

① Congratulation to Columbia
Congrats on Cooperative Organization
of the Americas
~~as well as that of our national leaders.~~

X. Greeting from Kennedy

Today a new era has arrived.

~~What was said~~

~~faint dawning has now become an aurora borealis~~

Cooperatives
Bogota, Colombia
Sept. 6, 1960

The nations, the cities, the political figures of

Latin America, have become household words in the

United States. ~~Un~~ ^{new} discussion and attention

is being given to the economic, social, and political

problems of our American neighbors. ~~In the United~~

~~States the welfare and advancement of the Americas~~

~~is the topic of the day, if not the hour.~~

My colleagues and I in the Congress of the

United States receive ~~hundreds~~ of letters each

day from people ~~asking us~~ ^{asking us} ~~to take further actions~~

~~are necessary on a national level~~ to assist the

people of Latin America in achieving their desires

and aspirations for a ~~promising, peaceful~~ ^{better} life.

~~From my contacts with these people, I am~~
~~convinced that they are aroused to action as the~~
~~result of a first awakening to the gigantic nature~~
~~of the problems which are faced by their Latin~~
~~American neighbors.~~ These letters are not coming

from ~~villages~~, sophisticated world travelers. They
are coming from farmers, workers, students, mothers,
people young and old, people who may never have left

the county or state in which they were born. Still

these people, thanks to the magic of television, ^{Radio}
^{and press} ~~other mass communications~~ have had your story
brought home to them.

~~There are those who would have you believe that~~
~~this feeling on the part of the American people has~~
~~been forced upon them, that they have been intransigent~~

~~and unwilling to see your needs. I am here to tell~~

~~you that this is simply not so.~~ This new awareness

and keen interest in you among the people of the

United States is born of genuine compassion and

a sense of social justice and fair play. Just as

we in the United States know that our country cannot

prosper if all our people do not prosper, we also

realize that our hemisphere cannot prosper unless

each member of the community of nations which comprises

it prospers.

Furthermore, in the United States we had somewhat

of a revolution of our own just one year ago. We

elected ^{new} president who is a young man born of this

century; a man with a sense of history who ~~is~~ ^{is}

determined to use the great power of his office to

expand the areas of freedom and
~~move us out of the aimlessness and complacency~~
help the people. ~~we~~
~~of the 1960's. Moreover, we~~ *we also laid to rest the myth*
~~forever the myth which held that a man of the~~
that a man of Catholic faith
~~Catholic faith could not be the president of our~~
could not be President of
~~country.~~ *our country.*

President Kennedy has clearly demonstrated his
acute awareness of our hemispheric problems. He

has called for a dedication to the acceptance of the
responsibilities that are the mark of a great nation.

~~worthy of the leadership of the western world~~ His

~~hand-picked~~ advisors in foreign affairs are men

sensitive to the problems of the emerging peoples of
the world. He has already demanded that we Americans

turn from the pursuits of private material pleasures
to the task of advancing the public interest. He

seeks to end the drift and to restore the sense

of high purpose that Abraham Lincoln, Woodrow

Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt brought to our

nation in other days. ~~These, ladies and gentlemen,~~

~~are the real reasons, the only reasons, that the~~

United States desires to extend the hand of friendship

and cooperation to its hemispheric neighbors.

do little good
It would ~~serve little purpose to~~ review

~~here today~~ the problems that we face together. We

all know only too well what they are--political,

economic, and social injustice, coupled with the

ever-present enemies of mankind; poverty, hunger,

disease, and illiteracy.

The burning question is not whether we are going

to come to grips with these common enemies, but how

soon. We shall be too late if we delude ourselves
into believing that the magnificent declaration of
principles enunciated here in Bogota on September 6,
1960, absolves us of the need for action. We shall
be too late and all of our combined resources shall
be of no avail if we fritter away precious months,
~~which have become years~~, in endless economic surveys
and studies. Latin America has been surveyed to death.

There is ^{available} ~~in existence~~ a staggering amount of
information on what needs to be done, information
which is known to the various agencies of the United
Nations, the United States Government, the ~~individual~~
governments of Latin America, the Organization of
American States, and many private foundations.

The problem of Latin America ~~is~~ is not what

needs to be done--almost everything needs to be
~~done~~
done--the real problem is where do we start, how
do we stretch our investment funds and deploy our
scarce technical skills to create a maximum impact
of vast social and economic development ^{and} What kind
of organization do we employ to provide the most
workmanlike job?

~~Without giving an immediate answer to these~~
~~questions, let us briefly discuss some fundamental~~
as you know most
~~economic facts of Latin America~~ of the Latin

American countries are dependent for their dollar
earnings upon the profitable export of one or two
primary commodities--coffee, bananas, sugar, petroleum,
copper, and the like. In the recent years, prices
for most Latin American commodities have fallen

drastically. Over the past ten years, as the result

of the drop in export prices, Latin America has lost

at least ten billion dollars in the sale of its

commodities to the United States alone. ~~Consequently,~~

~~as a primary raw material producer,~~ Latin America

has been obliged to sell cheap and buy dear. *This must*

be changed.

When a country lacks foreign exchange it is

not only limited in its borrowing capacity from the

international or private banks, it is also unable

to ^{the} import capital goods and raw materials for its

new manufacturing industries. Without capital goods

economic growth comes to a standstill.

also
~~To make matters worse,~~ the Latin American

countries have experienced *a great* population

increase and
~~explosions.~~ Population is expected to double in only

25 years. ~~Latin America's difficulty is that~~ just

the new population

feeding the new mouths, each year consumes almost

all of any increase in the national product. There

is little or nothing left over for investment in

~~facilities~~ for industry or agriculture. The result

~~of this vicious cycle is~~ *is* economic stagnation. ~~this~~

Industrial and Agriculture of panico
~~has been the lot of most Latin American countries~~

are required now!

~~With some over-simplification, these are the~~

~~facts of Latin American life which, for years, the~~

~~continental leading statesmen have been endeavoring~~

Of Course
~~to impress upon others.~~ This is not a problem which

is uniquely Latin American. The underdeveloped

countries can only help themselves if they are able

to export their primary commodities to the industrial

countries at prices which earn sufficient income to

sustain their population increases and to enable
them to set aside enough funds to buy their required
capital equipment. This is the crux of the problem
of the non-industrialized lands of the world.

What does this mean? *in practical terms.* ~~It means that it is incumbent~~

It means that

~~upon~~ the United States and the other industrial nations

must

~~of the world~~ join with the ~~rest of the~~ Latin America countries

in establishing a system *of basic supports* and production and

distribution controls for Latin America's exports of primary products.

President Kennedy

~~has~~ called for this action and it

must be taken *such a program,* ~~forthwith.~~ Without ~~this,~~ all talk about

helping the Latin American nations *will be* ~~has been, and is,~~

futile and ineffective.

~~is~~ nonsense. ~~It should be pointed out, however,~~

also

~~that~~ these one-crop economies should begin a program

of diversification as rapidly as possible. This

just makes good sense *and it requires the cooperation of the Governments with industry and Agriculture.*

For many years responsible ~~business~~ leaders of this

Hemisphere

have been patiently pointing out that the flow of

private and governmental capital for Latin American

industrialization needs to be supplemented by

another kind of capital which neither private industry,

the World Bank, nor the Inter-American Development

Bank can *supply in sufficient amounts* This is "social

capital," capital which directly reaches the people.

This is the capital which builds hospitals, opens

up new acreage for crop diversification, alleviates

malnutrition ~~the~~ improved diets, digs fresh water wells,

wipes out illiteracy, enables the small farmer to

buy modern agricultural equipment, provides low cost

housing, and so on. These are the things which have

The Alliance for Progress is designed to help on this

an immediate

people

beneficial effect for the

This is not to suggest that developmental capital

for economic growth is less important. The point

is that a hydro-electric plant, ~~for example~~, which

maybe a key factor for future industrial growth, is *seemingly*
far away ~~is~~ from the lives of the people, ~~even know of its existence~~

It does nothing ^{immediately} for the relief of social pressures and tensions. ^{yes,} ~~in~~ the long

run ~~that is no~~ industrialization will raise living standards for many millions of people throughout Latin America. But to hold out the

"long" run to people who are undernourished, who are

in need of food, shelter, education and health care

~~by disease~~ is small consolation. In the present

temper of Latin America, unless social unrest is

*Long run
+ Short run
in long
run -
all dead!*

alleviated quickly, the promise of the future may
never be realized.

However belated has been the United States' recognition of the compelling need to help in underwriting Latin America's social revolution, financial commitments made by participants at the hemispheric conference in Bogota in September, 1960, and in Punta del Este earlier this year, with a further commitment to large additional sums in the years ahead, represent a milestone in ~~our conception~~ Latin American assistance. Not since the days when Franklin Roosevelt towered over the American scene has there been such an eloquent enunciation of humanitarian principles.

~~This brings me to some of the critical points~~

~~which I came here to discuss with you today~~ words

~~scarcely suffice to express my feelings of the~~

You,

~~importance of the people~~ who are attending this

international cooperative conference ~~is today~~.

~~which I~~ hold in your hands one of the truly

great promises for our future here in this hemisphere.

I was the author and principal proponent of the

provision contained in ^{Foreign} the Aid Bill passed earlier

this year in the United States Congress ~~which~~

which

^{one of} specifically has as its goal the encouragement and

development of cooperative economic activity, particularly

in Latin America. Through ~~our~~ cooperatives we can

~~put our~~ "social capital" ^{to work at} ~~have a maximum impact at~~

the earliest possible time ^{and} at the levels in Latin

American society where it is needed most.

to the people - they serve the people

While there are now in ~~existence~~ cooperatives

*Cooperatives belong
to the people - they are
economic
democracy
in
action.*

*Coop in
Agriculture
Supply &
Marketing
Coop Housing
Credit Unions*

of just about every conceivable type in Latin America,

there are certain types that offer the greatest

prospects for success, both in terms of need and

experience

~~experience~~. These include several types of

financial, agricultural production and distribution

and housing cooperatives.

Marketing Supply

Credit, & Electric Coop

We must be extremely careful to coordinate fully

all of our ~~Latin~~ American cooperative endeavors:

International and regional cooperation among cooperatives

is a must.

That is why

your ~~conferences such as the one~~ *is so important*

~~you are concluding here today are so critical~~

In the cooperative movement a willingness to

work side by side must be founded on the grass roots

level among the cooperatives themselves. ~~Activities~~

~~bickerings, and jealousies must be guarded against~~

*Credit
unions*

*Coop
Organization
of the
Americas*

~~at every step.~~ Exchange of information and experiences

which can be mutually beneficial must be vigorously

promoted. This, ~~I deeply and sincerely hope~~, is

what you have been doing during this week of conference

activities. ~~Now that funds for cooperative development~~

are available, we cannot fail to use them wisely and

prudently, so that a maximum effect can be obtained.

and I urge you never (to) underestimate the amount

of capital that is available in each of our countries

if the people can be shown an investment opportunity

in which they have confidence. ~~A couple of examples~~

~~came to mind.~~ *and something* Today about the use

of their money ~~ready to construct their Jeep plant in Argentina,~~

~~they decided to sell as much of the stock as possible~~

~~to the people of Argentina. Salesmen were recruited~~

We need
Coop
Education
in U.S.,
in L.A.
Cooperative
Training
Program

and they took to the highways and byways of the rural areas and back country where they recruited additional help. Door-to-door solicitations for stock purchases were made on foot, horseback and by Jeep. Money came out of sugar bowls, tin cans, from under mattresses, and in a startlingly short period of time the entire stock issue was subscribed.

We should all take great encouragement from this.

You know of

~~look at~~ the remarkable success of Padre Dan

McClellan with credit unions in Peru. In 1950 he

started a credit union with only five or six hundred

Soles
~~Soles~~

soles and just a handful of people. Today, a quarter

of a million Peruvians participate in this credit

union and they have assets of several millions of

soles. This all indicates to me that what we have

*Credit
unions*

the knowledge and determination to do, we will do.

Periodically, there are voices heard in the hemisphere which attempt to influence others that

commitments made here in Bogota and at Punta del

Este are hollow and not to be relied upon

~~the Congress of the United States has not appropriated~~

~~its contribution to our mutual efforts.~~ I speak to

you today as the Assistant Majority Leader of the

United States Senate. I come to assure you that the

United States will fulfill the commitments made in

Punta del Este by the Secretary of the Treasury.

There are steps, however, which can be taken by

Latin American interests which could greatly facilitate

the appropriation and availability of United States

commitments. The United States has no desire to

contribute to the financing of the bolshevization
of Latin America by creating industry when there
is no concurrent land and tax reform which will
permit the development of domestic consumption
power by the individual citizens of the Latin American
States.

Land use and distribution should be given the
very highest priority. Not only do the vast majority
of the people of Latin America live off the land,
but there is a centuries old endemic land hunger which
is at the heart of Latin America's political and
social unrest.

Land use in the Central American and northern
arch of the South American countries cries out for
solution. Permit me to supply you some highly relevant

statistics on land concentration and ownership in Venezuela which highlights the compelling need for an early solution to this problem.

Of 400,000 farms, 14,000 are less than two and one-half acres. Three quarters of the agricultural land in Venezuela is concentrated in 6,700 units of 2,500 or more acres. Only 25 per cent of all farm units are operated by their owner. Venezuelans have always been primarily farmers and today three-fourths of the population lives off the land. Most of them wring a precarious living out of the steep slopes of the Andes on which farming in other countries would not even be attempted. Methods of cultivation are mainly primitive and wasteful. This helps to explain a yield of only two bushels of corn per acre, as

compared with forty to sixty bushels in the United States.

In Honduras, to take another example, five out of six of the small Honduran farms do not even possess a wooden plow. Of some 117,000 farms of less than 125 acres, only 184 have steel plows. Ten have electricity, none have tractors. Here we have agriculture in the rawest meaning of the term. Seed is sown and crops are harvested by the hand of man as in Biblical times.

Despite ~~the~~ ^{great} ~~international~~ efforts by the United States and ~~all the~~ other industrial nations of the world to be of assistance, ~~I feel that~~ the destiny of Latin America depends largely upon the ^{Sense of justice} ~~competence~~ and wisdom of ~~the governing~~ ^{the wealthy} and ruling classes, who since the time of the Conquistadores, with few notable

exceptions, have indicated ^{all too} little interest in general

social welfare and social reform. It will depend

upon the willingness of Latin America's ruling and

landed elite to share their power with the ^{and wealth} ~~underlying~~ ^{growing}

population ^a willingness which surely common sense

and justice must dictate as the proper course.

~~Since~~ the question of land use and land distribution
is subject to a great deal of controversy, ~~I want to~~

~~make my position on this matter very clear. I am~~

~~against outright expropriation ^{without} ~~such~~. By that, I~~

~~mean that~~ it is wrong to take property without due

process of law and adequate compensation. ~~I will~~

~~have more to say on this point a little further on.~~

Furthermore, ~~I am against~~ breaking up large holdings

of agricultural land that is producing employment and

food simply because they are large ^{is unwise} ~~attempts~~

all to often such a program
~~at this have clearly shown that when such happens you~~

may
~~may~~ wind up with a ^{number} ~~lot~~ of small, inefficient economic

units which detract from, rather than enhance, the ~~total~~

gross economic product. What clearly needs to be

done ~~in Latin America~~ is to redistribute the large

holdings of arable land that are not in production

at the present time and also to ^{open the} ~~open~~ virgin lands, ~~and~~

and distribute these lands to the landless.

which heretofore have been considered inaccessible.

This is now within our grasp. ~~There are machines~~

~~which literally chew up and digest what were once~~

~~impenetrable forests, so that~~ *LS* lands can be cleared

and forest barriers to open lands can be penetrated.

So that people need not fear expropriation of

legitimate
their holdings. ~~I hope you will help me carry this~~

a land
~~message far and wide~~ ~~an~~ ~~authoritative~~ authority

could be established as the transitional vehicle in

the redistribution of these lands, (much like the

Tennessee Valley Authority) ~~in the United States or~~

~~the New York Port Authority.~~ Nations of ~~this~~ hemisphere

could ~~participate~~ ^{invest} in this ^A authority, along with ^{other}

industrialized nations who might be invited to join.

These nations could invest funds in the establishment

^{The Land A} of ~~an administrative~~ authority embracing an entire

region. This ^A authority would offer a ^{means} ~~medium~~ by which

land could be purchased from powerfully entrenched

land owners or single corporate owners, ~~such as the~~

~~United Fruit Company,~~ and distributed to rural people

without resort to expropriation.

~~Mexico, recently in Guatemala, and finally in Cuba,~~

~~In passing, it is worth remembering that the~~

Mexican land reform, although it took a long and painful period for digestion, is nevertheless an important reason why Mexico today is one of the most politically stable countries in Latin America, as well as one of the most respected.

I earnestly beseech the politically influential, the landed, the materially well-to-do people of Latin America to realize that the bell is tolling and that land ~~use and direct~~ ^{reform}, progressive taxation are not synonymous with destruction, but ~~are~~ ^{represent} social justice and human dignity.

I spoke to you earlier about the new spirit and new awareness which exists in the United States under our new President. Under ^{President Kennedy's} ~~such~~ leadership in such an ~~atmosphere~~ we are throwing off the moral fatigue

characteristic of a materially well-to-do people.

The
~~The non-materialistic~~ values of freedom and liberty

and equality in a broadly humanitarian sense, of

rebellion against ~~establishment~~ *injustice*, of non-conformity,

are all part of our ~~heritage~~ *history* and are being

born again. *Bolivar* Lincoln, Bolivar, Jefferson, *Obregon* Obregon,

Roosevelt, and a host of American "greats" can

figuratively be made to stir and walk again among us.

We need to get their ideas off the pages of the books

and out of the classroom and put them to work among

our people. We need to use them to tap the great

emotional sources of common understanding that lie in

the hearts of the Americas' *pain-sa-dorace*
~~pensadores~~--the urge for
Pain-Sa-Dor-ace

the unity of all Americans based upon freedom and

equality, a unity in which each America would come

to learn from the other and admit to its culture

the best that each has to offer. This is the only

goal worthwhile, and in working together, quickly
now, with a spirit of conciliation and understanding,
we shall certainly achieve it.

VIVA LA REVOLUCION



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