

SIDENT KENNEDY SPEAKS ON
ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

PC-AAA-574



BEST AVAILABLE COPY

PRESIDENT KENNEDY SPEAKS ON THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

ADDRESSES AND REMARKS—THE FIRST YEAR



SETTING GOALS FOR A HEMISPHERE

Address at the White House; before Latin American diplomats, Members of Congress, and their wives; March 13, 1961

ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-NINE YEARS ago this week, the United States, stirred by the heroic struggles of its fellow Americans, urged the independence and recognition of the new Latin American Republics. It was then, at the dawn of freedom throughout this Hemisphere, that Bolívar spoke of his desire to see the Americas fashioned into the greatest region in the world, "greatest," he said, "not so much by virtue of her area and her wealth, as by her freedom and her glory."

Never in the long history of our Hemisphere has this dream been nearer to fulfillment, and never has it been in greater danger.

The genius of our scientists has given us the tools to bring abundance to our land, strength to our industry, and knowledge to our people. For the first time we have the capacity to strike off the remaining bonds of poverty and ignorance—to free our people for the spiritual and intellectual fulfillment which has always been the goal of our civilization.

Yet at this very moment of maximum opportunity, we confront the same forces which have imperiled America throughout its history—the alien forces which once again seek to impose the despotisms of the Old World on the people of the New.

I have asked you to come here today so that I might discuss these challenges and these dangers.

We meet together as firm and ancient friends, united by history and experience and by our determination to advance the values of American civilization. For this new world of ours is not merely an accident of geography. Our continents are bound together by a common history—the endless exploration of new frontiers. Our nations are the product of a common struggle—the revolt from colonial

rule. And our people share a common heritage—the quest for the dignity and the freedom of man.

The revolutions which gave us birth ignited, in the words of Thomas Paine, “a spark never to be extinguished.” And across vast, turbulent continents, these American ideals still stir man’s struggle for national independence and individual freedom. But as we welcome the spread of the American Revolution to other lands, we must also remember that our own struggle—the revolution which began in Philadelphia in 1776 and in Caracas in 1811—is not yet finished. Our Hemisphere’s mission is not yet completed. *For our unfulfilled task is to demonstrate to the entire world that man’s unsatisfied aspiration for economic progress and social justice can best be achieved by free men working within a framework of democratic institutions.* If we can do this in our own Hemisphere, and for our own people, we may yet realize the prophecy of the great Mexican patriot, Benito Juárez, that “democracy is the destiny of future humanity.”

AS A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES, let me be the first to admit that we North Americans have not always grasped the significance of this common mission, just as it is also true that many in your own countries have not fully understood the urgency of the need to lift people from poverty and ignorance and despair. But we must turn from these mistakes—from the failures and the misunderstandings of the past—to a future full of peril but bright with hope.

Throughout Latin America—a continent rich in resources and in the spiritual and cultural achievements of its people—millions of men and women suffer the daily degradations of hunger and poverty. They lack decent shelter or protection from disease. Their children are deprived of the education or the jobs which are the gateway to a better life. And each day the problems grow more urgent. Population growth is outpacing economic growth, low living standards are even further endangered, and discontent—the discontent of a people who know that abundance and the tools of progress are at last within their reach—that discontent is growing. In the words of José Figueres, “Once dormant peoples are struggling upward toward the sun, toward a better life.”

If we are to meet a problem so staggering in its dimensions, our approach must itself be equally bold, an approach consistent with the majestic concept of Operation Pan America. Therefore I have called on all the people of the Hemisphere to join in a new *Alliance for Progress—Alianza para el Progreso*—a vast cooperative effort, unparalleled in magnitude and nobility of purpose, to satisfy the basic needs of the American people for homes, work and land, health and schools—*techo, trabajo y tierra, salud y escuela*.

First, I propose that the American Republics begin on a vast new 10-year plan for the Americas, a plan to transform the 1960's into an historic decade of democratic progress. These 10 years will be the years of maximum progress, maximum effort—the years when the greatest obstacles must be overcome, the years when the need for assistance will be the greatest.

And if we are successful, if our effort is bold enough and determined enough, then the close of this decade will mark the beginning of a new era in the American experience. The living standards of every American family will be on the rise, basic education will be available to all, hunger will be a forgotten experience, the need for massive outside help will have passed, most nations will have entered a period of self-sustaining growth, and, although there will be still much to do, every American Republic will be the master of its own revolution and its own hope and progress.

Let me stress that only the most determined efforts of the American nations themselves can bring success to this effort. They, and they alone, can mobilize their resources, enlist the energies of their people, and modify their social patterns so that all, and not just a privileged few, share in the fruits of growth. If this effort is made, then outside assistance will give a vital impetus to progress; without it, no amount of help will advance the welfare of the people.

Thus, if the countries of Latin America are ready to do their part—and I am sure they are—then I believe the United States, for its part, should help provide resources of a scope and magnitude sufficient to make this bold development plan a success, just as we helped to provide,

against nearly equal odds, the resources adequate to help rebuild the economies of Western Europe. For only an effort of towering dimensions can insure fulfillment of our plan for a decade of progress.

Secondly, I will shortly request a ministerial meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, a meeting at which we can begin the massive planning effort which will be at the heart of the *Alliance for Progress*.

For if our alliance is to succeed, each Latin nation must formulate long-range plans for its own development—plans which establish targets and priorities, insure monetary stability, establish the machinery for vital social change, stimulate private activity and initiative, and provide for a maximum national effort. These plans will be the foundation of our development effort and the basis for the allocation of outside resources.

A greatly strengthened Inter-American Economic and Social Council, working with the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Inter-American Development Bank, can assemble the leading economists and experts of the Hemisphere to help each country develop its own development plan, and provide a continuing review of economic progress in this Hemisphere.

Third, I have this evening signed a request to the Congress for \$500 million as a first step in fulfilling the Act of Bogotá. This is the first large-scale inter-American effort—instituted by my predecessor, President Eisenhower—to attack the social barriers which block economic progress. The money will be used to combat illiteracy, improve the productivity and use of their land, wipe out disease, attack archaic tax and land-tenure structures, provide educational opportunities, and offer a broad range of projects designed to make the benefits of increasing abundance available to all. We will begin to commit these funds as soon as they are appropriated.

Fourth, we must support all economic integration which is a genuine step toward larger markets and greater competitive opportunity. The fragmentation of Latin American economies is a serious barrier to industrial growth. Projects such as the Central American common market and free-trade areas in South America can help to remove these obstacles.

Fifth, the United States is ready to cooperate in serious, case-by-case examinations of commodity market problems. Frequent violent changes in commodity prices seriously injure the economies of many Latin American countries, draining their resources and stultifying their growth. Together we must find practical methods of bringing an end to this pattern.

Sixth, we will immediately step up our food-for-peace emergency program, help to establish food reserves in areas of recurrent drought, and help provide school lunches for children and offer feed grains for use in rural development. For hungry men and women cannot wait for economic discussions or diplomatic meetings; their need is urgent, and their hunger rests heavily on the conscience of their fellow men.

Seventh, all the people of the Hemisphere must be allowed to share in the expanding wonders of science—wonders which have captured man's imagination, challenged the powers of his mind, and given him the tools for rapid progress. I invite Latin American scientists to work with us in new projects in fields such as medicine and agriculture, physics and astronomy, and desalinization, and to help plan for regional research laboratories in these and other fields, and to strengthen cooperation between American universities and laboratories.

We also intend to expand our science-teacher training programs to include Latin American instructors, to assist in establishing such programs in other American countries, and translate and make available revolutionary new teaching materials in physics, chemistry, biology, and mathematics so that the young of all nations may contribute their skills to the advance of science.

Eighth, we must rapidly expand the training of those needed to man the economies of rapidly developing countries. This means expanded technical training programs, for which the Peace Corps, for example, will be available when needed. It also means assistance to Latin American universities, graduate schools, and research institutes.

We welcome proposals in Central America for intimate cooperation in higher education, cooperation which can achieve a regional effort of increased effectiveness and

excellence. We are ready to help fill the gap in trained manpower, realizing that our ultimate goal must be a basic education for all who wish to learn.

Ninth, we reaffirm our pledge to come to the defense of any American nation whose independence is endangered. As confidence in the collective security system of the OAS spreads, it will be possible to devote to constructive use a major share of those resources now spent on the instruments of war. Even now, as the Government of Chile has said, the time has come to take the first steps toward sensible limitations of arms. And the new generation of military leaders has shown an increasing awareness that armies can not only defend their countries—they can, as we have learned through our own Corps of Engineers, help to build them.

Tenth, we invite our friends in Latin America to contribute to the enrichment of life and culture in the United States. We need teachers of your literature and history and tradition, opportunities for our young people to study in your universities, access to your music, your art, and the thought of your great philosophers. For we know we have much to learn.

In this way you can help bring a fuller spiritual and intellectual life to the people of the United States, and contribute to understanding and mutual respect among the nations of the Hemisphere.

WITH STEPS SUCH AS THESE, we propose to complete the revolution of the Americas, to build a Hemisphere where all men can hope for a suitable standard of living and all can live out their lives in dignity and in freedom.

To achieve this goal, political freedom must accompany material progress. Our *Alliance for Progress* is an alliance of free governments, and it must work to eliminate tyranny from a Hemisphere in which it has no rightful place. Therefore let us express our special friendship to the people of Cuba and the Dominican Republic—and the hope they will soon rejoin the society of free men, uniting with us in our common effort.

This political freedom must be accompanied by social change. For unless necessary social reforms, including land

and tax reforms, are freely made, unless we broaden the opportunity of all of our people, unless the great mass of Americans share in increasing prosperity, then our alliance, our revolution, our dream, and our freedom will fail. But we call for social change by free men—change in the spirit of Washington and Jefferson, of Bolívar and San Martín and Martí—not change which seeks to impose on men tyrannies which we cast out a century and a half ago. Our motto is what it has always been—progress yes, tyranny no—*progreso si, tiranía no!*

But our greatest challenge comes from within—the task of creating an American civilization where spiritual and cultural values are strengthened by an ever-broadening base of material advance, where, within the rich diversity of its own traditions, each nation is free to follow its own path toward progress.

The completion of our task will, of course, require the efforts of all the governments of our Hemisphere. But the efforts of governments alone will never be enough. In the end the people must choose and the people must help themselves.

And so I say to the men and women of the Americas—to the *campesino* in the fields, to the *obrero* in the cities, to the *estudiante* in the schools—prepare your mind and heart for the task ahead, call forth your strength, and let each devote his energies to the betterment of all, so that your children and our children in this Hemisphere can find an ever richer and a freer life.

Let us once again transform the American Continent into a vast crucible of revolutionary ideas and efforts, a tribute to the power of the creative energies of free men and women, an example to all the world that liberty and progress walk hand in hand. Let us once again awaken our American Revolution until it guides the struggles of people everywhere—not with an imperialism of force or fear, but the rule of courage and freedom and hope for the future of man.

MOMENTUM OF THE PROGRAM

Remarks at the Pan American Union, Washington, D.C.; before the American Economic and Social Council; November 29, 1961

TODAY MARKS ANOTHER MILESTONE in the *Alliance for Progress*. For today we begin to select the panel of experts established by the Charter of Punta del Este.

This panel is an historic innovation, not only in Inter-American relations, but in the effort to develop the economies of half the world. Not since the Marshall Plan has a group of allied nations embarked on a program of regional development guided by a regional body largely selected by the developing nations themselves.

These experts will review the long-term development plans of the Latin-American nations, advising them on measures to strengthen the plans and self-help and social reform measures which will accompany them. In addition they will help financing agencies to provide external resources in the most effective manner.

I am confident that the skills and ability of the men you select will enable the Latin-American nations to benefit greatly from their work. And I assure you that the United States will give the greatest possible weight to the conclusions of the experts in distributing its own funds. Similarly we will instruct our representatives to international agencies to rely heavily on the work of the panel.

I am confident that this new and imaginative creation of the Inter-American system will vastly strengthen our common effort—the *Alliance for Progress*.

I have also, today, signed an agreement for the use of \$600,000,000 in *Alliance for Progress* funds to strengthen the OAS [Organization of American States]. This money will be used for studies and technical assistance, called for by the Charter of Punta del Este, to help nations in plan-

ning the growth of their economies. Thus a pledge of long standing has been fulfilled.

I would also like to express my gratification at the immense progress which has been made since the Alliance for Progress was proposed in March.

In August, the American nations drafted the Charter of Punta del Este, the framework for the decade of development, a document whose scope and significance is only matched by the Charter of the OAS itself. The Inter-American Bank, ECLA [Economic Commission for Latin America], and the OAS have agreed to provide development missions to assist nations in their planning, and some of those missions are already in the field. In addition, you have strengthened the machinery of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, and prepared for today's selection of the panel of experts.

For its part, the United States has streamlined its own AID program, placing general responsibility for coordination of our effort in the hands of a distinguished administrator with long experience in the work of development—Teodoro Moscoso. And we have already developed new sets of standards to guide our work.

In these and in many other ways, we have developed the basic structure for our future effort, for the work of the next ten years. But we have not waited for the establishment of that structure to begin our work.

ALL OVER LATIN AMERICA, new development plans are being formulated, and some have already been completed. New tax and land reform programs—basic requirements of social progress—have been instituted or are being prepared. Many of the American nations are now mobilizing their resources and the energies of their people for the task of development.

And the United States, for its part, has already committed more than \$800 million of the more than a billion dollars which it pledged to the first year of the *Alliance*. . . .

But despite its speed, I am determined to do even better in the months to come. The urgent needs of our people cannot wait. Their need for food and shelter, for education and relief from poverty, and, above all, their need to feel

hope for their future and the future of their children, demands attention and toil this year, this month, today.

Measured by the past, we have moved swiftly. Measured by the needs of the future, we must do much better. And I can assure you that the energies of my government, and my personal effort, will be devoted to speeding up the pace of development. For I share with you a determination that before this decade comes to a close, the Americas will have entered upon a new era, when the material progress of American man and the justice of his society will match the spiritual and cultural achievements of this Hemisphere.

I am fully aware of the immensity of our task, of the difficulties we face. But I know we share the faith of one of the earliest American settlers, William Bradford, who, when told in 1630 that the hazards of settling this Hemisphere were too great to overcome, answered :

“All great and honorable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courage. The dangers were great, but not desperate; the difficulties were many, but not invincible. All of them, through the help of God, by fortitude and patience, might either be borne or overcome.”

BEYOND THE GOOD NEIGHBOR

Address at San Carlos Palace, Bogotá, Colombia; before the President of Colombia and guests at a state dinner; December 17, 1961

IN NINETEEN HUNDRED THIRTY FOUR, one of the greatest of my predecessors, President Franklin Roosevelt, was the first President of the United States to visit this country. He came in pursuit of a new policy—the policy of the Good Neighbor. This policy—based on the ideas of Bolívar and San Martín and Santander—recognized the common interests of the American States—denied that any nation in this Hemisphere had the right to impose its will on any other nation—and called for a great cooperative effort to strengthen the spirit of human liberty here in the Americas.

I am here today—the second American President to visit Colombia—in that same spirit. For our generation also has a new policy—*la Alianza para el Progreso*. Today again, that policy calls for a joint effort to protect and extend the values of our civilization—going beyond the Good Neighbor policy to a great unified attack on the problems of our age. Today again, we deny the right of any State to impose its will upon any other. And today again, these new policies are based upon the vision and the imagination of the great statesmen of Latin America.

In 1960, your distinguished President, Dr. Lleras Camargo, addressed the United States Congress, of which I was a Member. He spoke of the need for the American States to work together to conquer the evils of poverty and injustice. He called for participation by the United States. And, later in the same visit, he said, and I quote him, that “It is necessary to make a supreme effort in each country, with the cooperation of all the others, to prevent Western civilization from being threatened within the very stronghold that has defended it.”

Those warnings of your President have been heard. The cooperative effort of our great free nations has begun. Help has already begun. And the stronghold of our civilization, the individual dignity of the individual free man, has begun to strengthen the bulwarks of freedom.

We are a young and strong people. Our doctrines—the doctrines lit by the leaders of your country and mine—now burn brightly in Africa and Asia and wherever men struggle to be free. And here in our own Hemisphere, we have successfully resisted efforts to impose the despotisms of the Old World on the nations of the New.

Today we face the greatest challenge to the vitality of our American revolution. Millions of our people—scattered across a vast and rich continent—endure lives of misery. We must prove to them that free institutions can best answer their implacable demand for social justice, for food, for material welfare and above all, for a new hope—for themselves and for their children. And in so proving the blessings of freedom in Latin America, we will be teaching the same lesson to a watchful and impatient world.

WE IN THE UNITED STATES have made many mistakes in our relations with Latin America. We have not always understood the magnitude of your problems, or accepted our share of responsibility for the welfare of the Hemisphere. But we are committed in the United States—our will and our energy—to an untiring pursuit of that welfare, and I have come to this country to reaffirm that dedication.

The leaders of Latin America, the industrialists and the landowners are, I am sure, also ready to admit past mistakes and accept new responsibilities. For unless all of us are willing to contribute our resources to national development, unless all of us are prepared not merely to accept, but initiate, basic land and tax reforms, unless all of us take the lead in improving the welfare of our people; then that leadership will be taken from us and the heritage of centuries of Western civilization will be consumed in a few months of violence.

Bolívar, in a letter written when he was in exile and the cause of liberty seemed dim, wrote: "The veil has been torn asunder. We have already seen the light and it

is not our desire to be thrust back into the darkness." In our time the veil again has been torn asunder. The millions of our people who have lived in hopeless poverty—patiently suffering hunger, social injustice, and ignorance—have now glimpsed the hope of a better and more abundant life for themselves and their children. And they do not intend to be thrust back into darkness.

La Alianza para el Progreso is designed to transform this hope into a reality. It calls for a vast and immediate effort on the part of all the Americas to satisfy the basic needs of our people for work and land, and homes and schools. It expects within the next ten years—the Decade of Development—to be well on the way toward satisfying these basic needs. . . .

Thus, *la Alianza para el Progreso* is a program which is revolutionary in its dimensions. It calls for staggering efforts by us all and unprecedented changes by us all. It raises far-reaching aspirations, and demands difficult sacrifices. And although we have already done much in a short time, we must do much more and act much more swiftly in the months to come. For on the success of the *Alliance*—on our success in this Hemisphere—depends the future of that human dignity and national independence for which our forebears in every country of the Hemisphere struggled.

After the American wars of independence, the President of Colombia, Santander, said: "Arms have given us independence; laws will give us freedom." These prophetic words, I think, indicate the history of our Hemisphere. For our real progress has not come about through violence or tyranny, but under the guidance of democratic leaders who realized the great capacity of free society for peaceful change.

THE ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY

Remarks at the White House; before Latin American diplomats, Members of Congress, and Members of the Organization of American States; March 13, 1962

ONE YEAR AGO, on a similar occasion, I proposed the *Alliance for Progress*. That was the conception, but the birth did not take place until some months later, at Punta del Este. That was a suggestion for a continent-wide co-operative effort to satisfy the basic needs of the American people for homes, work, land, health, and schools, for political liberty and the dignity of the spirit.

Our mission, I said, was “to complete the revolution of the Americas, to build a Hemisphere where all men can hope for a suitable standard of living, and all can live out their lives in dignity and freedom.”

I then requested a meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council to consider the proposal. And, seven months ago, at Punta del Este, that Council met and adopted the Charter which established the *Alianza para el Progreso* and declared and I quote, “We, the American Republics, hereby proclaim our decision to unite in a common effort to bring our people accelerated economic progress and broader social justice within the framework of personal dignity and individual liberty.”

Together, the free nations of the Hemisphere pledged their resources and their energies to the *Alliance for Progress*. Together they pledged to accelerate economic and social development and to make the basic reforms that are necessary to ensure that all would participate in the fruits of this development. Together they pledged to modernize tax structures and land tenure—to wipe out illiteracy and ignorance—to promote health and provide decent housing—to solve the problems of commodity stabilization—to maintain sound fiscal and monetary policies—to secure the

contributions of private enterprise to development—to speed the economic integration of Latin America. And together they established the basic institutional framework for this immense, decade-long development.

This historic Charter marks a new step forward in the history of our Hemisphere. It is a reaffirmation of the continued vitality of our Inter-American system, a renewed proof of our ability to meet the challenges and perils of our time, as our predecessors met these challenges in their own days.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, we struggled to provide political independence in this Hemisphere.

In the early twentieth century, we worked to bring about a fundamental equality between all the nations of this Hemisphere one with another—to strengthen the machinery of regional cooperation within a framework of mutual respect—and under the leadership of Franklin Roosevelt and the Good Neighbor Policy, that goal was achieved a generation ago.

Today we seek to move beyond the accomplishments of the past—to establish the principle that all the people of this Hemisphere are entitled to a decent way of life—and to transform that principle into the reality of economic advance and social justice on which political equality must be based.

THIS IS THE MOST DEMANDING goal of all. For we seek not merely the welfare and equality of nations one with another—but the welfare and the equality of the people within our nations. In so doing we are fulfilling the most ancient dreams of the founders of this Hemisphere: Washington, Jefferson, Bolívar, Martí, San Martín, and all the rest.

And I believe that the first seven months of this *Alliance* have strengthened our confidence that this goal is within our grasp.

Perhaps our most impressive accomplishment in working together has been the dramatic shift in the thinking and the attitudes which has occurred in our Hemisphere in these seven months. The Charter of Punta del Este posed



the challenge of development in a manner that could not be ignored. It redefined the historic relationships between the American nations in terms of the fundamental needs and hopes of the twentieth century. It set forth the conditions and the attitudes on which development depends. It initiated the process of education without which development is impossible. It laid down a new principle of our relationship—the principle of collective responsibility for the welfare of the people of the Americas.

Already elections are being fought in terms of the *Alliance for Progress*. Already governments are pledging themselves to carry out the Charter of Punta del Este. Already people throughout the Hemisphere—in schools and in trade unions, in chambers of commerce, in military establishments, in government, on the farms—have accepted the goals of the Charter as their own personal and political commitments.

For the first time in the history of Inter-American relations, our energies are concentrated on the central task of democratic development.

This dramatic change in thought is essential to the realization of our goals. For only by placing the task of development in the arena of daily thought and action among all the people can we hope to summon up the will and the courage which that task demands. This first accomplishment, therefore, is essential to all the others.

Our second achievement has been the establishment of the institutional framework within which our decade of development will take place. We honor here today the OAS Panel of Experts—a new adventure in Inter-American cooperation—drawn from all parts of the continent—charged with the high responsibility—almost unprecedented in any international cooperative effort—of evaluating long-range development plans, reviewing the progress of these plans, and helping to obtain the financing necessary to carry them out. This group has already begun its work. And here, today, I reaffirm our government's commitment to look to this Panel for advice and guidance in the conduct of our joint effort.

In addition, the OAS, the Economic Commission for Latin America, and the Inter-American Bank have offered

planning assistance to Latin American nations—the OAS has begun a series of studies in critical development fields—and a new ECLA Planning Institute is being established to train the young men who will lead the future development of their countries. And we have completely reorganized in our own country our assistance program, with central responsibility now placed in the hands of a single coordinator.

Thus, within seven months, we have built the essential structure of the institutions, thought and policy on which our long-term effort will rest. But we have not waited for this structure to be completed in order to begin our work.

LAST YEAR I SAID that the United States would commit one billion dollars to the first year of that *Alliance*. That pledge has now been fulfilled. The *Alliance for Progress* has already meant better food for the children of Puno in Peru, new schools for people in Colombia, new homes for *campesinos* in Venezuela—which I saw myself during my recent visit. And in the year to come, millions more will take new hope from the *Alliance for Progress* as it touches their daily life—as it must.

In the vital field of commodity stabilization, I pledged the efforts of this country to try to work with you to end the frequent, violent price changes which damage the economies of so many Latin American countries. Immediately after that pledge was made, we began work on the task of formulating stabilization agreements. In December, 1961, a new coffee agreement, drafted by a committee under a United States chairman, was completed. Today that agreement is in process of negotiation. I can think of no single measure which can make a greater contribution to the cause of development than effective stabilization of the price of coffee. In addition, the United States has participated in the drafting of a cocoa agreement; and we have held discussion about the terms of possible accession to the tin agreement.

We have also been working with our European allies—and I regard this as most important—in a determined effort to ensure that Latin American products will have equal access to the Common Market. Much of the economic future of this Hemisphere depends upon ready availability

of the markets of the Atlantic Community, and we will continue these efforts to keep these markets open in the months ahead.

The countries of Latin America have also been working to fulfill the commitments of the Charter. The report of the Inter-American Bank contains an impressive list of measures being taken in each of the eighteen countries—measures ranging from the mobilization of domestic resources to new education and housing programs—measures within the context of the Act of Bogotá, passed under the administration of my predecessor, President Eisenhower, and the *Alliance for Progress* Charter.

Nearly all the governments of the Hemisphere have begun to organize national development programs—and in some cases completed plans have been presented for review. Tax and land reform laws are on the books, and the national legislature of nearly every country is considering new measures in these critical fields. New programs of development, of housing, of agriculture and power are underway.

These are all heartening accomplishments—the fruits of the first seven months of work in a program which is designed to span a decade. But all who know the magnitude and urgency of the problems realize that we have just begun—that we must act much more rapidly and on a much larger scale if we are to meet our development goals in the months and years to come.

I pledge this country's effort to such an intensified effort. And I am confident that having emerged from the shaping period of our *Alliance*, all the nations of this Hemisphere will accelerate their own work.

For we all know that no matter what contribution the United States may make, the ultimate responsibility for success lies within the developing nation itself. For only you can mobilize the resources, make the reforms, set the goals, and provide the energies which will transform our external assistance into an effective contribution to the progress of our continent. Only you can create the economic confidence which will encourage the free flow of capital, both domestic and foreign—the capital which, under conditions of responsible investment and together

with public funds, will produce permanent economic advance. Only you can eliminate the evils of destructive inflation, chronic trade imbalances, and widespread unemployment. Without determined efforts on your part to establish these conditions for reform and development, no amount of outside help can do the job.

I know the difficulties of such a task. It is unprecedented. Our own history shows how fierce the resistance can be to changes which later generations regard as part of the normal framework of life. And the course of rational social change is even more hazardous for those progressive governments who often face entrenched privilege of the right and subversive conspiracies on the left.

For too long my country, the wealthiest nation in a continent which is not wealthy, failed to carry out its full responsibility to its sister Republics. We have now accepted that responsibility. In the same way those who possess wealth and power in poor nations must accept their own responsibilities. They must lead the fight for those basic reforms which alone can preserve the fabric of their societies. Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable.

THESE SOCIAL REFORMS are at the heart of the *Alliance for Progress*. They are the precondition to economic modernization. And they are the instrument by which we assure the poor and hungry—the worker and the *campesino*—his full participation in the benefits of our development and in the human dignity which is the purpose of all free societies. At the same time, we sympathize with the difficulties of remaking deeply rooted and traditional social structures. We ask that substantial and steady progress toward reform accompany the effort to develop the economies of the American nations.

A year ago I also expressed our special friendship to the people of Cuba and the Dominican Republic, and the hope that they would soon rejoin the society of free men, uniting with us in this common effort. Today I am glad to welcome among us the representatives of a free Dominican Republic; and to reaffirm the hope that, in the not too distant future, our society of free nations will once again be complete.

But we must not forget that our *Alliance for Progress* is more than a doctrine of development, a blueprint of economic advance. Rather it is an expression of the noblest goal of our society. It says that want and despair need not be the lot of free men. And those who may occasionally get discouraged with the magnitude of the task, have only to look to Europe fifteen years ago and today, and realize the great potential which is in every free society when the people join and work together. It says in our Hemisphere that no society is free until all its people have an equal opportunity to share the fruits of their own land and their own labor. And it says that material progress is meaningless without individual freedom and political liberty. It is a doctrine of the freedom of man in the most spacious sense of that freedom.

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

We have made a good start on our journey, but we have still a long way to go. The conquest of poverty is as difficult if not more difficult than the conquest of outer space. And we can expect moments of frustration and disappointment in the months and years to come. But we have no doubt about the outcome. . . . For all history shows that the effort to win progress within freedom represents the most determined and steadfast aspiration of man.

We are joined together in this *Alliance* as nations united by a common history and common values. And I look forward—as do all the people of this country—to the day when the people of Latin America will take their rightful place beside the United States and Western Europe as citizens of . . . [progressive] societies This is our vision—and, with faith and courage, we will realize that vision in our own time.

THE BEST ROAD TO PROGRESS

THE PEOPLE OF LATIN AMERICA are the inheritors of a deep belief in political democracy and the freedom of man—a sincere faith that the best road to progress is freedom's road. But if the Act of Bogotá becomes just another empty declaration—if we are unwilling to commit our resources and energy to the task of social progress and economic development—then we face a grave and imminent danger that desperate peoples will turn to communism or other forms of tyranny as their only hope for change. Well-organized, skillful and strongly financed forces are constantly urging them to take this course.

Excerpts from Address to Congress, March 14, 1961

IF WE FAIL HERE in the United States to recognize that [the welfare of Latin America is an] issue to which we should now be devoting our attention, then the spread of Communism and the failure of the free society is going to be . . . assured.

Remark at news conference, August 10, 1961

WHAT . . . THE PEOPLE OF THIS ISLAND have been able to do in the last decade to build a better life, to tackle the difficult problem of education, and housing, and employment, and all the rest, has given us inspiration to feel that we can carry on a great cooperative effort throughout the entire Hemisphere.

*Remark at International Airport, San Juan, Puerto Rico,
December 15, 1961*

WE TODAY SHARE THE REALIZATION which President Roosevelt expressed in 1944, when he said that “true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence.”

*Remark at land reform ceremony, La Morita, Venezuela,
December 16, 1961*

UNLESS THE UNITED STATES IS ABLE to identify itself with [progress] successfully, then all of our great efforts for freedom are going to be of no avail. This is a vital cause, and I am sure that in all your work here in this country, . . . [you will] emphasize how strongly we feel in our desire to join with them in an effort to raise the standard of living of the people of the entire Hemisphere, through a system of freedom. . . . I consider this the most vital responsibility that any citizen of the United States stationed in this Hemisphere can have. And I am confident that you emphasize this daily in your work. . . . I want the United States to be identified with progress and with the welfare of the people, not as a distant great power which is uninterested in this Hemisphere except in times of crisis. We want them to feel that day by day we are joined with them as partners—not only as neighbors, but as partners and friends, in this common effort.

*Remarks to staff of American Embassy,
Caracas, Venezuela, December 16, 1961*

FOR THE FIRST TIME, the independent American states have declared with one voice that the concept of Marxist-Leninism is incompatible with the inter-American system and they have taken explicit steps to protect the Hemisphere's ability to achieve progress with freedom.

Remark at news conference, January 31, 1962

SOME OF THESE COUNTRIES have made great efforts, with great difficulties, to carry out the kinds of reform which would make our assistance more useful. Some other countries are in the process. But every one of these issues must be fought out within each country, because if it were easy it would have been done long ago. . . . We should attempt to work as closely as possible with each one of the Governments in assisting them. It requires in many cases personnel which they do not have; it requires experience and technical training which they do not have. The problem in the Marshall Plan was rebuilding; here [often] it's a case of building

Remark at news conference, March 14, 1962