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ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE ARTURO MORALES-CARRION  
AT PAN AMERICAN DAY CEREMONIES OF THE  
CITY OF CHICAGO, APRIL 15, 1961

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Importance of Latin America to the United States. That Latin America is of peculiar importance to the United States hardly needs elaboration. Latin America is a product of the expansion of Western European culture and creative energies into the New World, and their fusion with Indian and African elements in the peopling and developing of a great geographical habitat. It is a region of many contrasts and diversities, and one of the growing areas of the World. Whether its destiny will remain linked to the Western traditions of individual freedom, social justice and human rights or whether it will fall under Sino-Soviet imperialism, is the great political challenge of the immediate future. This poses a problem for the United States and for all freedom-loving people everywhere.

To keep Latin America as a vital partner of the western community is a moral imperative. It is also a task which demands understanding and broad human sympathy. The peoples of Latin America have legitimate aspirations for a better and fuller life. They are beset by many difficulties. They are struggling in certain areas against very serious, almost unsurmountable obstacles.

Economic underdevelopment is a common denominator in Latin America. Even the more endowed countries, such as Argentina, Brazil and Venezuela have their future clouded by grave economic issues.

The problems of underdevelopment in most Latin American countries include: an explosive population growth, inadequate capital, lack of widespread education, weak institutional structures, a deficient system of land tenure, pressures for industrialization, inequitable tax structures, instability of commodity markets, balance of payments difficulties, and the insecurity of inflation.

Pressures for solving these basic problems have been mounting throughout the hemisphere. No more than a cursory reading of the newspapers is required to be aware of movements in country after country seeking to satisfy deeply felt aspirations of Latin American peoples to share more fully in the better life that the exciting achievements of science and technology have now brought within the realm of evident possibility. The peoples see what is possible, and what is possible they want--now. Their own efforts, they will pledge. Help from others, they seek and will welcome. The southern half of the hemisphere is definitely on the move.

The problems being faced by our friends in the hemisphere, however, are not easy to solve. Basically, they derive from the fact that the overall population is growing at a rate faster than anywhere else in the world. The general rate of economic production, is growing at a rate slower than that of population. A persistence of these trends means trouble--economic, social and political--for as the growth of production lags behind the growth of population, there are less and less goods and services for more and more

people. What it means to the individual is that he has less to eat, fewer clothes to wear, a poorer chance of getting a house to live in, less opportunity for educating his children, less chance of getting a job, and less, if anything, to look forward to. And this, in an area where scarcity has been the rule.

Such a situation, quite naturally, leads to discontent and instability, which unless the trends can be changed, will become progressively worse. We must, therefore, wage a resolute battle against the deep underlying causes of social unrest in Latin America if the area is to be preserved for the democratic world.

The Alliance for Progress. The pressing problems can be solved primarily by the efforts of the peoples and governments of the individual countries. But support from the United States and the industrialized nations of Western Europe is essential to sound Latin American development. The United States has pledged its help in carrying out the provisions of the Act of Bogota of September last year. The Act clearly stated the case for action;

"The preservation and strengthening of free and democratic institutions in the American Republics" - it said - "requires the acceleration of social and economic progress...adequate to meet the legitimate aspirations of the peoples...for a better life and to provide then the fullest opportunity to improve their status.

"The interests of the American Republics are so inter-related that sound social and economic progress in each is of importance to all and that lack of it in any American Republic may have serious repercussions in others.

"The magnitude of these problems call for redoubled efforts by governments and for a new and vigorous program of inter-American cooperation."

This new and vigorous program has been proposed by the new Administration as a ten-year effort - a decade of progress for the Americas.

In his State-of-the-Union Message to the Congress on January 30 of this year, President Kennedy stated: "To our sister Republics to the south, we have pledged a new alliance for progress....Our goal is a free and prosperous Latin America, realizing for all its states and all its citizens a degree of economic and social progress that matches their historic contributions of culture, intellect, and liberty."

The Alliance for Progress or Alianza Para el Progreso, calls the nations of the hemisphere to bring into play their resources and energies for the achieving of that economic and social development which the peoples of Latin America ardently want. But the Alliance for Progress is not simply concerned with remedying old economic ills. It aims at spiritual and cultural growth, and at the strengthening of the democratic process throughout the Hemisphere. If the Alliance for Progress means anything, it means economic growth with

social justice and freedom. It means democracy in action.

The proportions of the problem that confronts the Alliance for Progress are vast. Some few statistics can be used to illustrate this:

Population--there are now nearly 200 million people living in Latin America, a population which has grown by one-third during the last ten years. By the 1980's the population will have doubled to about 400 million.

Production--The average per capita production is now only \$280 per year, less than one-ninth that of the U. S.; but the average figure is misleading since for millions of people the per capita figure is less than a shocking \$70 per year.

Life Expectancy--In this country the life expectancy is 70 years. In Latin America it is only 46. Again the average is misleading, for in some areas the life expectancy is only 36.

Literacy--In Latin America nearly half the adults are illiterate and there are no schools for half of the children.

Housing--In one major Latin American country, a third of the population is living in slums; in another 80 percent of the entire population is housed in makeshift shacks and barracks--without even separate rooms for families.

Land Ownership--In some countries 2 percent of the farms account for three-fourths of the total farm area. In one country 40 percent of the acreage in private hands is held in only one-fifth of one percent of the number of farms.

If we can translate statistics into human terms and can visualize what they mean in terms of the lives of men, women and children, we can understand why a social development program for Latin America is a most urgent necessity and one which the United States cannot risk ignoring. For the stakes are high. Just to make a fateful choice, to choose between self-government and dictatorship, is quickly evident.

There is a real and present danger that peoples whose aspirations are frustrated and who see no hope of fulfilling them may turn to those political philosophies that cynically promise them more. We may be sure that these promises, empty though they may be, are being persistently and insidiously made. Artful and amply financed agitators, communists and others, are quick to exploit all opportunities. The only real answer to their tempting call is to make the system of political freedom deliver the things and produce the conditions for which the peoples long.

This is what we seek through the Alliance for Progress. For this purpose our Congress has been asked to provide an appropriation of \$500 million.

We need not be under any illusions. Economic development--the creation of material improvements--is necessary, but it is not enough. It needs to be

accompanied by what we call social development--an effort to create a social framework within which all the people of a nation can share in the benefits of prosperity and participate in the fruits of progress. Economic growth without social progress may merely make the rich richer and widen further the perilous gap between the haves and the have-nots. If there is to be a rising abundance, as there must be, it must benefit all.

Undertakings of such a nature, you will readily perceive, cannot be unilateral in nature. They must be cooperative. Here we are not trying merely to alleviate temporary conditions of distress, but to work with nations that are determined to seek lasting social progress through improving their own institutions, modifying their social patterns and mobilizing their own resources. Cooperation is the essential key, the all-important element in the Alliance for Progress.

For this reason, the Inter-American Development Bank, an international organization to which nearly <sup>are</sup> all of the American Republics belong, will be the major instrument through which programs will be administered. Nearly three-fourths of the \$500 million ~~will be~~ administered by the Bank in the form of loans for programs of land settlement and improved land use, housing, water supply and sanitation, and technical assistance related to the mobilizing of domestic financial resources. ~~I repeat these funds will be loaned.~~

One-fifth of the funds, \$100 million, will be administered through our own International Cooperation Administration, and will be granted for such non-self-liquidating activities as education and training, public health and the strengthening of general government services in fields related to economic and social development.

A small amount, \$6 million, will be used to strengthen the activities of the Organization of American States designed to reinforce the movement toward adequate self-help and institutional improvement.

Since President Kennedy spoke, there has come a swelling response from within the countries of the Americas. Chiefs of State and political leaders of weight and renown, and of varying political complexions, have expressed their support and adherence, speaking for themselves and for their followers. Twenty-four of the outstanding democratic parties of the hemisphere, committed to the cause of social and economic reform, have openly pledged their vigorous support in an unusual declaration which said in part:

"Our parties call on all Latin Americans to accept, in a constructive and dignified spirit, the friendly hand that is now tendered."

Letters from private citizens from all walks of life have praised the concept and offered their collaboration. Economic and civic groups and associations have written in like vein. The President's call is being fervently answered by those who believe in Latin America's need of social and economic change under free institutions.

The U.S. Response. There have been, of course, many expressions of approval and of support within the United States. These have been welcome and heartening, for the call to action directly involves the people of this country --the businessman, the professional, the scholar, the artist, the labor union member, the civic leader, the office worker, the housewife. The welfare and security of everyone depends to a degree now increasingly recognized by many on the success of building in this hemisphere a great expanding area of creative freedom and well being.

The Alliance for Progress involves an act of human faith. We shall help the Latin Americans to help themselves because that is the clear, direct responsibility of the democratic community of nations. The test is not of bigness and right, but of greatness and moral power.

We count on your support as citizens committed to the idea that freedom is the great builder of the modern world, and that the capacity to make freedom work is the most precious American heritage.

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