governments and international agencies to assist the new government in achieving economic growth and social improvement. The U.S. Government should give strong support to the new Chilean Government in implementing policies furthering economic development and social progress, just as it has given strong support to progressive governments like that of Betancourt and Leoni in Venezuela.

In pressing ahead with its new program the Frei Government will enjoy the advantages of a close relationship with Western Europe developed over a period of centuries. Europe has already assisted Chile in establishing a vast network of private and governmental organizations specifically geared to coping with the problems of an advanced technological society. In the coming years, European countries, which are linked to Chile by culture, religion and commerce, will have a new opportunity to contribute to the success of the new Government.

In pursuing its goals of economic modernization and greater social equality, the new government may seek a role for the state closer to that of modern European nations than to that prevailing in the United States. But it would be a mistake at this time to categorize the new Government as "statist" in its orientation, thereby ignoring the pluralist philosophy ^{which has} Senator Frei and his party ~~have~~ always accorded to private non-governmental agencies a large role in the governing of society. The new Chile will not be the same -- but we should not confuse rapid changes that are needed with violent changes that are dangerous. The new Government will meet its problems in its own way. Chile is a country with a great respect for law and for peaceful change. And we can take heart that the new Government is committed to realizing the objectives of the Alliance for Progress, that it is a Government that is pro-Western in a profound sense, that it is a Government dedicated to the preservation and progress of the inter-American system.

President Johnson has already indicated the willingness of our Government to cooperate with the new Government. I look forward to cooperating with a new partner in the Alliance for Progress program, my esteemed friend, Senator Eduardo Frei.

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

May 24, 1966

Memo for John R.
From The Vice President

Yes, let's follow up on the Latin American speech.
Obviously, we can find a good platform somewhere this summer
and soon, so let's have it in hand. And I also want you to follow
through with Edgar Berman on the details of your memorandum
concerning Vietnam follow-up.



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

May 20, 1966

MEMO to the Vice President

FROM John Rielly

SUBJECT: Latin America

Following up our discussion with Linc Gordon yesterday, I think you definitely should try to do a major speech on Latin America some time in the summer. I am checking this out thoroughly with Linc Gordon and will also touch base with Walt Rostow to make sure there are no problems.

Through the State Department I will find an excellent platform well suited to this type of speech. I discussed the possibility with Ted of a commencement address, but there is no occasion there that is suitable. Michigan State definitely would not be suitable as all of its connections are with Asia. Also, there is the CIA problem there. It definitely would be the wrong place for the type of speech I have in mind.

I will follow this up with Linc Gordon and Rostow. We will try to develop it in a way that it can represent a significant step in the preparations for the summit conference which should come off in late autumn. If it is put this way, I think the possibility of a good reception in the White House will be greatly enhanced.



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

May 23, 1966

MEMO to the Vice President

FROM John Rielly

SUBJECT: Vietnam Follow-up

I am keeping in close touch with Ed Berman on the follow-up of certain projects in the health and refugee field which he looked into during the trip. Many of these are in the discussion and negotiation stage and are not yet ready for any public announcement. When they are ready you can be sure that we will see to it that they are properly publicized. Also, I shall put in a good word at State or HEW as needed.

John R
yes, follow up!
Rt.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

July 1

June:

Attached is the speech we talked about today. It is as John Reilly sent it to Ron for inclusion in the RECORD. Ron checked on it -- Senator Morse is putting it into the RECORD, if he has not done so already. We did not send this to him because he already has a copy.

I thought you might want this letter to John for your records.

Zoe

GRACE Y CIA. (PERU)

LAMPA 594 - CASILLA 2488

TELF. 75-000

DIRECCION CABLEGRAFICA: GRACE

LIMA - PERU

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

Lima, June 5, 1966

Dr. John Reilly
c/o Vice-President
Hubert Humphrey
The Executive Office Building
Washington D. C.
U.S.A.

Dear John:

One of our close friends here in Peru, a brilliant young Maryknoll priest named Father Joe Michenfelder, helped Cardinal Landazuri prepare the attached speech for delivery at Notredame today.

It is not only an excellent speech but a most important one because it is far and away this Cardinal's most advanced, liberal and explicit public commitment to social and economic progress and the Church's responsibilities with regard to same.

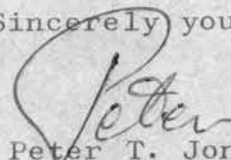
Therefore any legitimate publicity that can be given to this speech, including especially its publication in the Congressional Record would have great value here in Peru where such words are all too rarely spoken by any ranking members of the Catholic Hierarchy. If you agree with my feelings about this I would be extremely grateful if the address could be published in the Congressional Record and given any other appropriate publicity as well.

I have in rough draft a summary of some of our thoughts and experiences during our first year in Peru which would like to send you as soon as it is finished -- if only for your amusement.

John - I've also sent Senator Morse a copy of the speech asking if he would agree to print it in the Record, so you might wish to bear that in mind as far as that avenue of publicity is concerned, although perhaps it would not be inappropriate if someone also offered it for the Record on the House side. I leave that to you.

Come see us.

Sincerely yours,



Peter T. Jones

PTJ/ogs
Enc.



ARZOBISPADO DE LIMA

SERMON AT THE BACCALAUREATE MASS

Juan Cardinal Landazuri Ricketts,
Archbishop of Lima, Primate of Peru

THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME, JUNE 5, 1966

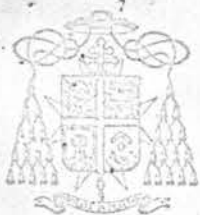
Reverend Father Hesburgh, Reverend Fathers and Brothers of the Congregation of the Holy Cross, Professors, Alumni, Graduates and friends of Notre Dame:

On an occasion such as this, one is tempted to describe the great privilege which one's presence implies with considerable rhetoric. I shall resist the temptation. Instead, I shall merely speak from my heart. And I know you will listen.

You will believe me when I tell you that to be among you as a priest of God, to celebrate this Eucharistic Banquet, to walk the campus of this world-famous center of culture, science and the arts, to receive gratefully and humbly, later today, an honorary doctorate degree bestowed by the distinguished faculty of the University of Notre Dame, in a word, to find myself here, very much at home in your home -- all of this is to experience in the space of a few short hours, one of the most memorable episodes of my life.

I am not a stranger to the United States. Nor are Notre Dame priests, alumni and students strangers to Peru. I have met your Fathers of the Holy Cross working in Cartavio. I have met you in Lima and Arequipa as technicians, research scholars and resident sociologists, making remarkable contributions to our nation. I have met you as volunteer missionaries in Ciudad de Dios, Puno, Sicuani and Juli during your summer apostolate program among our poor and needy. And now I meet you within your academic ambient.

I meet you now at the hour of your maturity. The long years wherein the seeds of intellect were sown and nurtured have ended. Now is the time of reaping, when the ripe fruit is plucked, the



ARZOBISPADO DE LIMA

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rich wool shorn. I meet you now, at the first harvest of your young lives, at the fullness of your intellectual growth. I meet you and greet you as a bishop and pastor, and salute you with the words of the pastor of us all:

"Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations. . . teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and behold I am with you all days, even unto the consummation of the world."

Today's Gospel is as familiar to every Christian as the sign of the cross. "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations. . ." This is the mandate whereby the Christian idea rose up from the East like a golden dawn, spread to Greece and Rome and thence to the dark forests of Europe and the New World. Heralded by centuries of heroism, the Word of God became incarnate among millions of men who lived far from the hill on which Christ was crucified.

But it is a mistake, and a serious one I believe, to assume that this mandate is merely or exclusively evangelical. It is much more than that. It is a clear directive that we who wear the mysterious grace of Baptism, as Cyrano de Bergerac wore his white plume, must serve the world; that we must dedicate ourselves to the building of culture and society, to the construction of civilization. Only in this fashion can we Christians, a pilgrim people of God, encounter the Christ who is with us all days, the Christ who saves history.

For human history is largely a movement of men and ideas. The latter have a tendency to remain as they are -- that is, in the world of thought and theory -- far removed from the daily toils and engagements of men. The Christian idea, however, as presented by



ARZOBISPADO DE LIMA

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the Son of God made incarnate for us, has been unique in the history of the world as formative and reformatory of men's minds and manners and morals.

For this reason, the Church is both the subject and the object of change. In a world which resists the constant and the static, the Church is at home. Particularly in this post-Vatican Council era, the Church, with deliberation and urgency, addresses herself to what Bishop Robinson calls "man's coming of age".

Mankind has reached its majority; mankind has grown up. Among all the Council Fathers, none is more aware of this than Pope Paul the Sixth. He knows that the Church which he guides is made up of people-on-the-move. He believes that the unlimited task which the Gospel places upon the authentic Christian in the modern world is to help fashion a civilization that responds to constant change; a civilization that will never regress to adolescence or infantilism, that will extend its "majority" to societies still caught up in the uncertainties and agonies of development -- what you North Americans so graphically call 'growing pains'.

One of your distinguished alumni, Bishop McGrath, has stressed again and again "that Christians can no longer appear as those who simply endure history and let it happen." For this reason, the Church now locates herself not on the periphery of man's pilgrimage, but at the center of it. Not as an alien behind cold, institutional walls, but as the Sacrament of Salvation, imbedded within the flesh of humanity.

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ARZOBISPADO DE LIMA

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It was in this spirit and with this intent that Pope Paul, on November twenty-fifth of last year, just before the closing of the Council, addressed the four hundred Bishops and Archbishops of Latin America in a special assembly.

"The Church in Latin America", he said, "has age-old structures, solid and respectable. If it moves, it is still widely followed. If it makes its voice heard, it is still widely listened to. It must therefore show its vitality and take full advantage of its great opportunities to act with a pastoral dynamism that is in proportion to the rhythm of the changes taking place."

And again, in a statement obviously meant to extend beyond our continental frontiers, he stressed that: "Laymen must supplement priests and, in perfect unity with the bishops, serve as advance posts to transmit the message of salvation to the society of our times, penetrate its structures, ennoble them and drive them decisively forward in order to favor the increase of the Kingdom of God. . ."

I speak officially in the name of the Peruvian Hierarchy, and, by proxy, in the name of the continental hierarchy. And I assure you that the bishops of Latin America are committed to these papal directives and to the entire body of Vatican Council constitutions and decrees. We number ourselves among those Latin Americans who are endeavoring to comprehend the profound relationship between themselves and the economic and political structures in which they live. We are vitally aware of the social revolution now in progress. We identify with it. And we are endeavoring, through our national

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ARZOBISPADO DE LIMA

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hierarchies and our continental Latin American Bishops Council, called CELAM, to activate the Christian community on all levels. We are examining and re-evaluating our social structure and orientating this same structure toward the vision of the Vatican Council, particularly the vision revealed in the constitution on the Church in the Modern World.

With significant success, this document locates the Church in current history and identifies her function: "Through her individual members and her whole community", it states, "the Church believes she can contribute greatly toward making the family of man and its history more human". Vitally alert to the revolution of technology, culture and rising expectations, the Constitution calls for an "increase of the production of. . . goods and. . . services" and the removal of all obstacles which, by hindering economic and social reform, predestine millions of people to exist on the fringes of the Twentieth Century.

The document concludes with an exhortation which echoes this morning's Gospel: "Christians cannot yearn for anything more ardently than to serve the men of the modern world with mounting generosity and effectiveness."

In the Latin American Church, this, then, is the hope, the struggle, the dream now being realized: to be a servant to a society in revolution. Not to dominate, but to collaborate. Not to temporize, but to inspire. Not to obstruct the changes for better, but to advance them.

Speaking as a Latin American, I was deeply impressed by an address which one of your very distinguished statesmen del red

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recently. His thesis, that social revolution in Latin America is inevitable, responds to a reality, to a fact. Further, he develops a series of hypotheses which can serve as good norms for anyone who is conscious of the needs of our times, for anyone who desires the reform of social structures as an approach to the ideals of social justice, which is the foundation of true freedom in Latin America or, for that matter, anywhere in the world.

"A revolution is coming," he said, "a revolution which will be peaceful if we are wise enough; compassionate if we care enough; successful if we are fortunate enough." I would add one further hypothesis: that the revolution will be Christian if we love enough.

The truly great minds of this modern era, the transcendental leaders of peaceful revolution in the Twentieth Century. . . all were familiar with the well-springs of the human heart, and did not hesitate to love. It is enough to remember Pope John. And one also remembers that Dag Hammarskjöld, who in his private journal exposed the mystical dimensions of his soul, believed in love: "You wake from dreams of doom," he wrote, "and for a moment you know: beyond all the noise and the gestures, the only real thing - - love's calm unwavering flame in the half-light of an early dawn."

No Christian hesitates to love. And his very loving is the mark and the measure of his commitment, the service he renders in the name of the Holy Spirit to a redeemed humanity. His struggle against poverty, illiteracy, racism and injustice, anywhere in the world, is authentic and meaningful only if he loves. By refusing to love, he betrays not only Christ. He betrays his fellow-man.



ARZOBISPADO DE LIMA

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He obstructs the journey of the pilgrim people of God. He thwarts the movement of humanity in salvation history.

So let us love. Let us live the Christian idea, breathe freely the fresh air of the Vatican Council and embrace boldly the exhortation of Pope Paul, who says: "The fundamental attitude of Catholics who want to convert the world is loving it. This is the genius of the apostolate: knowing how to love. We will love our neighbors and we will love those far away. We will love our country and we will love the countries of others. We will love our friends and we will love our enemies. We will love the Catholics; we will love our separated brothers, we will love the indifferent, the Muslims, the pagans, the atheists. We will love all social classes, but especially those more in need of help, of assistance. We will love those who scoff at us, those who despise us, those who oppose us, those who persecute us. We will love those who deserve to be loved and those who do not deserve it. We will love our times, our civilization, our techniques, our art, our sport, our world. We will love, trying to understand, to sympathize, to esteem, to serve. Finally, we will love with the fullness of God."

Men of Notre Dame, I congratulate you this morning on your academic achievement. God bless you all! God bless you as you go forth, joyfully and with courage, to accomplish your mission to humanity. Go forth throughout the United States, go forth to the world beyond your national boundaries -- to the wonderful human family that needs your knowledge, your science, your arts, your culture, and most of all, your Christian love.

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MEMORANDUM

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

July 26, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: June E.

From: John R.

Would you pull out the speech which Robert Kennedy made on Latin America in May, it will be in the Robert Kennedy file. And, also the speech Dick Goodwin made on Latin America about March. I think the Goodwin speech is probably in the Alliance for Progress file.

Put in package for JER.

COPY

July 28, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO : The Vice President
FROM : John Rielly
SUBJECT: Latin America Speech

It L.A. Speech

This is to confirm, as I told you in our conversation this morning, I have a speech on Latin America under preparation and it will be available for you by the end of next week. The OAS is planning a commemoration celebration on Wednesday, August 17th to commemorate the 5th anniversary of the Alliance for Progress. They are going to invite the President and/or you to give a speech on this occasion. The speech which I am preparing is designed for this occasion. If the President decides to make a speech, however, of course you will have to hold off and do it on another occasion. However, I am not sure that the President is going to accept this as he may give a speech to the Foreign Ministers' Meeting in September if it is decided to be held in Washington. In any case, I will have one ready for your consideration well in advance of the August 17th date.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ASSISTANT SECRETARY


8/4/66

Mr. John Rielly

Rm. 7246

Mr. Rielly:

Attached per your conversation
with Mr. Gordon.


Marion Frayman
Secy to Mr. Gordon

DRAFT NOTES FOR SPEECH BY VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY

Five years ago, in a half-deserted summer resort not far from the capital of Uruguay, the representatives of 20 American republics signed a document which is today changing the face of our hemisphere.

The resort was Punta del Este, and the document, the Charter of Punta del Este, gave birth to the Alliance for Progress, a great cooperative development program to raise living standards and promote representative democracy in the new world.

It is traditional, on an anniversary such as this, to recite a litany of statistics, proving that commitments have been met, promises have been kept and dreams have come true. In the case of the Alliance for Progress, the temptation is great indeed to enumerate a list of achievements. For we can agree that while the problems that remain in Latin America are enormous -- sometimes seemingly without solution -- the Alliance for Progress has already proved itself a successful idea.

But my purpose here is not to prove the value of the Alliance for Progress. Rather it is to examine its precepts from the standpoint of the commitment of the United States, to see whether we in the United States truly understand the nature of the revolution we helped to touch off at Punta del Este five years ago, and to ask if our Latin American partners similarly understand the basic impulses of the United States in joining in this great effort.

Like any human effort of like magnitude, the Alliance lives with both success and failure, praise and criticism. To some, the overturning of the old ways may be too rapid; to others, it may be painfully slow. Each man tends to see the world around him through the prism of his own self interests.

What was begun at Punta del Este is today anathema to some, and hope to others. Its goals of social change and democratic development are widely known -- and just as widely misunderstood.

Here in the United States, the prevailing view of the

Alliance for Progress too often seems to be that of a one-way commitment to foreign aid, the helping hand for less fortunate neighbors, an extension of all our previous ideas about sending aid overseas.

And in Latin America, frequently, the Alliance is seen in a similarly distorted image. There are those who sincerely consider it another United States aid program, tied to the political interests of the United States, exercised by the United States as an instrument of some kind of economic imperialism.

If we have learned anything from the Alliance in the past five years, it is the difficulty of separating new ideas and new initiatives from the association with old, established patterns of thought and behavior. For the Alliance for Progress most definitely represents a radical departure from all our old ideas about the hemispheric association we call the "Inter-American System." It is not the Monroe Doctrine, dressed in civilian clothes. It is more than the Good Neighbor Policy, extended, broadened and made more sophisticated. It is unlike any other external arrangement in which the United States is involved today.

The Alliance is a promise. The promise was made at Punta del Este by the governments of Latin America to their own peoples. It is a promise of freedom, justice and human welfare. All evaluations of the Alliance -- its problems, its frustrations, its triumphs -- can only be measured in this context. The performance of Latin America, the United States, the international lending agencies, private and public enterprises, all answer to the same standard of judgment: Are the people served? Does democracy grow? Does justice thrive?

Let us, in the United States, begin our celebration of the fifth anniversary of the Alliance for Progress by making a frank and clear statement. This Alliance is not a program of the United States, designed to serve the exclusive interests of the United States. It is not simply another United States overseas aid plan.

The Alliance for Progress, from its very beginnings, has been a Latin American program, in which the United States is involved as one of many participants. Its focus is Latin America; its energy is Latin American. Most of its resources

come from the countries of Latin America themselves; indeed, the capital and energy available from outside Latin America represents only a small part of the vast resources needed to do the job.

The United States is a partner in this Alliance. It must necessarily be largely a silent partner. No amount of pressure from our government can guarantee the creation of stable democratic governments in the countries to the south of us. No amount of haranguing in Washington can assure the development of viable economies. No amount of pious moralizing from our side of the Rio Grande can bring social justice to the deprived masses of campesinos and obreros in the American republics. Only the will and initiative of the leaders and citizens of Latin America can achieve this.

Certainly we can -- and must -- help create the conditions which will most favor democratic development, economic progress and social justice. Our aid, our technical assistance and our tacit political support must be extended with these ends firmly fixed in mind.

But we need also to keep in mind that this aid is a supplementary effort. It is offered as a support for national development programs, not as a replacement for national initiative.

Recognition of our own limitations is often frustrating for those of us who are deeply concerned with the future of Latin America. It may require us to sit calmly by while democratically elected regimes are toppled by force. It may make us hold our tongues while sound economic development is sidetracked by poor planning, and poorer execution of plans. But we do not -- could not -- aspire to remake other countries in our own image. We can only help those who wish to help themselves.

Just how much is the United States willing and able to contribute towards the realization of Alianza goals?

These first five years have demonstrated, I think, that the people and government of the United States have a special concern for the welfare of our neighbors to the South. On financial assistance, more than five billion dollars from our taxpayers have been committed to the

nations of Latin America under the Alliance. The United States Senate, just a few weeks ago, proved once again its faith in the Alliance by voting a two-year authorization of assistance funds for Latin America, while limiting funds for other areas to the traditional one-year period. Our friends in Latin America see this as confirmation that the United States is earnest and sincere about living up to commitments undertaken at Punta del Este five years ago.

Further, our friends the world over recognize that the tradition of helping one's neighbor is an especially important aspect of North American culture. This is a fundamental reason why elected representatives of the American people have voted year after year to send assistance to less fortunate brethren in other lands. Ask any average American why his taxes are being sent overseas. His answer will be simple: we do it because we care about others who need our help. We do it because it is right.

And we know what it is to have problems facing us. By world standards, the United States of America is a rich nation -- yet evils begot by racial tensions and by economic

hardship still stalk the land. Our dreams and plans and efforts for a Great Society at home parallel those of the Alliance for Progress in Latin America.

This concern for the underprivileged of our Hemisphere is one shared by responsible citizens throughout the Americas. As we in the United States work to develop our own Great Society, perhaps we can with some humility learn something from others about how best to seek social justice for all. I would urge increased exchange of information and know-how among the Americas, on problems of people as well as on technical skills.

President Johnson, in emphasizing the high priority he places on the Alliance for Progress, has said that a common thread runs through the fabrics of the Alliance and the Great Society. He has envisioned within the next five years "a continent constantly growing in prosperity and in unity -- growing in its capacity to meet the desires and needs of its own people -- and in its contribution to peace and freedom in the world at large."

Last year, in a message to the Second Extraordinary Inter-American Conference in Rio de Janeiro, President Johnson pledged United States support for the Alliance beyond the original target date of 1971. And last April in Mexico -- in his first trip outside the United States as President -- the President endorsed President Illia's suggestion for a well-prepared conference of hemispheric presidents "to give the Alliance for Progress increased momentum."

All these considerations make it clear that the United States fully and gladly accepts its responsibilities under the Alliance for Progress.

At the same time, we must face obligations in many other parts of the world -- obligations which prevent us from contributing as much as we would like towards the solution of many problems, at home and in other countries.

Of most immediate and serious concern to us all is the war in Viet-Nam, where we feel the United States must do its part to defend an important principle -- the right of a free people to shape their own destiny . . .

Whatever our obligations elsewhere the United States remains deeply committed to the promises made to the American peoples at Punta del Este.

"How is the Alliance doing now?" people ask. Perhaps a backward look will help us in this assessment.

In the early years of the Alliance, criticism of the development effort was quite fashionable. A great deal of energy was expended by many well-intentioned critics in finding reasons why the Alliance didn't -- or couldn't -- work. Too much time was wasted -- both in the United States and in Latin America -- in seeking scapegoats, in laying the blame for failures and slowdowns in the program. It was said that the United States attached too many strings to its aid, although U.S. aid was only a small part of the total Alliance effort. It was said that Latin America's oligarchs were blocking the social reforms called for in the Charter of Punta del Este, although even then, governments were promoting social change with all the resources at their command.

Meanwhile, in spite of difficulties, and with quiet determination, thousands of Latin Americans went to work to transform the Alliance ideals into practical reality.

We come back to figures: 400,000 houses built, 100,000 teachers trained, 18 million textbooks provided for eager students, millions of persons whose lives somehow were bettered through Alliance programs -- even they oftentimes were not even aware that this was so. And it is now clear that democratic development, economic progress and social justice are firm goals to which all partners in the Alliance are committed.

It is equally clear that Utopia is not just around the corner. Achievement of those Alliance goals will require years of hard work.

It is here, I believe, where the Alliance has broken through the clouds into smoother flight. For today we recognize that while the Alliance cannot achieve overnight miracles, the Alliance idea can effect needed, even revolutionary changes -- provided that we of the Alliance for Progress generation apply ourselves energetically to the task now.

At Punta del Este, five years ago, the framers of the Alliance conceived of a ten-year program which would build a new society in Latin America. Today -- especially now that President Johnson has extended United States support beyond 1971 -- we acknowledge that ten years can be but the beginning in this vast undertaking. Alliance goals are reflected in plans to revise the charter of the Organization of American States. A dedication to economic and social development will thus become a treaty commitment for all members of the OAS.

This, then, is the new Alliance for Progress -- if less glamorously golden, more realistic and workable. The cosmetics are gone and underneath, there is a more healthy complexion. We now have the courage to admit that all the problems of our hemisphere -- economic imbalance, unequal distribution of land and wealth, lack of productive capacity and underemployment -- are not immediately soluble. We shall not be disenchanted if these problems cannot be solved tomorrow, or next week. Some of them may not be soluble in our lifetime.

This is a difficult admission to make to a hemisphere crying for jobs, for homes, for bread. But it is a necessary admission if we are to remain in this partnership for the long haul. We shall not deny our commitment to democracy and development, and we shall not tire of the effort to build both simultaneously. But we have become cross-country runners, rather than sprinters. And our determination shall not diminish.

There are many ways in which the United States, the silent partner of the new Alliance, can help create the conditions that will ultimately lead to self-sustaining economies in Latin America. A few weeks ago, Dr. Carlos Sanz de Santamaria, Chairman of the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress, called on this country to give special financial assistance to the advancement of Latin American economic integration.

The United States has long been a strong supporter of the efforts of Latin American countries to build a common market, and to expand their agricultural and industrial economies by tearing down the walls of trade restrictions

and tariffs in the hemisphere. We have welcomed the initiatives of the Inter-American Committee and the Inter-American Development Bank in this area, and we applaud the progress made by the members of the Latin American Free Trade Association in eliminating tariffs. We are especially delighted with the significant progress made by the Central American Common Market in building a true integrated economy in the five countries of Central America.

This administration stands ready to assist in any way -- financial, technical and political -- the growth of the Latin American economic integration movement. We are ready to pledge funds to a series of multinational projects in agriculture, communications and transportation. We are ready, within the limits of national security, to discuss the terms of our own trade with Latin America. But most particularly, we are ready, and eager, to discuss with the Inter-American Committee and the international lending agencies, concrete ways in which the United States can respond to the new initiative suggested by Dr. Sanz de Santamaria.

The importance of developing Latin American economic integration to its fullest cannot be overstated. External assistance, in the form of loans, guarantees, and technical assistance, is a vital part of the Alliance. It is, in many cases, a crucial factor in enabling governments to meet their development commitments, and to maintain the time-tables of development set by the planners.

But, in the long run, development depends on the ability of a country or a region to mobilize its own internal resources. External assistance, if relied upon too heavily for too long, becomes a crutch in the development effort. In time, reliance on a crutch can turn even a healthy man into a cripple.

We believe that economic integration is among the most dynamic tools available for building diversified industry, productive agriculture and efficient means of transportation and communication. Here in the United States, we have created the greatest common market known to history. There are no tariffs or trade barriers from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The manufacturer in California can, and often does,

produce goods for the nation's capital. Through this common market, the United States economy, its industry and its agriculture, have grown and prospered. We wish the same for our friends, neighbors and partners in Latin America . . .

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

August 12, 1966

Memo for John R.
From The Vice President

Are we preparing anything on the anniversary of the
Alliance for Progress? Am I scheduled for any meeting or
speech? We should at least have a statement.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

August 4, 1966

MEMORANDUM

JR
TO : The Vice President
FROM : John Rielly
SUBJECT: Proposal of Felipe Herrera

John
Keep this Available
for H. Chance
Speeches

In response to your request I am sending the following summary of Felipe Herrera's views on plans for the forthcoming summit conference. Felipe is primarily concerned with economic integration and believes this subject should receive the top priority at the conference. He has summarized his views in his speech at Georgetown.

1. Latin American Common Market

The generic concept of Latin American "economic integration" has experienced a profound maturing in recent years and substantial progress has been made in this field through various regional organizations. In order to give this process a dynamic long-range prospective, nations of the hemisphere must in the near future lay the foundation for what will serve as the legal and institutional framework for a Latin American Common Market. This would be similar to the Treaty of Rome as it relates to the European economic community. Just as the Treaty of Rome was decided upon by European statesmen, at the highest level, particularly at the meetings of Messina in 1955 and Brussels in 1956, so a similar treaty for this hemisphere could be discussed and decisions made on it at the Presidential summit meeting. Presidents would agree in principle on the type of treaty. The actual negotiations could be conducted at the technical level later.

Such an agreement should include all the Latin American countries belonging to the inter-American system. It should set up basic institutions of the community (an executive organ, a parliament and a court of justice). It should establish the fundamental principles governing commercial investment, payments of financial policies within the community. It should determine the general principles that will insure proper consideration for the relatively less-developed countries of the area, as well as for local and foreign entrepreneurs..

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In preparation for a treaty embodying the essentials of a Common Market, it might be in order to request a small group of high level Latin American experts draw up documents similar to that prepared last year at the request of President Frei by Sanz Santamaria, Prebisch, Mayobre, and Herrera. The overall result of that document was to advance considerably the progress of the integration idea. Something similar might be done in preparation for the summit meeting.

2. Resources for Latin American Development

One of the most important problems which the Presidents would consider would be the problem of external financing for the integration movement in particular and for economic and social development in Latin America in general. One of the principal instruments through which external finance should be channelled is the Inter-American Development Bank. We shall soon be requesting the member governments to put up another \$900 million for the Banks funds for special operations--of which \$750 will be requested from the United States. If some announcement could be made at the summit conference committing the member nations to this amount of capital for the next three year period, this would not only replenish the funds which the Bank needs for operation, but make decided favorable impact in Latin America.

3. Integration: Pre-investment Fund

To accelerate economic integration the Bank has moved ahead to establish a pre-investment fund of the type discussed at the meeting with the Vice President, Senator Javits, Raul, Prebisch, Sanz Santamaria, and others last spring. A fund of \$15 million from the Banks own capital has been set up.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

August 12, 1966

TO: John Reilly
FROM: Julie
RE: "THE CHURCH AND THE ALIANZA"
FIRST DRAFT OF AN ARTICLE

file
1st draft

Will appreciate your looking over State's first draft (attached).

As you know, two major Catholic magazines want different versions of this by-liner -- THE SIGN and CATHOLIC DIGEST.

Before I start to polish the draft, I'd like your reactions, please, to the substantive points State has proposed.

Thanks.

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First Draft
LA/DF:3/8/66

U.S. Catholics and the Revolution in Latin America

Catholics in the United States are giving themselves and their substance to the social revolution in Latin America. Everywhere I look in Latin America I see Catholic men and women from the United States -- more than 4,000 today -- serving our brothers. Yet I believe there are clear indications that all of us must do more. The peaceful revolution envisioned by President Kennedy and the other leaders of this Hemisphere at the beginning of this decade is not being achieved quickly enough. We must increase our effort or see Latin America sink into quagmire of poverty and despair.

Today, with a population of about 250 million, Latin America has one-third of the world's Catholics. If the population continues to grow at its present rate of 3 percent -- the fastest growth rate of any region in the world -- Latin America will have about half the world's Catholics by the turn of the century. It seems to me that this, together with the natural concern that all of us feel for neighbors with whom we

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share the same Judeo-Christian heritage, can give impetus to even greater contributions to development in Latin America. I do not suggest that Catholics in the United States have a greater responsibility to help our neighbors in Latin America. I do suggest that because of the bond of faith shared by American Catholics and the large majority of people in Latin America, the Catholics of this nation have a unique opportunity to take the lead in demonstrating to all of us that there is more to do in Latin America than we now know generally.

I believe most sincerely that if the people of the United States were to comprehend the vast gap that separates our living standards from those of our brothers in Latin America that we would be prepared to do far more of whatever needs doing to help the people of Latin America stand tall. If all of us knew that half the Latin American children being born today will never see the inside of a school, that the average lifespan of all Latin Americans is only 51 years compared with 70 years in the U.S. and that hunger and privation are all that the majority of Latin

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Americans can look forward to unless conditions are changed radically, I believe more of us would be urging greater private and public efforts to help bring radical change.

Instead, we have a great void in our knowledge of sympathy for Latin America. Many observers have commented upon our historical bias, expressed by the stereotype that Latin America is a place where men do not know how to create good governments, grow their own food or manufacture goods efficiently.

This stereotype does grave injustice to the people of Latin America, as the thousands of U.S. priests, nuns, Naval Volunteers and other from this country who have served in Latin America know full well. Yet despite the Alliance for Progress, the assistance of the U.S. Government through AID, the Peace Corps, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Export-Import Bank, the participation of communities and states through the Partners of the Alliance program, and dedicated service of U.S. Catholics through Church organizations, I am afraid that we are

only now beginning to become fully aware of the importance to ourselves and our children of helping the people of Latin America achieve economic reform and political freedom.

Our Hemisphere cannot continue to exist half rich and half poor. Our world is in revolution, and men will no longer live lives of desperation without fighting to secure more education, more food, more respect for themselves and their families.

Catholics who know the history of the struggle that had to be fought by their forefathers in this Nation can understand something of the struggle facing the people of Latin America, though the magnitude of the task facing our fellow humans in Latin America is I believe of far greater order.

For example, the United States will have a total national production of about \$722 billion in 1966, an increase of approximately \$47 billion over 1965. Latin America, with a population approximately 10 percent larger than that of the U.S., will have a total national

production in 1966 of about \$70 billion. Thus, the one-year increase in U.S. production will be more than two-thirds of the total Latin American production. The average per capita annual income in the U.S. is about \$3,200; in Latin America it is \$325.

These cold, hard figures give only a hint of the vast gulf that separates us from our Latin American brothers. Yet we who are so fortunate are beginning to understand what poverty and misery and desperation dog the steps of tens of millions of human beings in Latin America from earliest childhood to the grave.

Fortunately, the Catholics of this nation are responding to the injunctions of Pope Pius XII, Pope John XXIII and Pope Paul VI. A rising tide of assistance is flooding Latin America from the United States, a tide carrying the hearts and hands and material substance of Catholic Americans.

Latin America is a world of hunger and malnutrition. Against this, the Catholic Church in the United States, working through the

Catholic Relief Services, has thrown the force of millions of dollars worth of U.S. agricultural products, made available under the Public Law 480 "Food for Peace" program. In fiscal year 1965, for example, a total of \$161 million worth of U.S. food was given or sold in Latin America, \$23 million of which was distributed by Catholic Relief Services groups in 21 Latin American republic.

The total figures only hint at the stories of devotion and determination that lie behind. Following an earthquake in El Salvador, the desperate and the destitute received emergency food from the Catholic Relief Services. At the same time, a continuing program feeds 125,000 school children, assuring them of a better education experience and a better chance to contribute to their own social revolution. Drought brought the Catholic Relief Services to the aid of 100,000 farmers in the western and southern departments of Honduras. This year CRS plans to distribute eight million pounds of food from the United States to more than 123,000 people in Honduras.

In Brazil, the largest Catholic nation in the world, Catholic Relief Services distributed U.S. Food for Peace to nearly two million people last year, including enough dry milk to fill one thousand of the largest tractor-trailers on our highways. Such a caravan would stretch more than 20 miles along any turnpike in the nation and would demonstrate more dramatically than anything I know the generosity we feel toward the people of Brazil.

In Uruguay last year, U.S. milk, flour, cornmeal, rolled wheat, vegetable oils and beans were distributed to more than 250,000 people through nine diocesan areas. All of the work connected with receiving, storing, parceling out and accounting for this food is being performed by the Catholic Relief Services. Children laugh, and mothers and fathers give thanks, because there is food to eat.

In Chile this year, nearly one million men, women and children will receive 62 million pounds of food from the U.S. through Catholic Relief Services. Bones and bodies and minds will be better because

priests and nuns and Catholic layment from the United States are on hand to give out U.S. food to all who are in need, regardless of their faith.

But contributions to the peaceful revolution in Latin America by Catholics from the U.S. only begin with programs to feed the hungry. The mind is also fed, and the body clothed and housed through the efforts of U.S. Catholics.

The story is told of the old man in the Northeast of Brazil where life is more difficult than we can possibly imagine who could not read and who often had to wait months before someone would read him the letters he received from his son in Sao Paulo. Then a radio literacy program was begun. The old man studied. One day after he had been studying for several months another letter came from his son. The old man opened it and began reading, painfully, letter by letter, syllable by syllable. Gradually he became aware that he was reading what his son had written. The wonder of it overcame him. He cried. "Now the world is open to me," he said.

Papal Volunteers from the United States, collaborating with hard-driving young Brazilian priests and bishops, and some Catholic clergy from the United States also, have helped create more than 100 small radio stations in the Northeast of Brazil. It isn't enough by a long shot, but it is an important beginning. The tears of an old man who has learned to read are dividends on this investment far greater than any coupon or coin.

The story of Father Daniel McGlellan is known to many Americans, North and South. This Maryknoll missionary who was born in Denver first went to Peru in 1950. There he saw that one of the greatest needs of the people and their communities was credit on reasonable terms.

In the United States, we meet a large portion of our need for credit by banding together and creating credit unions, and savings and loan associations. Father Dan decided to see whether Peruvian Indians and other might be interested in helping themselves in the same way. In 1955 he organized the Puno Credit Union -- Peru's first -- with 23 members

and \$25 capital. In the first two years that credit union was able to lend \$150,000. The system worked. Today there are 535 branches to the Credit Union League begun by Father Dan, and assets of \$23 million. It is the largest such organization in Latin America and has made loans totaling \$59 million for everything from community X-ray machines to fertilizer.

I have long supported the cooperative movement in the United States as one of the most significant ways for people to work together to accomplish things they cannot do alone. Knowing of the success of the cooperative movement here, and the success in Latin America of such efforts as that led by Father Dan McGheehan, I was successful in 1963 while a United States Senator in having the Foreign Assistance Act amended to provide that the President shall assist in promoting the organization and growth of the cooperative movement in Latin America

" . . . as a fundamental measure toward the strengthening of democratic institutions and practices and economic and social development under the Alliance for Progress."

Father Dan is perhaps the best known Maryknoll father in Latin America, but there are more than 330 other Maryknoll Fathers in Latin America teaching by radio to the Indian in the high plain of Bolivia, enlarging upon the activities of the Maryknollers who began the first parochial school in Peru in 1951, operating dispensaries for all who come in Guatemala, welcoming to a special agricultural school in Chile those who one day may take a part in the agricultural revolution so badly needed by that nation.

Bishops, priests, brothers, sisters and lay volunteers from many other religious communities are working in Latin America in increasing numbers. In January 1962 the Catholic Church in the United States reported that a total of 2,761 diocesan, religious and lay persons were working in Latin America. By January 1965 this number had increased to 4,091, and by the beginning of this year, to 4,322, an increase of 56 percent in the four years since the beginning of the Alliance for Progress.

The need is tremendous in Latin America for men and women able to give with compassion and without condescension. As was said by the late Most Reverend Manuel Larraín, Bishop of Talca, Chile, "There is nothing that we appreciate more than to have others trust in us."

It is such trust that an Oblate of Mary Immaculate Father brings to ragged, barefoot people in Brazil, that Salesian Sisters show to those who come to their social service center in Montero, Bolivia, that Sisters of Charity who are nurses show in the new clinic they have opened in the Coripata area of Bolivia, that a Saint Columban Society Father demonstrates when he shares life atop a garbage heap in a slum of Lima, that a Maryknoll Sister shows the 2,500 people of Juli, Peru, for whom she is a teacher, doctor, nurse and example of Christian charity, or that a Congregation of the Holy Cross Brother gives who believes that the United States must embrace Latin America as good friends there embrace one another if we are to know each other and work together in trust.

Surely it was such trust and devotion that Sister Mary Frederick of the Sisters of Charity of Saint Elizabeth, New Jersey, brought to her task, a task that ended tragically late last year when her jeep plunged down a mountainside during a journey over perilous mountain roads from La Paz to Caranavi, in Bolivia.

When the Lyle Mallory family of Clinton, Iowa, moved to Salvador, Bahia, Brazil, as Papal Volunteers to Latin America (PAVLA) they knew only that they wanted to help others know some of the success in farming that they had enjoyed in the United States. Their work at an orphanage, which included a 100 acre farm, gave Lyle and his wife, Eileen, and two of their seven children, Margaret, 12, and Martha, 19, some of the most rewarding experiences in their lives. During their two-year stay, during which they taught not only agriculture but also reading, writing, arithmetic, history and geography and cared for the boys at the orphanage, the work load of the orphanage doubled. Four friendly people from the United States

had shown what all the words in the world could never prove: that Americans are prepared to care and give themselves to the poor and the desperate in Latin America.

Margaret J. Thornton, retired Major in U.S. Army Nurses Corps, was not prepared for what confronted her when she first went to work in the Comas Barriada (slum) in Lima, Peru; her heart sank at the poverty and filth that surrounded her. She wrote old friends in the United States that everywhere there was "stinking garbage, trash, excreta, dead fish and dogs."

"If there is any person that I have ever known", she wrote, "that thought he had a problem in his life, he should spend just one day here. When you first arrive and view the situation of misery, you almost feel as if you won't be able to take it."

"I drive out in the parish jeep four times a week to teach nutrition and sanitation and to show the people that I love them. You cannot teach these people unless they love you first. This has been the

easiest part of my assignment, I'll tell you, because I truly do love them. One could not be a human being with mind, heart and soul if he could not love them."

This is the human cutting edge of an ever-growing program of assistance to Latin America by Catholics from the United States. The beginning of this program goes back many years -- the Maryknolls have been working in Latin America for 25 years -- but the largest increase in assistance to Latin America by Catholics from the U.S. has come since Pope Pius XII called for a special effort by the U.S. Church to help bear the burden of misery and ignorance of our Latin American brothers.

No one in the United States has done more in this important effort than Richard Cardinal Cushing. On the initiative of Cardinal Cushing the Missionary Society of Saint James the Apostle was founded in Boston in 1958 and through this Society the Archdiocese of Boston makes the largest contribution of any diocese in the United States.

Cardinal Cushing also serves as Chairman of the Bishop's Committee for Latin America. One of his most important acts here was to secure from the Maryknoll Fathers the services of Father John F. Considine

as the first and present Director of the Latin America Bureau, a Committee of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the action arm of the Bishop's Committee.

I know first hand of Father Considine's important work and have found his two books on Latin America -- THE CHURCH IN THE NEW LATIN AMERICA and SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN THE NEW LATIN AMERICA -- to be the most important sources available on the ferment which is rising steadily in the southern half of our Hemisphere.

Out of the concern of Cardinal Cushing for social reform in Latin America and the work of Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan of Archbishop Joseph T. McGucken of San Francisco, and Bishop Coleman F. Carroll of Miami grew the first Conference of Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program (CICOP) in Chicago in January 1964.

It was my pleasure to address some 2,300 persons at the opening of that first conference, bringing to them the greetings of President Johnson and noting that CICOP was "destined to become an important instrument in promoting inter-American cooperation in the decades ahead."

I told the conference:

"The launching by the bishops of the United States of a ten-year program of assistance to Latin America, the Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program, is a recognition that the obligation to achieve social justice transcends national boundaries. It is recognition of an obligation to seek what that great and good man Pope John XXIII called the International common good. I am honored to have the opportunity to participate in the launching of this program.

"It was in 1961 that Pope John in his encyclical Mater et Magistra spelled out in bold new language the obligation of nations that are rich and advanced toward those which are poor and underdeveloped.

He stated:

" : The solidarity which binds all men and makes them members of the same family requires political

Too long
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of

communities enjoying an abundance of material goods not to remain indifferent to those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery, and hunger, and who lack even the elementary rights of the human person.

" ' This is particularly true since given the growing interdependence among the peoples of the earth, it is not possible to preserve lasting peace if glaring economic and social inequality among them persists . . .

" ' We are all equally responsible for the undernourished peoples. Therefore, it is necessary to educate one's conscience to the sense of responsibility which weighs upon each and every one, especially upon those who are more blessed with this world's goods. ' "

"It was in that same year, 1961, that President Kennedy sounded the call for a new Alliance for Progress in this Hemisphere. After ignoring our neighbors in this Hemisphere, President Kennedy recognized that we could no longer ignore the revolutionary challenge of an unjust social order in the Latin American continent, could no longer ignore the shocking social and economic inequality between privileged and impoverished, between glittering capitals and festering slums, between booming industrial regions and primitive rural areas."

Each succeeding CHOP conference -- the fourth is scheduled for early 1967 -- has contributed to the growing involvement of U.S. Catholics in the problems of Latin America. This involvement has been amplified at the same time that the U.S. generally has increased its readiness to concern itself with the welfare and future of our neighbors in the southern half of this hemisphere.

Out of this involvement has come a new awareness for all of us that the problems of Latin America are akin to the problems of poverty that we face right here at home. They are problems of education, of distribution of income, of people not having adequate opportunities to live decent lives and of not being prepared to seize opportunities when they come.

It has been particularly encouraging to me that perhaps the strongest statements of concern about conditions in Latin America have come from members of the Catholic clergy, both here in the United States and in Latin America.

For example, Monseigneur Joseph Granmillon of the Diocese of Alexandria, Louisiana, who as officer of the Catholic Relief Services, has said: "We must rid ourselves of past notions about the Church in Latin America. She is no longer to be identified with the landed aristocracy, the political oligarchy and the oppressive status quo. In many places bishops, priests and lay leaders provide the new ferment for

institutional reform. Social movements now appear which become all the more startling, and all the more hopeful, because of their sudden appearance and rapid flowering in the past five years."

Megr. Cremlion was speaking of a rising chorus of Catholic Church voices crying that Latin America must have a revolution if it is to throw off the dead hand of oppression. Consider these statements:

The Ecuadorian Bishops: "We cannot remain indifferent before sufferings of the temporal order endured by so many of our sons; the human community cannot realize its spiritual aims independently of the temporal realities in which it is submerged."

The Bishops of Brazil: "On the one hand great movements of progress are afoot, but on the other, great drawbacks affect the life of our country . . . No one can say that he is unaware of the situation of millions of our brethren in the rural areas living under conditions of misery which are truly an affront of human dignity."

The Bishops of Chile: "Tens of thousands of our brothers each year find the door closed to becoming integrated actively in this country, which is theirs. We can see them, if we have the courage to do so, in their poor neighborhoods, surrounded by kilometers and kilometers of misery . . . One-tenth of the Chilean population receives one-half of the national income; the remaining nine-tenth must subsist on the other half. God judges; much has been attempted but what has been done is not enough."

The Bishops of Argentina: "As pastors of souls, we are moved by the necessities of our people. True, there is among us a rebirth of hope in better days. But we must concentrate on problems which affect the very subsistence of our poor -- intolerably low salaries, intolerable treatment of the poor, the fearful problem of the home which attacks disastrously that vital institution of our nation, the family."

The Bishops of Peru: "In the society of today, love for one's neighbor will not be genuine unless we experience the feeling that all Peruvians should receive a basic education, preparing them for the common tasks of society as free, fully responsible persons. This particularly applies to our huge Indian population."

The Bishops of Guatemala: "Our working people suffer widely from the terrible scourge of total or partial unemployment and, consequently, abject poverty and undernourishment . . . Guatemala has possibilities for a flourishing agriculture which are now being lost as a result of bad distribution of natural resources . . . We cannot ignore the cry of sorrow which reaches us from the cold and wretched hovels in which thousands of our Guatemala fellow countrymen are living."

It is significant, I believe, that all of these statements were quoted as I have quoted them here in a special statement of solidarity by the Bishops of the United States to the Bishops of Latin America at the close of the Ecumenical Council in Rome last year.

Catholics of the United States are taking the lead in telling the 200 million people of this nation that we must find a path to social justice, human dignity and brotherhood for all men in this Hemisphere. We must do so not for some political advantage to the United States, not for economic gain or long-range security consideration but, rather, as President Kennedy so clearly pointed out, because it is right.

In keeping with this rightness, I think we can look to increased collaboration between men of all faiths and creeds in helping Latin America find the path to justice. Insofar as it provides dynamic leadership for the revolution that must come, I believe the Catholic Church will continue predominant in Latin America. But there is evidence from Vatican II and from other events in our world that the Catholic Church will work with all persons of good will to help men climb from ignorance and poverty.

I learned recently, for example, of an instance in India where Catholic and Protestant groups have formed an alliance called "Action for Food Production" as the coordinating entity for their assistance. The first funds to come to this joint enterprise were \$60,000 contributed by Misereor, the German Bishops' relief program, and the first activity to be financed was the purchase of well-drilling equipment to be operated by a United Church of Christ Protestant group from the United States.

We are learning that man's need to help raise his fellow man knows no creed or theology. We also know that an institution as old and as magnificent as the Catholic Church is on the forefront of the

revolutionary change in Latin America. This leadership is helping to assure that the revolution can be won for freedom, and dignity and better life for the people of Latin America.

LA/DP:8/8/66

JER/bje FOR-REL:Invitation for VP appear Operation Amigo / ~~XXXXXX~~
REGRET

September 20, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO : BarB R.

FROM: John Rielly

Invitations declined

In regard to Operation Amigo and the attached invitation, I have checked this out and find that it is harmless enough. However, its base is chiefly local and regional and it is not of sufficient importance to warrant an appearance by the Vice President. To the question of priorities, we want to do at least one major Latin American speech sometime before the end of the year, but we should be able to do a lot better than this in terms of a platform.

I recommend against this.



OPERATION AMIGO, INC.

A Non-Profit Florida Corporation

DUPONT PLAZA CENTER — SUITE 1020
300 BISCAYNE BLVD. WAY
MIAMI, FLORIDA 33131

Honorary Chairman
HON. HAYDON BURNS
Governor
State of Florida

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GEORGE BEEBE
Managing Editor
The Miami Herald

Secretary-Treasurer
MARCOS KOHLI
Inter-American Development Corp.

H. STUART MORRISON
Director

August 30, 1966

The Honorable Hubert Humphrey
Vice-President of the
United States of America
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Vice-President:

Please allow me to transmit this most important letter to you through our mutual friend, Mr. Wayne Smith.

I am sure you have heard, through your vast resources, about Operation Amigo. From its conception in 1962, we have had the complete endorsement and support of John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, Tom Mann, Jack Hood Vaughn, within our own administration and virtually every President throughout Central and South America. Operation Amigo was conceived by John S. Knight, Publisher of Knight Newspapers and now is joined by Charles Scripps, Jack Howard and James S. Cooley, names which are not unfamiliar to you.

In 1962 and 1963, the entire cost of the program was absorbed by these organizations. In 1964, because of the phenomenal group experienced in the previous years, it was determined that additional financing should come from the major U.S. industrial might of this nation. At the present moment, the following organizations sponsor the program on a limited basis:

David Rockefeller's Council for Latin America
Goodyear Rubber Company
J. B. Williams Corporation
Koppers International
Corn Products International
Esso Standard Oil of New Jersey
Conrad Hilton Foundation
IBM World Trade Corporation
The Tinker Foundation
Anderson Window Corporation
The Bayport Foundation

*John R. recommendations,
pls. send*

Marty McManara

Oct

*check
John R. +
John S.*

We know Amigo works. Its acceptance by hundreds of thousands of young people in this hemisphere assures its growth and success. Its impact in Latin America equals the Peace Corps. We have weathered the storm of initial organization and it has revealed its potential value to the United States and this hemisphere in combating communism. The growth experienced in Operation Amigo since its inception, is reoccurring this year. It is our opinion that Operation Amigo has reached the stage of national acceptability and now necessitates organized national sponsorship and new opportunities for additional private support.

With this thought in mind and with your help, we would like to kick this campaign off in Washington during the month of October, 1966. We have chosen the Pan American Union Building in Washington for this purpose, because our News Agencies are located in that area and could give it nationwide coverage. You would be the guest speaker and host. In attendance would be every Latin American Ambassador stationed in Washington, representatives of Latin and U.S. corporations, representatives of several Latin American Governments, representatives of private Latin American organizations. At that time, representatives of some U.S. corporations will make their initial pledge. We believe your own Minnesota Mining Company will be among them. Our target is a modest \$500,000.

I am enclosing our standard brochure as well as a few choiced clippings from various newspapers. At the present moment, Look Magazine is gathering information for publication on the program. ABC News is also looking into the possibility of producing a documentary. Reader's Digest has the story on their desk. Birch Bayh, George Smathers, Dante Fascell and Fred Harris have enthusiastically supported the program as well as the Governor's conference on Cold War Education.

We are not in this fight alone. For every dollar we have been able to raise in the United States for the purpose of transporting these future leaders, matching funds have been raised from the Latin American country of origin. One of our main supporters is Mr. Juan A. Harriet, of Argentina, who gave you his views on the interchange of student leaders when you were a Senator. At the present moment he heads "Operation Amigo Argentina", a separate non-profit organization established with Argentine funds for this purpose. In virtually every country, the North American Associations are the biggest supporters of this program.

This letter is not adequate enough to transmit to you every detail of this far reaching project. I request an audience with you prior to our kick-off in October. I am at your disposal during this month of September. I can come to Washington any time you so desire, preferably the earlier part of the month. At that time, I will bring our files and newspaper releases from the United States and Latin America for your examination.

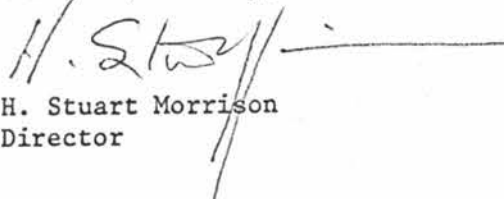
The impact of this program in Latin America is too unbelievable to comprehend unless you see for yourself. This program, Mr. Vice-President, has tremendous

- 3 -

political impact throughout Latin America and the United States. I know you will give this your considered approval.

We await your positive reply.

Most respectfully,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "H. Stuart Morrison", followed by a horizontal line and a vertical flourish.

H. Stuart Morrison
Director

HSM:cw

P.S. = You will note our Honorary President is Robert King High. As you know, he is the next Governor for the State of Florida. I had the pleasure to direct his first four campaigns in Miami.

MEMORANDUM

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

November 3, 1966

TO: John R.
FROM: Ted

John, please see attached materials sent up from Miami
re Operation Amigo. Some of it may be useful.

MILLER, BACON, AVRUTIS & SIMONS, INC.

ONE HERALD PLAZA • MIAMI, FLORIDA 33132 • TELEPHONE: 379-2881

SANFORD BACON
HILLIARD AVRUTIS
ARTHUR H. SIMONS
H. JULIAN ENG

*John R. —
For use
Opn. Amigo*

November 1, 1966

Mr. Ted Van Dyke
Office of the Vice President
176 Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C.

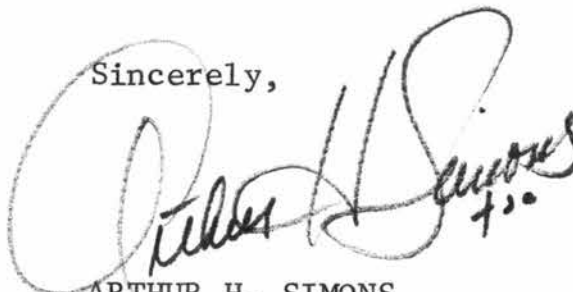
Dear Mr. Van Dyke:

In the interest of time I am shipping this draft up to you airmail. Jack Gordon tells me he spoke to Norman Sherman about this and he advised you are the man to receive it.

I am quite sure the Vice President will want to speak a good deal more factually about administration programs in Latin America and all I am attempting to supply to you is a rather non-specific draft of a speech that would cover the occasion of the Operation Amigo dinner and dovetail in generally with administration aims for Latin America.

I have missed you on several phone calls and will try again later tonight, but I felt it would help to get this into the mail so that you will at least have it in front of you.

Sincerely,



ARTHUR H. SIMONS
MILLER, BACON, AVRUTIS & SIMONS, INC.

AHS/fso
Encl.

(opening remarks, acknowledgements, etc.)

Ever since I arrived here this evening I have been reflecting that if ever there was a dinner more appropriately named, I have been unable to think of it. We are celebrating the progress of OPERATION AMIGO and everywhere I have turned tonight, I have seen nothing but amigos. Many of you I have had the privilege of knowing over the years and I have treasured the friendships we have made and the progress we have achieved together. I occasionally find myself at some dinners where I have the odd feeling that there are quite a few non-amigos present -- but tonight I feel the wonderful warmth of real friendship everywhere in this room and I can tell you there is nothing that quite equals it.

Here in Washington, and while I am traveling, I am often asked by people from other parts of the world to explain the relationship between the people of our country and the peoples of the free nations to the south of us. I realize that to answer this question in the detail it deserves requires not only more than one speech or even one entire evening, but let me tell you how I answer it. I tell these people that the

peoples of the Americas are brothers. And that like brothers in the same family we may not always act like perfect amigos in every situation that comes up -- but that below the surface is the genuine warmth of brotherhood. And that this is the brotherhood of shared aspirations, of common goals, of dedication to the dignity of man and of devotion to his welfare.

Perhaps only in this hemisphere could this dinner be held. Where else in human history have people from so many nations come together to implement the simple, basic -- and remarkably wonderful -- idea of a continuing exchange of human beings? Where else but in the Americas do independent countries, each prizing its own history and culture, prize equally the idea of educating their youth in the language, customs and culture of their neighbor nations? And where else are there men and women -- in both public and private life -- who have given so generously of themselves to this kind of project?

In a world where it is common to be found seeking the advantage, and where altruism of any sort is regarded skeptically and finds itself almost having to offer proof of its good intentions, OPERATION AMIGO is indeed unique. Here is a hemispheric program that seeks nothing but the encouragement of human understanding. An international effort wholly devoted to establishing

the base for enduring friendship and lifelong cooperation between peoples. OPERATION AMIGO builds no bridges except the bridges it builds in the minds of the young people from both North and South America whose lives it enriches. OPERATION AMIGO constructs no homes except the home it creates in every heart in which friendship and brotherhood may dwell. OPERATION AMIGO needs no monuments, no marble halls, no statuary. Its monuments are not in stone but in flesh and blood, in the ties of brotherhood it strengthens between brothers, in deepening the friendships among those who are already friends. In a world sorely beset and deeply troubled, a world with problems that are literally earthshaking waiting to be solved, OPERATION AMIGO cannot possibly attract the attention it deserves. But if only it could, it would tell the story of what can be accomplished by men of goodwill who seek only peace on earth.

And what OPERATION AMIGO is doing so successfully among individuals, our government is doing among nations. Franklin D. Roosevelt began it with "the good neighbor policy." Harry Truman, in a world emerging from a devastating war, found time and energy to pursue it vigorously. John F. Kennedy gave it new vigor with the Alliance for Progress. And Lyndon Johnson

has transformed it into an unswerving commitment that has become an article of faith. This government and this people are enduringly committed to realizing man's best hopes in every part of this hemisphere. We are committed to common action in the cause of freedom -- and we know that freedom is inseparable from a full stomach, an educated mind, and a stout home.

Yes, we have our detractors who like to say that we do these things for our own self-interest. That we are only interested in the developing nations of Latin America as markets for the manufactured products we make. Of course, we are interested in new markets. The whole story of free enterprise -- the story of civilization, in fact -- has been the constant advance of peoples, the satisfaction of aspirations, the achievement of goals, the acquisition of goods. Let our detractors remember this, however: When our sister nations to the south develop to the point of being even greater markets than they are right now, we shall not have any "favored nation" trade status. We seek no advantage. We thrive on competition. It built America. It made it great. Let a new market open anywhere, anytime. You will find Americans there competing. And if we can offer something that is better than someone else's best,

we'll get the order. If someone has something better than our best, they'll get the order. So, we are not pursuing the Alliance for Progress to gain any competitive advantage, any favored status. Instead, we are growing our own competitors. But we shall all be competing in a more secure world and in a healthier one -- and we shall all be better off for it. This is something every American believes -- and I use the word "American" in its full hemispheric meaning.

When people measure the Alliance for Progress, its goals and its achievements, they always seem to talk in terms of dollars. I realize this is the most easily accessible yardstick but it is equally important to think of the numbers of people involved, of the thousands and thousands and thousands of man-hours -- I don't think anyone really knows just how many -- that have gone into these past 6 years. Whether it is a lone Peace Corps member teaching children in an inaccessible mountain village or an engineer helping to plan a highway or a banker creating a system of mortgage financing to encourage home ownership, these are Americans who are gladly contributing their energies, their enthusiasm and their technical skills to their fellow-Americans. I'm sure that the great majority of them

could find employment at higher salaries right here at home but they have the desire to give of themselves. This is something no government can command -- it must be freely given by free people. That we have so very many of these people among our citizens is not only an immense source of pride to every American; it is living testimony to the ideals of freedom and equality on which our nation has been built.

I have visited the nations of Latin America. I have seen the Alliance for Progress on the march. I have seen the appropriations we voted in Washington being turned into roads and schools and homes. But beyond the things I have seen, I have seen the people. I have looked into their faces. I have talked to them. And they are people who remind me of our own history. The story of America has been the story of the generation whose toil and sweat built the world of plenty for their children and their grandchildren. And these people in Latin America are like that. They know they will work and they are willing. They know they will sweat and they don't mind. They know they may not be the ones to enjoy the fruits of their labors. But they are determined that their children and their children's children will live the good life. This is their goal. And to achieve it they will move mountains.

All they ask from us is our friendship, our help, our technical skills. Sometimes they will become angry with us. Sometimes they will say we have not done enough. Sometimes they will say we have not done it in the right way. But when people are striving to move mountains, they are apt to become impatient -- even with their good friends. And if you are a good friend you understand. And they know you understand. This is the knowledge brotherhood is made of.

Every administration has its hopes and its plans. Few administrations have had the public support, the congressional backing, that have been given to this administration. And few administrations have had the opportunity to move forward on so many fronts at the same time. I am proud that as we have undertaken these manifold tasks -- and borne the burden of defending the free world as well - we have not ignored or slackened our efforts to build the Alliance for Progress, but instead we have redoubled them. And I am prouder still of the leadership of Lyndon Johnson that has insisted that the nations of the Americas form a community of equal partners in progress. There is no disparity of effort. We contribute more dollars simply because we have more to contribute. But we contribute no

greater effort than do our partner nations. We contribute no more determination than do our partner nations. In our Alliance for Progress we are united in the design of the future and the defense of the freedoms it must include.

There is no surer guarantee for that future or those freedoms than the people-to-people program that is represented here tonight by OPERATION AMIGO. With the dedicated leadership of Governor Collins, the direction of Stuart Morrison, who lives Amigo 24 hours a day, the support of the communications industry and the business community throughout the Americas and the participation of interested people everywhere, this program will continue to achieve new heights in brotherhood and understanding among our peoples. I am deeply honored to have been privileged to be with you on this occasion.

U.S. criticized as arms race shapes up in Latin America

By James Nelson Goodsell
*Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor*

Mounting criticism of arms and jet-aircraft purchases by Latin-American nations surrounds new reports of such purchases.

Argentina, Chile, and Peru have been singled out in the complaint. But the criticism also includes Washington for allowing the sale of United States equipment.

Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D) of New York, one of the most vigorous opponents of the sales, said Oct. 30 that the United States ought to discontinue sales of "unnecessary arms" to Latin-American nations. Moreover, he said, Washington should reduce its economic assistance to those who purchase these arms elsewhere.

The main focus of Senator Kennedy's criticism, and that of other critics, is simply this: the Latin-American nations in question are wasting their resources and depriving their people of funds which might be better used otherwise in development projects.

Jets purchased

The arms sale issue came into the open last week with disclosure that Chile had purchased 21 British Hawker Hunter jet fighters at a cost of \$20 million. The Chilean purchase followed Argentine purchase last year from the United States of 25 A-4D jet fighters.

After the Argentine sale, Washington had offered F-86's to Chile—but this offer was rejected.

Subsequently, the United States offered Peru 20 F-86 jet fighters—an offer which Peruvian officials this week indicated would be accepted in part, with the purchase of 15 F-86's and 5 Hawker Hunters.

The Hawker Hunters are supersonic, while the F-86's are slower, subsonic craft.

There is something reminiscent in all this of the battleship race at the start of this century. In that contest, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Chile entered into competi-

tion for the biggest and fastest and best battleships afloat. Shipbuilders in Germany and in England won large contracts to build such ships from the Latin-American nations.

Limitation urged

Each nation sought to outdistance its neighbor in that contest.

For its part, Chilean Foreign Minister Gabriel Valdez this week defended the Chilean purchase of the British jets—saying it was necessary to maintain a modern air force at par with the kind of equipment used by the air arms of its neighbors, Argentina and Peru.

"This is the start of an arms race in this area," Mr. Valdez admitted in an interview, but added that "Chile wants to avoid it."

Toward this end, Mr. Valdez said Chile wants to reach a specific arms-limitation agreement with its neighbors.

"Latin America simply cannot afford to go through the present technological ceiling on arms existing in this area without compromising its possibilities for financial economic development," he added.

Mr. Valdez proposed an arms limitation conference to rule out purchase of supersonic aircraft, missiles, heavy armament and aircraft carriers in Latin America.

Chilean Defense Minister Juan de I. Carmona said the Chilean purchase, moreover, is within the scope of the present defense budget—which currently represents percent of the total national budget, lowest [defense rate] for any country in Latin America."

Washington has refused major comment on the issue. Yet the criticism from Sen. Kennedy and others, including several leading newspapers in the United States, challenged the administration.

One commentator noted that President Johnson recently said it is unfortunate that underdeveloped nations should purchase arms when funds are needed for economic development.

ARA-PAF Press Clips

WASHINGTON, D.C.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 29, 1967

VOL. V NO. 64

JOURNAL OF COMMERCE, THE MIAMI HERALD
August 29, 1967

THE MIAMI HERALD
Aug. 26, 1967

THE SUN, BALTIMORE,
AUGUST 28, 1967

Vast Latin Free Market In 1st Stage

Special to Journal of Commerce
ASUNCION, Paraguay, Aug. 28 — The 11-nation Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) met today to take the first steps toward creation of a hemisphere-wide Common Market stretching from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn.

President Alfredo Stroessner of Paraguay formally convened the session of foreign ministers in the Guarani Hotel of this inland capital city. The entire diplomatic corps was present.

Bolivian Foreign Minister Walter Guavara responded to the president's speech of welcome in behalf of delegates present.

Prior to Mr. Stroessner's speech, LAFTA elected Paraguayan Foreign Minister Raul Spena Pastor to preside over the conference. German ZEA Hernandez of Colombia and Antonio Carrillo Flores of Mexico were elected conference vice-presidents.

The current LAFTA session stems from a mandate of hemisphere presidents who met in Uruguay in a summit session last April. LAFTA objective is to change the five-year-old organization into a European-style Common Market.

Decisions Faced

As talks began today, foreign ministers of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela faced decisions on six major resolutions.

They included creation of a coordinating committee to bring about cooperation and eventual merger of the Central American Common Market (CACM) with LAFTA, and a freezing of present preferential tariffs among LAFTA members as of Dec. 31.

Continued

New Talks On Canal Sought

Panamanians Want Revenue Increase

Compiled by Our Latin America Staff

PANAMA — A panel of three prominent Panamanians has recommended that Panama seek new negotiations with the U.S. on canal operations and defense because three pending treaties would not give this nation enough control or revenue.

The views were expressed by lawyers Eloy Benedetti and Cesar Quintero and economist Gustavo Tejada Mora.

Benedetti and Quintero predicted that the U.S. would be willing to enter new negotiations because it is anxious to construct a sea-level canal and wants to establish better relations with Panama.

Continued

Panama President — Favors Canal Treaty

PANAMA — Former Panamanian President Ricardo Alfaro said Wednesday that the proposed new U.S.-Panama treaties relating to the canal "represent a victory for Panama in the long fight . . . for realization of our aspirations."

The three-treaty package would abrogate the existing 1903 treaty, give the U.S. an option to build a new sea level canal through Panama and govern the U.S. military presence in the country.

The treaties have run into stiff opposition in both the U.S. and Panama, however, delaying the ratification process.

Seek Wessin Return

By CARLOS MARTINEZ
Of Our Latin America Staff

Two leaders of a recently formed Dominican political movement aimed at the return and potential 1970 presidential candidacy of Elias Wessin y Wessin left Wednesday for Santo Domingo after two days of consultation with the exiled general at his Southwest Miami home.

The two — Guillermo N. Jimenez and Jose A. Brache Lora — are president and secretary of foreign affairs of the still unregistered, seven-week-old Partido Quisqueyano Democrático (PQD).

They said they had visited Wessin — currently alternate Dominican delegate to the United Nations — to inform him of the PQD's proposal to nominate him for the presidency in 1970.

Wessin declined any comment other than to say he viewed the movement "with sympathy."

Continued

Miami Herald
August 26, 1967

Fidel's Guerrillas To Wear Red Berets

THE FIDEL Castro regime, pushing guerrilla warfare throughout Latin America, has come up with a color to match its propaganda: "Guerrilla Red."

In an apparent effort to counter the distinctive headgear of the U.S. Green Beret troops, Havana Radio announced Cuba is featuring "guerrilla red berets."

Alliance Falling Short

Programed Uniformity, Multilateral Control Weak In Practice

By ARNOLD R. ISAACS

[Rio de Janeiro Bureau of The Sun]

Rio de Janeiro, Aug. 27—The Alliance for Progress was conceived as a broad, unified thrust embracing all the nations of the hemisphere in a common effort for social and economic advance. In general, it has not worked out that way.

Instead, in many respects it has splintered into separate programs barely distinguishable from the traditional country-by-country agreements that governed United States aid to Latin America in the pre-alliance years.

At its creation, six years ago this month, the alliance was also designed to be a powerful tool to stimulate the political decisions needed for large-scale social reforms.

This was to be accomplished not through United States string-pulling but through an independent agency, representing the participating countries.

Continued

A broadcast monitored in Miami said Castro's neighborhood informer network — known as the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR) — will make its seventh anniversary Sept. 28.

"CDR members will wear guerrilla red berets for this event," the broadcast reported. There are about two million CDR members. The anniversary will be marked by a mass meeting in Havana's Revolutionary Square.

that would evaluate development plans and set conditions for the use of alliance funds.

Weakened In Practice

This idea, too, has been weakened in practice. The multi-lateral control is not as strong as it was supposed to be, and the experience of the last six years suggests that, on the whole, the alliance has not been a decisive factor in shaping the policies of the aid-receiving nations.

A review of the alliance posture of three countries that have been major aid recipients—Brazil, Chile and the Dominican Republic—illustrates how the original concepts have been changed to meet differing conditions in different places.

Brazil has had the largest single share of alliance funds. Since 1961, the United States

Government has furnished Brazil \$1,712,900,000 in loans and grants. This year's aid package is expected to be in the neighborhood of \$450,000,000. The Agency for International Development headquarters in Rio de Janeiro has spilled out of the United States Embassy and now fills ten floors in the huge Guanabara State Bank building a few blocks away.

No Reformist Fervor

Yet despite the enormous effort, there is no reformist fervor in Brazil. The basic structure of its society—still full of the flaws and inequities at which the alliance was aimed—stands not only unchanged but unchallenged.

Democratic institutions exist, but they are hedged with restrictions that include a broad law regulating the press, abolition of direct presidential elections and wide governmental powers to quell political opposition.

Since President Joao Goulart's free-spending government was overthrown in March, 1964, Brazil's economic policy has centered on austerity and anti-inflation measures. Housing and land reform plans and other socially oriented projects exist, but have been given comparatively little attention.

The United States has given unconcealed and virtually unqualified support to every ma-

jor political and economic decision taken by the military-dominated regime that replaced Goulart.

Chief Rallying Cry

In fact, the charge that Brazil's policies are imprinted with the "Made in the U.S.A." stamp has become the chief rallying cry of anti-Government forces.

The policy of down the line support was dictated, in Washington's view, by the disastrous condition in which Goulart had left the country. A ruinous inflationary spiral had slowed the economy almost to a standstill by the time he was overthrown.

Thus, just as United States diplomats publicly defended the new regime's curbs on political activity, aid officials fully accepted the priorities that put austerity and stability far ahead of reform or development.

The alliance in Brazil was fully identified with the heavy-handed controls that cut inflation in two years from nearly 100 per cent to 41 per cent but also sent buying power skidding downward under a tight wage freeze, slowed industrial expansion and kept the economy's growth rate well below alliance goals.

The arguments for this policy were compelling and are accepted by many independent analysts. No one has seriously suggested the Government did not want economic advance. The clampdown, in the view of Brazilian planners and United States officials, was an unhappy necessity and a vital preparation for future growth.

However, what has happened in Brazil in the last three years has not looked like progress to the wage-earner, and the efforts of the alliance, however useful or necessary, have borne little resemblance to the brave picture painted at its founding six years ago.

A sharp contrast is offered by the alliance team working with President Eduardo Frei Montalva's ardently reformist Government in Chile. The United States is supporting a completely different policy there: The constellation of broad reforms Frei calls a "revolution in liberty."

The Chilean Government has

undertaken massive housing and education programs, and this summer, after a two-year battle with Congress, Frei won enactment of a land reform plan that is expected to be among the most sweeping in the hemisphere.

Inflation Not As Acute

Chile also has an inflation problem, although not nearly as acute as Brazil's, and the Government has had to impose some austerity measures. Still, its principal thrust has been to continue spending for social development and industrial expansion. The economic growth rate during the first two years of Frei's term was a highly satisfactory 6 to 7 per cent a year.

It has been clear from the moment of Frei's election in 1964 that Washington sees Chile as the brightest hope in Latin America for a dramatic demonstration of alliance achievements. In a mood closer to the original alliance spirit than in any other country, the United States has given strong backing to his programs and solid endorsement to his political decisions.

A major factor in United States policy in Chile is that the confrontation between democracy and communism is drawn more sharply than anywhere else in the region.

The Moscow-line Chilean Communist party and the more radical Socialist party form the most powerful Marxist bloc in the hemisphere outside Cuba. Their coalition controls the Senate, although Frei's Christian Democrats have a majority in the Chamber of Deputies.

Reflects Forecasts

Thus, in the political sense also, Chile most fully reflects the forecasts of the alliance founders, who believed that left-of-center democratic reforms were racing against Communist penetration and that only greatly accelerated change within a democratic framework could win the race.

The alliance program in the Dominican Republic is still a third variant, wholly different from any of the others. Since the United States intervention in the 1965 Dominican civil war, the scale of aid has been enormous. In the last two years it

has amounted to about \$50 for every person in the country.

This means that the Dominican Republic, alone among the Latin American nations, is receiving assistance in amounts large enough to have immediate and substantial results. The alliance impact is far greater than in even the large aid recipients like Brazil.

More Deeply Involved

Moreover, the United States is more deeply involved in planning and administration than it is elsewhere. This is partly due to the shortage of trained Dominican personnel, but it also reflects the huge United States stake in the political and economic success of its program. Scores of aid technicians are installed in Government offices, and top United States officials regularly take part in policy deliberations at the highest levels of the Dominican Government.

Because of the sheer size of the aid program and of the high degree of direct United States control, the Dominican Republic should be the best laboratory in the hemisphere to test the concept that development funds can produce fundamental changes in society.

In the long run, the Dominican program may turn out that way, but the United States is purposely avoiding the kind of dramatic demonstration it tried there in 1963 when President Kennedy decided to build a "showcase of democracy" out of President Juan Bosch's short-lived administration.

Seemed To Be Right

Bosch, the first democratically elected Dominican President in more than 30 years, appeared the kind of reformer tailor-made for a major alliance effort, but he turned out to be an execrably poor administrator. The showcase idea had already begun to fizzle when he was thrown out of office by Dominican military officers after serving only seven months.

The present aid mission is determined to head off any similar embarrassment. Accordingly, the program in the hemisphere with the best chance of producing a genuine peaceful revolution is being

AUGUST 26, 1967

Credit-Arms Sale Program Dealt Fatal Blow By House

By ADAM CLYMER

(Washington Bureau of The Sun)

Washington, Aug. 25—Besides cutting its foreign aid figure to \$2,815,000,000 in a bill passed early today, the House killed Administration chances of rescuing a major Defense Department program of credit-arms sales abroad.

That program, involving department purchase of promissory notes issued by foreign countries with poor credit ratings, had been beaten by one vote in the Senate ten days ago.

The Administration, backed by the House Foreign Affairs Committee, had argued for retaining the program in the House bill, hoping to keep it alive when Senate and House conferees meet to settle differences between the two versions.

House Language Killed

But a 160 to 120 vote, on an amendment offered by Representative Widnall (R., N.J.), killed the House language which approved the Defense Department purchases, and Administration officials privately indicated today that they were seriously concerned.

George Christian, White House press secretary, was noncommittal when asked for reaction to the House authorization, which compared with a \$3,400,000,000 presidential request and \$2,600,000,000 voted by the Senate.

"Any reduction in the foreign aid bill affects some countries," he said. "I don't have a complete assessment of the situation at the moment, but reductions of any consequence do have an effect."

Conflict Of Views

Christian said he was not in a position to say what the President might do next, and observed "Congress sees the aid situation differently than he does in some particulars."

The House and Senate votes

to date only set ceilings on foreign aid. The actual appropriations measures will come later, and further cuts are likely. Last year, the authorization was \$3,500,000,000, with the appropriation only \$2,900,000,000.

The House approved \$2,225,000,000 for economic aid and \$590,000,000 for military aid, exclusive of aid to Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, which are covered separately.

All-Night Session

The most serious substantive amendment, interspersed with House budget cuts of \$343,500,000 below its committee recommendation—in a session which ended at 3.34 A.M. today, dealt with the credit sales financing.

The issue had flared in the last month, with Senator Symington (D., Mo.) terming the practice of guaranteeing export-import Bank loans a "trick" and Senator Fulbright (D., Ark.) leading his Foreign Relations Committee to vote, 12-6, to kill the system.

Administration stalwarts argued to preserve the system, telling the House its elimination would force developing nations to buy arms from the U.S.S.R., would injure the American economy and would be ineffective.

"Arms Salesmen"

But Widnall, arguing that it gave "dangerous" authority to the Defense Department, whose "arms salesmen . . . would have a heyday," prevailed, with the support not only of Republicans but some liberal Democrats.

The amendment will not affect previously arranged deals, such as the purchase disclosed yesterday by Iran of a second squadron of F-4D Phantom jet fighters. But similar transactions arranged through credits guaranteed at the Export-Import Bank by the Defense Depart-

ment, would be barred.

Among the Administration arguments against the Widnall amendment was the warning by Representative Gallagher (D., N.J.) that "if we deny them credit, what we will have to end up doing is making grants to these countries so that they can pay for this equipment."

Less Vulnerable

Another Administration recourse, less vulnerable to the budget cuts on military aid which Congress began making this year, was suggested by Representative Dingell (D., Mich.), who noted that the

House left intact a provision authorizing the Government to lease arms to countries around the world.

"If my colleagues will remember," he said "in World War II, we really armed the free world through the device of leasing. So this is not going to do very much, but what this (the Widnall amendment) is going to do is say that if this nation chooses, as an instrument of foreign policy, to arm foreign countries, it may give them arms or it may lease them to them."

The Sun, Baltimore

August 28, 1967

2 Latin American Groups To Talk Common Market

Asuncion, Paraguay, Aug. 27 (AP)—Foreign ministers of member nations in two Latin American trade groups gathered today for the beginning of a week of talks that could lead to a Latin American common market by 1985.

If representatives of the Latin American Free Trade Association and the Central American Common Market reach agreement on even a few of several proposed measures, their meeting could be an historic step toward economic development for 210 million Latin Americans.

Punta Del Este Revolution

Western Hemisphere presidents, meeting last April in Punta del Este, Uruguay, passed a resolution urging establishment of a Latin-American common market. United States aid of \$1,500,000,000 was promised to push it along.

But some industrialized nations, among them Argentina and Mexico, are lukewarm to

the idea of traffic agreements that would create competition for them. And some poorer countries will be reluctant to join any body that does not offer some sort of preferential status.

To Meet Separately First

Representatives of the eleven Free Trade Association nations are to meet separately tomorrow and Tuesday. Wednesday, they are to be joined by foreign ministers of the five Common Market members. It will be the first joint meeting of the two groups.

Among the resolutions to be discussed are one that proposes combining the two groups by 1985 through a series of reciprocal tariff cuts, one that would establish a uniform Latin-American tariff for trade with the rest of the world and one under which the Free Trade Association would grant unilateral tariff reductions to Central America this year.

Alliance Continued

played low-key. Officials discuss the program in terms of planting techniques and low-cost construction methods, but they do not talk about reshaping Dominican society.

The chief lesson of all this is that, while the alliance has scored substantial and valuable gains, it has not become a major influence for political change.

Shaped By Necessities

Instead, in each country it has tended to take on the coloration of the government in power.

Its effectiveness, and to a large extent even its goals, have been shaped not by a unified hemisphere-wide philosophy but by the political and economic necessities in eighteen countries with widely differing conditions.

This, in turn, reflects the sharp limitations on United States influence. The history of the alliance so far suggests that the achievement of its twin goals—political democracy and economic advance—has depended, perhaps more than the alliance creators recognized, on the performance of each Latin American government.

Canal Talks Continued

Quintero said if Panama's only alternative is to stick with the 1903 treaty which gave the U.S. permanent control over the Canal Zone, the country could afford to wait out the 20 years it would take for the present canal to become obsolete. He said the proposed new pacts compromise too much of this country's future.

One of the new treaties would set up a Panama-U.S. authority of five Americans and four Panamanians to administer the canal operation and would declare U.S. sovereignty over the Canal Zone ended.

A second would provide for U.S. military bases to protect the waterway. A third would permit building a sea-level canal in Panama, if a site in this country is chosen. Sites also are being considered in Colombia and along the Nicaraguan-Costa Rican border.

Wessin Return - Continued

Although a member of the Dominican diplomatic corps, the 44-year-old general, who commanded loyalist tanks and troops in Santo Domingo at the height of the April-1965 civil strife, is not allowed to enter the country. An entry ban was placed against him after he was expelled in September 1965.

Both Jimenez and Brache said that Wessin's nomination is subject to recognition of the PQD by the Central Electoral Junta, Under Dominican law, political organizations are required to obtain a minimum of 43,000 signatures to qualify for recognition. The PQD already claims 45,000 signatures.

"We have distributed approximately 70,000 membership applications through the country," Jimenez observed. "Of these, some 45,000 have been returned to the PQD central executive committee."

The group president said another several thousand forms will be distributed upon his return to Santo Domingo. "Our goal is to produce 100,000 names," he said.

"Wessin is our leader and we certainly hope that he will accept the leadership of the party after we have obtained juridical status. So do the 45,000 Dominicans who have signed for party membership," Brache said.

Brache said that the party intends to take part in the 1968 municipal elections if the PQD gets junta approval within a reasonable time.

Jimenez and Brache said they hoped formation of the pro-Wessin PQD would make President Joaquin Balaguer lift the entry ban against Wessin.

Balaguer repeatedly has stated that Wessin's return "will not contribute to peace and tranquility in the Dominican Republic."

The president maintains that if Wessin returns to Santo Domingo, then former rebel leader Col. Francisco Caamano Deno should be allowed to return also. Caamano presently is with the

Dominican embassy in London.

Balaguer, however, has said that he is willing to change his mind about Wessin under one condition. The requirement is that "a movement of national opinion, sufficiently conscious and responsible, asks the government to allow the presence of Wessin in the country."

In that event, Balaguer said the government would "assent to the demands."

When the 100,000-signature goal is reached, Brache said the PQD will have the names attested to by a notary public and then call a press conference to again ask Wessin's return.

"If, after this, President Balaguer insists on keeping Wessin outside of the country, then it could be said that he hasn't lived up to his words," Brache observed.

Brache said he and Jimenez had discussed with Wessin the contents of a letter allegedly sent to the general by a group of 30 officers, including some former friends asking the general to "meditate" before associating himself with the PQD.

Without naming the PQD, the officers — who included three colonels — told Wessin that the political group was using "your name, your honesty and your prestige" for publicity purposes.

Jimenez said he didn't consider the letter to be "spontaneous" Brache implied someone had "suggested" to the officers that they write Wessin and ask that he divorce himself from the PQD.

Wessin said he still hasn't received the letter, supposedly mailed Aug. 12, and learned of it only after reading its contents in a Dominican newspaper.

Latin Market Continued

1967. Delegates also are expected to agree there is presently little protectionist pressure, namely raw materials and industries as yet undeveloped.

Other subjects up for discussion are subregional treaties, margins of preference agreements and gradual reductions in tariffs starting in 1971, to stretch over a 15-year period.

The theory behind gradual reductions in tariffs is that the lesser developed nations would

have a chance to "catch up" on industrialization.

The current LAFTA session is to end next Saturday.

According to a resolution drafted by LAFTA's secretariat, Argentina, Brazil and Mexico would discount duties 20 per cent on imports from other LAFTA countries. Uruguay, Chile, Venezuela and Colombia 12 per cent and Ecuador, Paraguay and Bolivia 8 per cent. Differences are based on relative development of the countries. All discounts would go into effect next January.

LAFTA diplomats here speculated some favorable action would be taken on the resolution. They added the foreign ministers probably would amend it extensively.

Argentina has indicated it favors such action only insofar as it helps the less developed member countries. Uruguay has presented a resolution asking it be temporarily considered a less developed member, along with Ecuador, Paraguay and Bolivia. Paraguay has called for a complete opening of a Common Market immediately.

LAFTA sources said probably the starting date of any preferential tariff system would be postponed beyond the Jan. 1, 1968, date set in the draft resolution.

The foreign ministers also will study other proposals for gradual reduction of tariffs among LAFTA member countries.

"We have just about exhausted the possibilities of bilateral reduction on agreements as set forth in the LAFTA charter," one diplomat close to LAFTA affairs said. "Members feel we must move on to something better."

He speculated the preferential tariff plan might be made to apply only to products on the "national lists," that is, those already subject to agreements.

Argentina, Brazil and Mexico account for about 80 per cent of sales within LAFTA. They have every reason to favor expansion of LAFTA trade. The less developed members, however, are inclined to be leery of new commitments which would merely increase the advantages of the Big Three.

IT IS A curious paradox of the post-war world that strong trends toward internationalism and nationalism should have developed side by side, many of them in the same places simultaneously.

The world has seen a bewildering array of new international institutions — the U.N., the European Coal & Steel Community, GATT, the World Bank, IMF, EEC, EFTA — and witnessed what could turn into regional trade groupings in Latin America, among the Arab states and even, in certain limits, in the central part of Africa. Never before in modern history have so many nations been so willing to cooperate on a regular basis with other nations or suffer such a multiplicity of institutions created for this very purpose.

Yet, it has become equally obvious, especially in recent years, that the fires of nationalism are burning, too. They are anywhere from warm to hot in a wide variety of countries and parts of countries—in France, in Romania, in Southeast Asia, in many parts of Africa and even in some spots like Quebec, Poland and Rhodesia.

A VARIETY of factors can be drawn upon to explain the revival of nationalism. It is not surprising, for example, to find it an important factor in countries which recently broke free of colonial rule.

And, just as in physics it is said that every action stirs an equal and opposite reaction, it is not surprising either that with so much internationalism about, a certain response to it will inevitably assume nationalistic forms.

Still another factor, however, is one that has up to now drawn very little attention. It originates in the consideration that large corporations in this and some other countries are now merely experiencing in other countries degrees of nationalism that are not distinctly new; many have been present for a long time.

Import quotas, certain types of taxes tailored so as to fall with special severity on particular types of imports (on heavy automobiles, for example) are all part and parcel of this experience. Big corporations building or acquiring manufacturing plants abroad often encounter a bewildering series of regulations that strike them as being distinctly nationalistic.

The United States is, of course, no exception to the paradox. Even at the time its representatives in Geneva were signing the final accord of the Kennedy Round, some of its officials were demanding stricter import quotas on crude oil and curbs on imports of various dairy

products. "Buy American" legislation also falls into this category.

* * * *

IT IS POSSIBLE that we shall see more, rather than less, of this paradox as producers in a large number of countries react against the decisions of their own governments to shear them of some of the protection they enjoyed in past years and seek other means of keeping imported competition in check.

In the political sphere, of course, the internationalist movement has already experienced some setbacks. One does not hear much anymore of plans for a federated Western Europe, certainly not in France or in the United Kingdom. Even Egypt's grandiose plans for a United Arab Republic in fact as well as in name seems to have been largely discarded.

It is in the economic sphere, and almost solely in that sphere, that the internationalist concept has made considerable headway and is still making headway, even though not at the pace its proponents anticipated. And it is in this sphere that it offers the best prospects for a stabler and, we hope, somewhat saner world.

The next task of the members of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade should be, as we have said repeatedly, the dismantling of the scores of worldwide restrictions usually lumped under the heading "nontariff barriers to trade."

WE ARE NOT so naive as to think this will prove easy, or that it can be done all at once. Purely practical considerations suggest that the best that can be hoped is elimination or reduction of arbitrary curbs in stages. This was pretty much the case with the multilateral tariff reductions negotiated under the sponsorship of GATT and we see little reason to believe that the existing structure of "nontariff" curbs will be any more easily dismantled.

But the fact is that the GATT approach has succeeded in reducing tariffs to the point where they are no longer a major impediment to international trade—regardless of the more nationalistic outcroppings of other types of curbs. It is something to be able to say of the last two decades that they produced a good deal more progress in this direction than they did backsliding in others.

So there is no reason for undue discouragement at the paradox we cited at the beginning of this commentary. There will always be some setbacks and some dragging of feet. But the signs of advance are not only impressive; at least two verge on the dramatic. The Kennedy Round was one. Last week's agreement between the big 10 on international monetary reform is another.

Drive to Cut US Imports Shows Gains

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28—The textile, oil and meat lobbies are rounding up increasingly impressive Congressional support on legislation cutting back U. S. imports.

The American Textile Manufacturers Institute now has a majority in the Senate sponsoring bills that would establish quotas on all textile imports.

Cattle Strength

Cattlemen can claim nearly 40 Senators who have introduced measures for sharply curtailing meat imports. And domestic petroleum producers, though their number of declared supporters is relatively small, now have a majority of the important Senate Finance Committee behind their proposal to tighten up the oil imports control program.

All three groups are waiting for the administration to submit its new trade bill to Congress. Their hope is that their bills would be tacked onto the administration legislation.

The three industries not only present a numerical show of force, but each boasts among its backers a chairman of either the House Ways and Means or Senate Finance Committee, the two panels charged with handling trade bills.

The oil group, led by the Independent Petroleum Association of America (IPAA), has a friend in Finance Committee Chairman Russell Long (D-La.), while the textile and meat industries apparently have Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.), on their side.

Maintains Present Control

The IPAA bill would cement into law the present import control administrative formula restricting imports to 12.2 per cent of U. S. production. Stricter controls would be instituted on Canadian oil deliveries here and imports of finished oil would be phased out.

The textile industry's bandwagon is expectedly the biggest besides the 60 Senators now proposing across-the-board textile quotas, there are 130 House members.

August 25, 1967

Alliance Birthday

The State Department has just released its sixth annual report on the Alliance for Progress, and it is both impressive and frightening.

During fiscal 1967 the United States made nearly one and one half billion dollars available for Latin America in grants and loans, raising the total figure since 1961 to more than seven billions. But the Latin republics, according to the report, have done more. About 87 per cent of the total gross investment in Alliance projects was financed from domestic Latin American savings.

Out of this spending grows a host of statistics: 15,000 miles of new roads, a half-million new housing units, 29,000 new classrooms, 1800 new pure water systems.

Unfortunately the growth in social services was not accompanied by equivalent improvement in economic health. An earlier report from the Organization of American States said Latin America's 1966 economic growth rate was 3.7 per cent below the levels of 6.3 per cent and 5.3 per cent in the two preceding years. The trouble lay largely with unfavorable economic trends in Brazil and Argentina, which account for 45 per cent of Latin America's regional product. Still, Latin economies are expanding at a faster pace than before the Alliance.

That much is reasonably impressive. What is frightening is a glimpse of the future. The Alliance countries, says the report, will double their population every 24 years at the present rate and will have 625,000,000 people by the year 2000.

Such population pressure can easily erase much of the progress in the Alliance. At the least, it warns of new demands on Latin economies and North American assistance, involving a 6 per cent annual increase in farm production (double the present rate), the creation of 140,000,000 new jobs, the addition of one million dwelling units each year and the building of hundreds of thousands of classrooms.

So far the advance is measured in terms of a few thousands of this or that, not in terms of hundreds of thousands and millions. What faces the Alliance for Progress now is a large order and conceivably an impossible one. And yet the alternative to continuing and expanding the inter-American program of self-help and mutual help will certainly be a continent in misery, not in progress. The Alliance for Progress must be continued, for the alternative is not a rational choice.

August 29, 1967

Coffee Importers Want Third-Flag Vessels

Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28 — Coffee importers need the third-flag ship carriers who would be cut out of the Brazilian sea trade by the Inter-American Freight Conference agreements, the National Coffee Association today told the Federal Maritime Commission.

NCA, which said its members accounted for almost all the coffee imported into the United States from Brazil each year, charged the agreements would make them rely "to excess" on "certain Pan American National flag carriers" who were "generally less reliable" than third-flag carriers.

The association singled out the Brazilian ship line for special attack. "Lloyd Brasileiro fails to maintain its schedules and it far exceeds the average five-day unloading schedule that is otherwise common in the trade," NCA charged, adding:

"But it is Lloyd Brasileiro, with this inferior record of performance and the U. S. carriers, who are always vulnerable to crippling strikes, upon whom NCA members would be forced to rely for 80 to 90 per cent of their shipments under the new agreements."

'Damage Claims

It is also "far more difficult and time-consuming... to process damage claims" against some of the Pan American national flag carriers," NCA said.

The third-flag carriers are "essential to the orderly and efficient import of coffee into the United States," NCA claimed.

To prove its point, NCA said its members used third flag carriers for 42.9 per cent of the Brazil-Atlantic trade and 23.4 per cent of the Brazil-Gulf trade in the past year.

Under the proposed agreements, the importers would only be able to choose among 10 lines "three of whom have absolutely no experience whatsoever in the carrying of coffee imports to the United States," NCA said.

Nor, in NCA's opinion, does it mean anything that the new conference doors aren't closed to new members. "It is very clear that third flag lines would not be given a sufficient share of the trade to make it economically feasible to stay in the trade," NCA felt.

NCA would be forced to put too much reliance on one ship or line, creating many problems, the association said.

"In addition to the risks that members subject themselves to by excessive use of any one carrier, the steady flow of reasonable quantities of coffee imports is required by business policies relating to inventory, warehousing and financing," the association explained.

The agreements, by giving national flag carriers preferred status, also violate Section 15 of the Shipping Act, the association contended.

The importers need continued access to third - flag carriers and the flexibility it provides, the association stressed, with a bouquet for the carriers and their service during the two-month shipping strike of 1965.

The agreements, have also been attacked by the Department of Transportation, the Green Coffee Association of New York City, and others. FMC, which refused to grant them interim approval, is expected to set a hearing date in the near future.

Alliance for Progress

The two dispatches on the sixth anniversary of the Alliance for Progress by Mr. Isaacs of *The Sun's* bureau in Rio de Janeiro, published Sunday and yesterday, have given us another measure of the long distance between high hopes and rosy words, on the one hand, and grubby realities on the other. It has been quite easy, during these six years, for the diplomats, the politicians, the economists and other leading figures to talk a great scheme of economic, political and social advancement. The Alliance for Progress, as President Kennedy first used it, had the ring of tomorrow in it. But actual progress has been uneven, as Mr. Isaacs's dispatches made clear, and the

kind of tomorrow envisioned six years ago is still a long way in the future.

A few statistics point up the large central problems. The Punta del Este charter of 1961 proclaimed as a goal an annual increase of 2.5 per cent in the average per capita income. Preliminary figures for 1966 showed that the actual increase has been about 1.1 per cent, and other studies indicate that an increase even larger than the original goal is essential. Population is increasing faster than food production. Freer and wider trade still is a major problem. Politics remains more intractable than economics.

Mr. Isaacs concluded his perceptive summary by noting that while

the alliance has made substantial gains, "it has not become a major influence for political change." Programs within each country have tended to take on "the coloration of the government in power." The influence of the United States has been found to be limited.

No fault should be found with Mr. Isaacs's observation that the attainment of the alliance's goals of political democracy and economic advance rests primarily on the performance of each Latin American government. This is as it should be, of course, but the political aspect often has been oversimplified in the past, and it is well to have its importance and intricacy properly emphasized.

The Miami Herald

August 24, 1967

Six Years, Some Progress

FOR THE FIRST time since the Alliance for Progress came into being in 1961, its anniversary this year passed virtually unnoticed. There was no fanfare of trumpets heralding success and pointing to an even brighter future. Official statements recognizing the Alianza's official birthday, which was Aug. 17, were hard to find.

This reticence appears strange on the surface. But it does not signify indifference in any of the signatory countries.

Actually it means that the Alianza has been established as the vehicle of development in the hemisphere and is beginning to function as it was intended.

The original agreement, signed in Punta del Este, Uruguay, six years ago, was explicit. It's proposed that \$100 billion would be generated for hemisphere development during the next decade. Of this \$10 billion would come from the U.S., a like amount from other developed nations, and \$80 billion from public and private resources of Latin America itself.

In the first halting period, only North American contributions were on schedule.

Criticism of the slow pace was widespread. Gradually, however, the essential role of Latin America began to be understood.

President Eduardo Frei of Chile, the outstanding champion of self-help, expressly warned his fellow executives that "no external aid can replace our domestic effort."

On the sixth anniversary, this domestic effort is beginning to have an impact. Actually, Latin American countries have poured in or committed some \$90 billion to development. The Alliance for Progress is slightly ahead of its goal.

This does not mean the battle is won. With the world's highest rate of population increase, Latin America's needs have multiplied. The original projections are outmoded.

But the alliance machinery is not geared to a specific sum of development capital. It is a technique of cooperation that can be adapted to change. This technique is beginning to be mastered and the trend is clear. This is the basis for cautious optimism that the glowing promises of Punta del Este are being translated into steady growth.

AUGUST 23, 1967

Senate Foreign Aid Cuts —a Bow to the Galleries

BY ERNEST CONINE

The U.S. Senate likes to pride itself on being the world's greatest deliberative body. One wonders if, after last week's flight from responsibility, the lawmakers themselves can make that claim with a straight face.

In emasculating the foreign aid authorization bill, and restricting the Export-Import Bank's lending authority, the senators may have been playing good politics. But it is difficult to see what they contributed to the national interest.

A lot of Americans, including both Hawks and Doves, are frustrated over Vietnam. The result is a new wave of isolationism which seems to look with dark suspicion on U.S. involvement in anything beyond the three-mile limit.

Far from helping to define the line between overcommitment and enlightened self-interest, influential senators played to the galleries.

Now the House obviously will be tempted to emulate rather than undo the mischief wrought by the Senate.

Although no one would have guessed it from the oratory, foreign aid constitutes a relatively light and diminishing burden on the taxpayer.

President Johnson's original aid package requested for this fiscal year totaled \$3.46 billion—less than half the peak outlay of \$7.5 billion in 1951 at the height of the Marshall Plan. If Congress gave the President every nickel he asked, the cost would amount to only 2.5% of the federal budget—and less than one-half of 1% of the gross national product.

There would be less occasion for concern if the senators, in light of the tight budget squeeze resulting from the Vietnam war, had made a serious effort to cut the aid bill in the places where the least harm would be done—and let it go at that.

Look, however, at what really happened:

- Of the \$800 million trimmed from the foreign aid authorization bill, \$172 million came out of the Alliance for Progress—this at a time when Castroite guerrillas are stepping up their assaults on governments in the hemisphere.

- Ignoring all their past oratory on how private investment should be encouraged in order to lighten the foreign aid burden, the senators attacked programs which reduce the risks for U.S. companies that invest in the developing countries.

- In separate but related action, the Senate forbade the Export-Import Bank from facilitating U.S. exports to any country whose government "is furnishing goods or supplies to North Vietnam."

The prohibition, if it becomes law, would prevent Ex-Im financing or guaranteeing of exports not just to Communist lands, but to Japan and over a dozen other friendly countries. The trade of these friendly countries with Hanoi totaled only \$12 million last year, while Ex-Im-aided sales to these same nations amounted to about \$1 billion.

★

Perhaps the senators can explain the arithmetic to the workers in their states whose livelihoods would be affected.

One trouble is that the foreign aid program has been sold, too often, as an exercise in global do-goodism. In reality, as Sen. William Fulbright and his fellow snipers well know, our own security and future prosperity are involved, too.

As President Johnson once observed, there are 40 nations in which per capita income is rising each year by 1% or less—and will reach no more than \$170 a year by 1970.

It seems self-evident that the creation of future jobs in America will depend partly on whether these countries are enabled to substantially increase their incomes and their ability to buy U.S. machinery, technology and consumer goods.

There is also a point to be made that future Vietnams will become more likely, rather than less, if we turn our backs on the miserable millions in the world.

President Johnson put it succinctly and well in a speech to the American Legion a year ago.

"The poor nations are on a road mined with potential turmoil," he said. "Poverty, and the hatred of poverty, can detonate those mines."

"Unless we have the imagination to understand what is happening in the world, we may find ourselves... facing a series of explosive crises, in which our military involvement is urgently at issue."

ARGENTINA ENACTS LAW CURBING REDS

President Signs Strict and Controversial Measure

By BARNARD L. COLLIER

Special to The New York Times

BUENOS AIRES, Aug. 26—President Juan Carlos Onganía signed into law last night a controversial and long-delayed anti-Communism measure that defines a Communist "as one who carries out activities that are proved to be undoubtedly motivated by Communist ideology."

In a preamble to the decree, the Government warned of "a subtle and aggressive penetration by Communism into all fields of national life and a climate that by being favorable to Marxism puts the nation in danger of falling before the advance of totalitarian collectivism."

The law puts a branch of the state intelligence service in charge of deciding who should be charged with being a Communist. It also says that "activities prior to the present law may be taken into account."

Concern has been expressed here that the law will be used to intimidate or destroy those that the Argentine regime considers a threat to its power.

Some officials within the highly nationalistic and conservative Government have opposed the measure on the ground that it would appear fascist to foreign opinion. However, a powerful ultranationalist faction has supported it.

United States diplomats have pointed out to the Government that the provision allowing old intelligence records to be used could prove dangerous. Many of these records go back to the dictatorship of Juan D. Perón, when almost anyone who opposed Peronism was labeled a Communist.

The penalties for being judged a Communist under the new 28-article law are severe. A blacklist of Communist is provided, and those in it may find themselves unemployable and without a long list of civil rights.

Government Jobs Denied

Those found to be Communists will be prohibited from taking out citizenship papers, from holding jobs with the national Government, municipalities or state-owned enterprises, from working as a teacher in private as well as public schools and from receiving official scholarships or grants.

Those on the blacklist will also be prohibited from administering radio and television stations, armaments or munitions factories and printing or

publishing companies. They will not be allowed to hold office in unions or professional associations.

Penalties for Communist activities range from one to eight years in prison.

The federal courts will hear charges brought under the law. Suspects will be informed personally that they are under suspicion, "suitably, in their homes." Investigations are limited to 80 days and suspects cannot be granted bail.

Miami Herald August 19, 1967

Fidel Still Trying To Export Revolts, Latin Expert Says

Compiled by Our Latin America Staff

WASHINGTON — Covey T. Oliver, assistant secretary of state for Inter-American Affairs, said Friday the threat of export of revolution to Latin America from Cuba "is constant and we can't afford to treat it lightly."

"The Fidel Castro regime has not been as successful in exporting such revolution as he had hoped but he is going to keep on trying," Oliver said in a television interview.

"The design of the recent Latin American Solidarity Organization conference in Havana was to further the export of bloody revolution to other areas of Latin America," Oliver said.

Oliver's remarks came on the sixth anniversary of the Alliance for Progress program of economic and social development for Latin America.

"The pace of the Alliance has to be stepped up," Oliver said.

Regarding Senate refusal to restore a cut in Alliance appropriations, Oliver said it is "a serious problem but I'm confident the Congress will in

the end come to agree that the Alliance needs the degree of modest support the executive branch has asked."

Steps to Stop Castro Called for by Pepper

WASHINGTON — Rep. Claude Pepper (D., Fla.), has asked Congress to press for a "positive program" of action by the U.S. and its allies to "bring an early end to the regime which now enslaves the Cuban people."

In a concurrent resolution introduced in the House, Pepper said the U.S. should go it alone "if necessary" in ending Fidel Castro's "threat to the freedom and security to the Western hemisphere."

Previous sanctions imposed on Cuba by the U.S., he said, constituted a negative approach and had no effect on the Castro regime.

The U.S., he said, should present to the Organization of American States a program to eliminate Castro "by whatever means may be necessary."

FMC PRESSED BY CRITICS OF BRAZIL MOVE

Steamship Conference Opponents Ask For Plan's Rejection

By JOHN B. O'DONNELL, JR.
[Sun Staff Correspondent]

Washington, Aug. 25—The Department of Transportation and a group of coffee importers today urged the Federal Maritime Commission to disapprove the new Inter-American Freight Conference as the deadline for lodging complaints against the conference expired.

Opponents of the new steamship conference—which is part of a move by Brazil to exclude "third-flag" carriers from its trade with the United States—had until the close of business today to lodge their protests.

The next move in what promises to be a long and complex legal battle will be the preparation of recommendations by the FMC staff on what course the commission should take in handling the case, according to FMC spokesmen.

Two Agreements

Both the Transportation Department and the Green Coffee Association asked maritime commission disapproval of both the agreement concluded by ten steamship lines in forming the new conference and of subsequent agreements in which they allocated quotas for the carriage of coffee and cocoa beans.

The Transportation Department charged that the agreement violates the 1916 Shipping Act by failing to make adequate provisions for steamship lines to join or quit the conference, and by depriving "American shippers of the right to deal with carriers of their choice. . . ." (Continued)

Panama Holds Doubts on Pact

By LUIS C. NOLI

PANAMA—(AP)—Fundamental questions are being raised in Panama, as in the United States, about provisions of the new agreement worked out between the two countries on the future of the Panama Canal. Its signing could be seriously delayed.

In the United States, protests have centered on the contentions that the three new treaties go too far and amount to a giveaway. In Panama, the complaint is that they don't do enough to protect Panama rights.

The agreement was announced on June 26, and the two governments now are studying the texts and working out an agreed Spanish translation. Although the treaties have not been made public officially, their provisions are widely known.

One treaty would govern future relations between the two countries in operation and maintenance of the canal; the second outlines U.S. rights to dig another canal through Panama if such a site is chosen; the third concerns U.S. military bases in Panama for canal defense.

Under the first, the United States would surrender sovereignty over the Canal Zone to Panama, although it would retain a 5-4 majority on the proposed joint authority that would operate the waterway.

The treaty also would give a larger share of canal revenues to Panama.

The questions raised here concern the far-reaching powers given to the joint operating authority, the duration of the option—20 years—given to the United States for a possible new sea level canal, the failure to

provide for payment for the option, and the proposed administration of the new canal.

The authority for the United States to seek international financing for the future canal, the duration of the treaty governing U.S. military bases and their use, and the arrangements under which the United States may seek more Panamanian lands and waters for canal defense also are key issues for the Panamanians.

The questions have been put to President Marco A. Robles by the National Council on Foreign Relations, an advisory body he has consulted as he decides whether to sign the treaties. Its nine members, mostly jurists, include six former foreign ministers and an ex-president.

Robles has said he also will get his Cabinet's views and the views of all of Panama's 10 ex-presidents before he makes up his mind.

Because of the developing debate, an air of haste to sign the treaties that was evident here a month ago appears to have vanished.

Now all signs point to the government's willingness to wait for completion of a thorough analysis of all provisions.

The questions that have been raised, one source said, are so vital that they must be weighed against the potentially substantial economic gains for Panama before a judgment is made on whether the accord is good for the country.

In addition to the questions raised by the foreign relations council, there have been reports that changes are being sought in the treaty language. The extent of the changes is not known, but official sources speak of "refinements" in some of the provisions.

sions.

The outcome of the discussions cannot be predicted, but sources close to the situation discount the likelihood of a flat rejection of the treaties. Should the decision be unfavorable, they say, they expect that the council would recommend that the negotiations, which already have spanned three years, be resumed.

Another factor that persuades the government to tread carefully is that elections for president and National Assembly deputies will be held in May 1968. The country is on the threshold of the political campaign, and officials do not want the agreements to become a political football.

FMC - Continued

"The Department of Transportation is gravely concerned about the proposed agreements, not only because of their clearly adverse impact on the Brazilian-United States trade, but also because the restrictive practices most probably would spread to other vital American trade routes," the protest said.

The Green Coffee Association concentrated in its protest on the provisions of the fact that the third-flag carriers are virtually excluded from the trade between Brazil and the United States.

"The third flag carriers provide a frequency of service that is important and necessary requirement in the Brazilian coffee trade," the protest said.

"The restrictions on this frequency of service would be a hardship even if the vessels would be able to physically carry greater quantities of coffee than they now do."

Lead To Problems

The association said that the reduction in the number of sailings offered would force coffee importers to ship larger quantities of coffee at one time, and said this would lead to problems involving excessive inventory, financing, pier congestion, warehousing and insurance.

August 28, 1967

Meet to Seek Economic Front Set

Special to Journal of Commerce

GENEVA, Aug. 27 — Brazilian Ambassador A. F. Azeredo da Silveira told a press conference here that representatives of 86 developing countries will meet in Algiers starting Oct. 10 to seek a common economic front in preparation for next February's United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in New Delhi.

The Brazilian ambassador, head of his country's permanent mission to the United Nations in Geneva, is president of UNCTAD's Committee of Coordination of the Group of 77. The Group of 77 today groups 86 countries, but has retained its old name. Its membership is comprised of all developing countries with common interests.

The Brazilian envoy said here that the group had received an invitation from President Houari Boumedienne of Algeria. The invitation from the Algerian president called upon all developing countries to take part in the preparatory conference in Algiers.

"The experience of the past years has shown the necessity for countries on the way to development to harmonize their concepts and to unify their efforts to better meet the problems posed by the economic inequalities and to find together the means to correct these in a substantial manner, if not to eliminate them," The Algerian president wrote in his invitation.

Ambassador da Silveira said that the conference in Algiers would confine itself to economic matters connected with the New Delhi conference and would attempt to avoid political issues, such as Mideast problems.

August 13, 1967

Reds Woo Latins With Trade Credit

By Copley News Service



—Staff Map

MANY NATIONS in Latin America are unwilling to accept Communist technicians as a 'string' of project-type aid, as this map-chart graphically shows. While the Communist technicians on other developing continents at last count by a U.S. government agency totaled several thousand each, they totaled only 85 in all of Latin America. Communists, therefore, are stressing trade credits in attempting to win Latin Americans.

WASHINGTON

Communist countries are emphasizing trade credits in Latin America, U.S. officials conclude, because many Latin nations are unwilling to accept the technicians usually associated with project-type aid.

This reluctance is emphasized by statistics that show that of 22,200 Communist technicians in less developed nations in 1966, only 85 were in Latin America. Only 5 of these were Russians; the rest East Europeans.

The figures come from an annual government survey of Communist economic trade and aid with developing nations. The latest memorandum, covers Communist aid through 1966 and Communist trade through 1965. Communist Cuba is not included.

The \$100 million trade credit to Brazil last August highlighted what the paper called "considerable" Communist efforts in 1966 to expand economic relations with Latin America.

This was augmented by offers of trade credits to Chile and Uruguay. In January, 1967, Chile and the Soviet Union signed an agreement whereby the Russians extended \$55 million in credits to that Latin nation.

Brazil in 1966 also received \$3 million in trade credits from Eastern Europe.

The Soviet trade push in Latin America has been a growing source of friction between Moscow and Fidel Castro's Cuba.

Castro believes the burgeoning trade will only help perpetuate regimes he is seeking to topple. On the other hand, Moscow is reported irritated with Castro's efforts to increase terrorism and subversion at a time the Russians are seeking to widen trade.

The memorandum attributed the increased Soviet efforts in large part to "a desire to improve state-to-state relations and to open new markets for Communist machinery and equipment in Latin America.

"The Communist countries are placing particular emphasis on trade credits in or to overcome the unwillingness of many Latin governments to accept project-type aid because of the large numbers of technicians usually associated with such assistance," it said.

The \$103 million was part of \$1.165 billion in new aid commitments by Communist nations to less developed countries in 1966. Of this sum, \$975 million was pledged by the Russians with 90 per cent of that figure going to just four countries—India (\$571 million), Syria (\$133 million), Brazil and Pakistan (\$84 million).

The report said that "Although Moscow has evidenced a more businesslike approach to aid-giving and has been reviewing economic aid requests more critically than in the past, it continues to make sizable aid commitments to a large number of regimes of widely differing political complexions in pursuit of its ambitions in developing areas."

Continued

The 1966 Communist credits brought to \$336 million the total of such assistance to Latin America from 1954 through 1966. Of this the Russians provided \$145 million and Eastern Europe \$191 million. Only two countries are involved.

Brazil, with \$287 million, accounts for the biggest share. Argentina, with \$49 million in aid—\$45 million of which was offered by the Russians—is the only other recipient.

Latin America ranks far below other areas receiving Communist assistance. Africa in the same 12-year period received \$1.4 billion; Asia \$3.9 billion and the Mideast \$3 billion.

The number of Communist technicians in Latin America—just 85 compared with 10,600 in Africa, 6,100 in Asia and 5,100 in the Mideast—also was matched in scarcity by the number of Latins receiving training in Communist countries—as of last Dec. 20.

There are no Communist Chinese technicians in Latin America, the paper said, and no Latin technicians in China. In contrast, there are 5,135 Red Chinese technicians in less developed countries elsewhere.

The Communists have continued to stress training of students from less developed countries, the memorandum continued.

There were 11,125 studying in the Soviet Union as of last December, 1,115 from Latin America. Again, this was the lowest figure for any region. No Latin students were in China.

Trade figures were updated only to 1965, but these statistics showed that Latin America's share of Communist trade with less developed countries in that year was 12 per cent, the same as the year before.

But the value of Communist trade with the hemisphere increased by 22 per cent over 1964 to \$523 million. Primarily because of increased Soviet grain purchases from Argentina and

Polish grain purchases from Mexico.

Of this total, Communist imports made up \$393 million worth, nearly half of this purchased from Argentina.

In 1965, as in 1964, Communist China bought nearly \$100 million worth of wheat from Argentina.

Argentina no longer has such amounts of wheat to export, however. And these figures will drop, sources said.

Brazil was the largest importer of Communist goods in 1965 with \$57.1 million worth, almost split down the middle between the Russians and Eastern Europe.

THE MIAMI HERALD

Aug. 23, 1967

Those Latin Trade Barriers

LATIN AMERICA is an ailing giant that needs a course of prescription strong medicine and rigorous exercise.

This, in effect, is the diagnosis of a group of international authorities who met in Mexico City to survey the area's economic health.

The illness is painful but it is, like the diseases of human adolescence, a passing phase of growth. The cures are known. They need only to be applied.

Experts from the United Nations and Europe, as well as the Western Hemisphere, pinpointed inflation and flight of capital as the major problems.

Inflation calls for austerity. A number of countries, notably Mexico and Argentina, are applying the remedy with good results. These countries were cited as models for the others.

The big need, however, is for regional and continental compacts to eliminate trade barriers and encourage economic integration. This, as one North American delegate pointed out, is a necessity. It will provide the economic muscle for Latin America to compete with the U.S. and the European Common Market, promoting better prices for the commodities Latin America sells and giving it bargaining power for goods it must buy in the world market.

Economic integration is a basic of our own Latin American policy and a key goal of the Alliance for Progress. It faces difficulty in a region that has differences as well as ties. But the increasing tendency to discuss common action and lay the groundwork for binding agreements is an encouraging sign. The Mexico City talks showed a healthy willingness to face facts and act on them.

AUGUST 27, 1967

ATOM SAFEGUARDS SOUGHT BY BRAZIL

Guarantee Against Attacks
Asked for Pact Signers

By THOMAS J. HAMILTON

Special to The New York Times

GENEVA, Aug. 26—A. F. Azeredo da Silveira, the Brazilian Representative at the disarmament conference, said today that the nonnuclear powers were entitled to guarantees against attack by the nuclear powers if they signed a treaty renouncing the acquisition of nuclear weapons.

Mr. Azeredo expressed the general complaint that the United States-Soviet draft of the nonproliferation treaty imposed no obligation upon the nuclear powers.

In an interview on West German television, Mr. Azeredo renewed Brazilian complaints against the draft treaty's provision forbidding peaceful nuclear explosions by nonnuclear powers. Brazil has previously said that she would not sign the proposal unless it was revised to allow such explosions, but Mrs. Azeredo did not repeat this position today.

His criticisms strengthened the belief that Brazil will hold out against a United States attempt to persuade the conference to give at least its general approval to the draft treaty before the political committee of the United Nations General Assembly starts considering it around Oct. 20.

The 17-nation conference normally ends its work for the year at the end of August, but will continue to meet until the end of September or possibly the first week in October.

India Seeks Guarantees

India, which has announced that she would not sign the treaty unless she obtained security guarantees from the United States and the Soviet Union. The draft contains no such provision.

However, William C. Foster, the United States representative, will resume talks this week with Aleksei A. Roshchin of the Soviet Union on the security question and inspection arrangements for West Ger-

many, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

Soviet Union, although a sponsor of the proposal, is not expected to initial it until West Germany, which is not a member of the conference, announces its willingness to sign. Since a primary aim of the Soviet Union is to prevent West Germany from acquiring nuclear weapons, Moscow passed the word long ago that it would not sign a nonproliferation treaty unless Bonn did so.

Izvestia Hails Treaty

MOSCOW, Aug. 26 (Reuters)—Izvestia, the Soviet Government newspaper, today hailed the draft of the treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons as an "important forward step." It added that credit for the proposal must be shared by many nations, including the United States.

V. A. Maiveyev, an Izvestia commentator, noted that the draft contained no provision on international control, but he was optimistic that this could be agreed on "without long procrastination."

Mr. Matveyev accused West Germany of opposing the treaty from the start because of its militarist goals.

Proposal Assailed by China

HONG KONG, Aug. 26 (Reuters)—Hsinhua, the Chinese Communist press agency, described the nuclear draft treaty today as a fraud designed to maintain the atomic monopoly of the United States and the Soviet Union.

August 13, 1967

Brazil Raps U.S. Limits On A-Bomb

By CHARLES KEELY

Copley News Service

RIO DE JANEIRO — Brazil, Latin America's leader in nuclear energy progress, strongly opposes U.S. plans to limit development of nuclear explosives.

The controversy erupted during an otherwise cordial visit here and to Sao Paulo by Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC).

Seaborg reviewed the U.S. position that the spread of nuclear weapons could not be checked if manufacture of peaceful nuclear explosives is undertaken by nations which did not have such explosives before cut-off date of a nonproliferation treaty.

But Brazil wants to retain the right to build a bomb, ostensibly for peaceful purposes.

NO PEACE THREAT

The National Commission on Nuclear Energy (CNEN), at the end of Seaborg's visit, reaffirmed Brazil's determination to develop its own nuclear program for peaceful purposes. The commission denied U.S. allegations that the mere existence of nuclear explosives involved a threat to peace.

The world's nuclear club now, consists of the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, France and Communist China. The last two nations have refused to sign a test ban treaty.

Brazil has been a leader in the formation of a Latin American Nuclear Free Zone treaty. Peaceful nuclear energy activities began here in 1957 when Latin America's

first atomic reactor, provided under a U.S. grant, began operation in Sao Paulo.

NON-WAR USE

Brazil also has active nuclear medicine and agriculture programs as well as three operating atomic research reactors.

Seaborg told members of the CNEN the United States has worked for 20 years on nuclear explosives and still "no specific application has been carried to the necessary stage of development and demonstration to be ready for practical use" in such fields as road building. He added that this stage should be reached in the next five or 10 years.

Seaborg said the United States is ready to join international arrangements to furnish nuclear explosive service which could safely be undertaken, when appropriate devices become available. They would be made available to friendly nations at cost, he said.

EXCLUSION NOTED

In addition, Seaborg said charges for such assistance "will entirely exclude the billions of dollars which the United States has already expended for the development of nuclear explosives."

He said differences between Brazil and the United States over this policy are "limited to the area of the means by which the availability of peaceful nuclear explosives should be assured . . . (not) whether they should be made available, a point on which we are in full agreement."

Seaborg explained U.S. concern over the spread of potential nuclear weapons in Sao Paulo, after his earlier remarks triggered a major bombshell in the press here.

AUGUST 27, 1967

HAITIANS GET HELP ON CITY PROBLEMS

Neighborhood Plan Seeks to Facilitate Adaptation

Refugees from Haiti are receiving help in adapting to life here this summer from an experimental neighborhood center on Amsterdam Avenue.

Tucked between a delicatessen and a dry cleaner's between 83d and 84th Streets the narrow office's windows are covered with handprinted signs announcing English classes and weekly meetings.

The Haitian Neighborhood Service Center at 483 Amsterdam Avenue is a new outgrowth of the city's summer anti-poverty program operating as a branch of the Urban Opportunities Program and financed by \$9,800 from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The work to help this city's Haitians began last April when a few Haitian families began to go occasionally to the Urban Opportunities office at 112 West 88th Street, which usually helps Spanish-speaking citizens.

Program Is Drafted

Because of the language and cultural differences with the French-speaking Haitians, a separate 11-week demonstration program was designed, approved and funded to explore their problems.

Stanley Gurspan, a slightly bearded instructor at Columbia University's School of Social Work, became project director and the little office opened July 15.

Lyderic Bonaventure, a former Haitian labor leader who came to the United States in 1961, is expected eventually to take charge of the program.

Mr. Bonaventure estimates that there are 45,000 Haitians living in New York City, most of them in Manhattan, Brooklyn and Queens. New York is thought to have the largest colony of Haitians outside of Haiti.

"The Haitians are proud people," Mr. Bonaventure says. "They do not like welfare. They want to do things themselves, or with the help of their family.

He said that of the 600 Haitians who have sought help at the center since its opening, only one had been on welfare. "And she made it clear that was only temporary," he added.

Four Means of Helping

The center seeks to help the Haitians mainly in four ways. It holds English classes three nights week, taught by Haitian volunteers. And it is open from 10 to 10 weekdays to help Haitians find housing, find jobs and deal with the Government, including working out the complex immigration process that allows them to remain in this country or bring relative in from Haiti.

One recently, for example, Mr. Gurspan wrote to the State

Board of Nurse Examiners in Albany on behalf of a 35-year-old woman who was a registered nurse in Haiti but cannot work in New York until she is properly certified.

She came to this country two weeks ago on a three-month tourist visa. Since nurses are scarce, the Government will allow her to stay if she can find a job. Later, she hopes to bring her four children here.

The center also has a teenage club which, according to its president, Fritz Martelly, 17, of 46 West 83rd Street, hopes to invite Mayor Lindsay to a two-hour program of Haitian entertainment Sept. 3.

But the program's future is in doubt. Its money runs out Sept. 15.

THE MIAMI HERALD

Aug. 23, 1967

5 Saved at Sea Say:

'Give Cubans Boats -- They'd All Leave!'

CORPUS CHRISTI, Tex. — (AP) — Proclaiming that Fidel Castro's Cuba would be a ghost country if every Cuban had a boat and permission to leave, five Cuban refugees rescued from choppy Gulf of Mexico waters arrived here Tuesday.

The five, two men, two women and a young boy, were rescued from their sinking 18-foot boat in the Gulf Sunday morning less than 24 hours after they had made their escape.

The refugees were greeted by some 50 Cuban refugees from south Texas. They walked onto U.S. soil from the British tanker Esso Exeter after being interviewed by U.S. customs and immigration officials.

The group included Alfred Fritz Guthner, 34, an Austrian who became a naturalized Cuban citizen in 1963; his wife, Selma, 28; their son, Alfred Jr., 5; Mrs. Guthner's mother, Mrs. Selma Dupont, 54, and a friend, Roberto Ramon Garcia, 31.

Guthner said he was a buyer of metals in the Cuban Ministry of Trade. Garcia was a paymaster for the Ministry of Construction.

They said they had been planning the escape for three years. Guthner said the 18-foot pleasure craft used for the cruise developed engine failure because of the strain of crossing choppy waters in the Gulf Stream Sunday morning.

AUGUST 27, 1967

Rio Bus Fleet Called Hazard To Life & Limb

Rio DE Janeiro, Aug. 26 (Copley)—Rio's 3,800 buses are under attack as a menace to life, limb and sanity.

Jungle laws prevail in local traffic. By size alone, buses are king of the forest.

In a city where taxis and private cars are mostly midget models, buses are coming under increasing attack by pedestrians and motorists as well as passengers themselves.

Bus drivers, however, are answering back and apparently have some medical support for claims that driving a bus is a most hectic and nerve-wracking job.

Speed Limits Flouted

A local magazine charged recently that in the last three months Rio buses have been involved in 1,438 accidents. This, concludes the magazine, means that 38% of all buses plying Rio streets were involved in accidents during that period.

Buses here obey no speed limits, swerve constantly in and out of traffic, pick up and discharge passengers in mid-street and virtually run over anything or anyone in their way.

Defy Chin-Chin Ban

Recently signs in buses forbidding passengers to talk to the driver (there are two seats for passengers right beside the driver's) were taken down.

Owners said the traditional spirit of opposition which characterizes the rule and chat with Latin passengers led passengers to the driver.

New signs have been posted with a more subtle message which advises passengers that the driver is not allowed to talk to them. That hasn't worked either.

Bus drivers say they are being persecuted. They claim they perform one of the most gruelling jobs in Rio for \$73 a month.

The drivers cite a psychiatric report which says bus driving is enough to make anybody neurotic. "In few people," the report said, "is stress and neurotic exhaustion as apparent as it is in the bus driver."

AUGUST 27, 1967

August 25, 1967

Argentines Seem Untroubled by Ban on Politics

BUENOS AIRES, Aug. 26— For 14 months Argentina has been without her National Congress and all of her political parties have been banned, but there has been no indication that Argentines are very troubled.

According to a public-opinion poll conducted by a highly respected sociologist, a large percentage of Argentines think that a lifting of the prohibition against political parties and political activity imposed by the military regime would make things worse for the country. At the same time, the poll indicated that many would like to see Congress re-opened, although who would sit in it is a crucial question that is left unanswered.

The survey's results, published this week, also showed that 19.4 per cent of those questioned felt that the re-establishment of Congress would make no difference in the way Argentina is run.

Onganía Installed by Junta

A military junta installed Juan Carlos Onganía as President after the overthrow in June, 1966, of Arturo U. Illia, the constitutionally elected President.

The junta immediately dissolved the Congress and imposed a prohibition ban on all of Argentina's numerous political parties. President Onganía has since stated that he feels Argentina must eventually allow a rebirth of political activity, but he has refused to say when or under what circumstances.

According to the poll, which was supervised by Dr. José Enrique Miguens, a United States-trained sociologist, only 20.3 per cent of those interviewed answered "better" to the question: "Do you think that if the political parties were re-established that the situation would be better, stay the same or get worse?"

On the other hand, the "worse" response was given by 39.7 per cent of those questioned. Those who said they didn't know amounted to 17.3 per cent and 1.4 per cent did not respond. In his explanatory text, Dr. Miguens said that a cross-section of the Argentine public had been polled and that the survey had been conducted in the interior cities as well as in Buenos Aires. There was no figure given on the exact number of people questioned.

The results of the poll were published this week in *Confirmadu*, a magazine that has gained a reputation for taking the side of the Onganía regime in most controversial matters.

Results Seem Contradictory

The poll, therefore, is likely to come under heavy attack from some politicians on the ground that it is biased. Dr. Miguens, while known to be conservative in his politics, is also widely regarded as an impartial social scientist, who has not hesitated to criticize the Onganía regime. Most observers here feel that any charges of his slanting the results would be unfair.

To a question asking for opinions on the re-establishment of the National Congress, a total of 33.9 per cent of those asked said things would be "better" if the Congress resumed. A rather large number, 24.7 per cent, said a functioning Congress would make things "worse."

The puzzling contradiction of a plurality of Argentines being in favor of the National Congress reopening, but simultaneously thinking that politicians and political parties would make the nation worse off, seems certain to preoccupy political analysts here for some time, for one thing, the poll results seem to give support to powerful men both inside and outside the Government who are known to favor a corporate state system for the nation.

Fidel's Troubles

By Virginia Prewett



FIDEL CASTRO is facing rising opposition on his own island — a fact consistently covered up by his tight censorship. It is also overshadowed abroad by his foreign-affairs splashes — his new guerilla campaigns, especially in Bolivia, and his news-making Havana meeting of the Latin American Solidarity Organization.

Raul Castro in a broadcast on July 4 told Cubans that Castro's security forces have had to deal with "179 bands of bandits seeking to disrupt the public order."

Since the U. S. has long since interdicted Cuban exile groups who used to make daring raids on Castro's island fortress and even put ashore small bands to harass him, Castro's pinprick uprisings are spontaneous explosions of Cuban desperation.

Raul Castro said the cost of putting down the sporadic opposition ran from \$500,000 to \$800,000 for the year.

Cuba's communist government has had to organize yet another special repressive force, the FCB ("Fuerza Contra Candidos" or Counter-Bandit Force) to meet the low-seething resistance that cannot be contained by the Army and/or the Block Committees.

CASTRO'S propaganda machine has given out that the Block Committees or squads of local informants and political police, no longer function. Cuban exiles recently come out of Cuba say they are as active as ever.

Castro's success in recruiting followers throughout Latin America and bringing them to Cuba for training or for much-publicized meetings is also costing him at home. Cubans resent the better treatment the visitors get.

Foreign newsmen who covered the OLAS meeting in Havana this month and who managed to elude, if only briefly, the constant close attendance of officials, report sullenness ready to break into something more active among the Cubans.

AN illustration is the experience of two German reporters for Hamburg's "Der Stern". According to them, they were able to get away from official escorts long enough to take a walk down Galiano Street, formerly the Fifth Avenue of Havana.

When they nipped into a little snack bar to ask for a "cafecito" — the tiny cup of coffee that is a staple in most countries of the world — the man behind the counter answered sullenly:

"You can get 'cafecitos' ninety miles from here" — in Florida.

In no time, a dozen or more Cubans crowded around the Spanish-speaking Germans, with near-hostile expressions indicating their resentment of the fact that Castro's visitors get good food while Cubans suffer strict rationing and often go without.

As the Germans fished for more details of the average Cuban's life, three militiamen appeared and dispersed the group.

So much for dissent in Cuba.

August 25, 1967

The International Coffee Disagreement

It would be rather ironic if the issue of Brazil's production of instant coffee were to trigger an instant collapse of the International Coffee Agreement.

For Brazil, the world's largest coffee-producing nation, is the chief beneficiary of that agreement. The four-year-old agreement—to mention its good points—has worked surface advantages to Latin American countries, stabilizing part of their incomes and as a result at least encouraging domestic tranquility.

At the same time, the knowledge that they can sell coffee under the agreement's quota system at a good price has tended to discourage these countries from much needed diversifying of crops. True income stability cannot be built on the shaky base of a one-crop economy. Moreover, it is too much to expect coffee to assume forever the role of a sort of domestic political cement in countries with tendencies toward political upheaval.

The price-stabilizing international agreement is threatened because Brazil insists upon expanding its instant, or soluble, coffee trade with the U.S. Whereas Brazil charges a 20-cent-a-pound export tax on its green coffee, its instant coffee processors pay no such tax. The processors make their product from an inferior grade of

coffee bean for which they pay from three to four cents a pound. U.S. instant processors are not allowed to buy these cheap beans in Brazil and for a comparable bean have to pay from 20 to 34 cents a pound to African sources.

Therefore Brazilian instant coffee on the U.S. market costs much less than American-processed instant. Plainly, Brazil wants the freedom to compete in the market by using for instant coffee one set of rules which bypass the international agreement, but at the same time wants the agreement's protection on the trade in green beans.

Rightly pointing out that Brazil cannot hope to have it both ways, U.S. coffee interests are laying plans to torpedo the agreement. And indeed it may be time to dispense with it. Participating Latin American and African countries have not used the price-protecting agreement, as they were supposed to, for tailoring production to world consumption. Surpluses still pile up.

Moreover, the coffee agreement—like most international price-fixing schemes—has worked to the temporary advantage of everybody except the consumer. Surely he would not mind if a little international disagreement, returning prices to an uninhibited and more realistic market, instantly lowered the cost of his coffee.

SUNDAY NEWS - August 27, 1967

Mexicans See Trade Peril in '68 Olympics

Mexico City, Aug. 26 (Special)—Mexican businessmen are having second thoughts about Mexico's playing host to the 1968 Olympics a year from this October.

"The 1968 Olympics will be Mexico's greatest fiasco," said a

former high government official. Others complain that the worldwide publicity of the games will do more harm than good.

The economy produces few products at prices that can compete in the world market.

Nothing to Sell

"Mexico will earn no profits on the more than \$30 million we are investing in construction and services," said the ex-official. "We have nothing to sell but souvenirs." He pointed out that visitors to the last Olympics, in Japan, spent about \$200 each on merchandise such as cameras and transistor radios.

Foreign businessmen often attend the games in host countries and negotiate deals with manufacturers, thus providing trade benefits for years.

But Mexico can produce nothing to balance the \$30 million that preparations for the games will cost.



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