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July 16, 1975

Professor Walter Rostow 1 Wildwind Point Austin, Texas 78746

Dear Professor Rostow:

We greatly appreciate the time you have devoted to cooperating with the Committee's inquiry. The Chairman has asked me to levy one additional request upon you.

To complete the record on the events under consideration in your testimony of July 9 before the Committee, would you please prepare a notarized, sworn affidavit answering the following questions:

- 1. What recollections do you have concerning the subjects discussed at your meeting with McGeorge Bundy and Richard Bissell at the Hay-Adams Hotel on January 27, 1961?
- 2. Do you recall or have a record of any other meetings, whether official or informal, between yourself and Richard Bissell between November 1, 1960 and March 1, 1961? Was there any discussion between yourself and Richard Bissell upon any of these occasions or in phone conversations during the same period that was related in any way to the establishment of a CIA project which included the capability to assassinate foreign leaders? What was the content of any such discussions?

Thanks very much for your help in this matter.

Sincerely,

Frederick A. O. Schwarz, Jr. Chief Counsel

WALT ROSTOW

Chronology and Issues

Biographical Background

1947 1946 1942-1945 State Department, German-Austrian Section Teaching at Oxford ROSTOW was in OSS, Research Analysis Branch (169)

1951-1961 1949-51 Special Assistant to the Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Europe, Geneva

Dec. 1964 Jan. 196: 1961 MIT, Teaching faculty; consultant to Eisenhower Administration DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS STATE DEPARTMENT, Head of Policy Planning Council

4/1/66-Appointed by LBJ as U.S. member, Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress

Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (in

this position ROSTOW chaired the 303 Committee)

Chronology of Events

1/20/69

October (Approx.) knowledge (Bissell, 6/11, p. 55) initiative of BISSELL without prior White House approval or for the assassination of IJMMMBA (O'Donnell's testimony) on BISSELL instructs JUSTIN O'DONNELL to go to CONGO to plan

Late '60 been prepared and poison pills were being developed assassination plot against CASTRO utilizing MAFTA contacts CIA's BISSELL, EDWARDS, and O'CONNELL had initiated an (ROSELLI, GIANCANA, TRAFFICANTE). Lethal cigars had already

1961 Jan. 20 ROSTOW appointed DEPUTY ASSISTANT to the PRESIDENT (KENNEDY) for National Security Affairs.

Issues and Questions

BISSELL testified that he told ROSTOW "the instruction as to O'DONNELL was my initiative. (BISSELL, 6/11, p. 55)

Did ROSTOW learn any of this?
What briefings of new President
and his National Security advisers
took place? Did ROSTOW make
inquiries?

What areas of responsibility?

Jan. 25-6

(approx)

REPORT) HARVEY meets with SILVER, GOTTLIEB, and HELMS about it. (IG that BISSELL was "twice urged" to do this by the White House foreign leaders. The IG REPORT concluded from HARVEY's notes under project ZRIFLE, including the capability to assassinate BISSELL asks HARVEY to establish an EXECUTIVE ACTION capability

He recalls that the conversations would have involved the general capability of perpetrating assassination, "all aspects of the creation of the capability" (6/11, p. 50), Bissell said it was "quite possible" that he discussed CASTRO, TRUJILLO, and LUMLMBA with ROSTOW as examples of assassination targets. (6/11, p. 50) RIFLE was discussed with ROSTOW and possibly BUNDY." Bissell testified: "There is little doubt in my mind that Project (6/11, p. 46)

a week. (6/9, p. 81 BISSELL testified that after Jan. 21, 1961 he met with ROSTOW "quite frequently and very informally," occasionally several times

House could have come at successive meetings of this sort. But in on developments to the luncheon meetings 'as I normally operated reporting on EXECUTIVE ACTION, he felt that rather than reporting with BUNDY, ROSTOW, CIA, State people and Defense. BISSELL said that shortly after the advent of the JFK Administrahe did report to ROSTOW in this way. (V. I, p. 82-3) tion, there were weekly luncheon meetings at the State Department would have replied more to ROSTOW in this case", and he feels that BISSELL testified the "two urgings" from the White No agenda.

April 18 Rostow attends first meeting on Cuba which concerned BAY OF PIGS mop-up (Rostow book, 209)

April 28 more likely to move with us on SEAsia." opinion will support us in a policy of restraint on CASTRO and be commitment to remove him soon at our military initiative...world "If we can devise a policy for dealing with CASTRO short of a ROSTOW MEMO TO PRESIDENT

> Bissell said that 'presumably' Harvey's notes are accurate (Bissell, 6/9, p. 51)

ROSTOW mentions these sessions his book. (169, Diffusion of Power)

What was ROSTOW's functional relation to BISSELL?

Assassination meets the descriptions but it would not be restraint.

1961 (cont)

May 30

ROSTOW testified: "the generalized flow of intelligence at that time involved reports of plots to assassinate TRUJILLO...like once every week. And why we had to give guns to people who reconstruct the operation." had access to guns in the Dominican military I don't know...I can't TRUJILLO ASSASSINATED (Rocky, 178)

> on this? privy to State cable traffic by DR Army. Guns were tightly controlled Was ROSTOW

December

ROSTOW moves to STATE DEPARTMENT planning Council

1962

Sept. 3 ROSTOW MEMO TO THE PRESIDENT RE CUBA

months." Discusses "Soviet military deliveries to Cuba." "I have not been following the matter closely over recent

not promise "a broadly-based political movement canable of dominated, professional covert capability against CUBA" does challenging the CASTRO regime's control system." (p. 5, #1) Under "Covert, Action": ROSTOW said that the "limited, U.S.-

approach? Or does it imply that tion as quicker more direct tion pointless? Does this argue for assassinathe "control system" would outlive CASTRO, rendering assassina

ROSTOW's Memo reviews Lansdale's Two-Track Cover Operation:

- Heightened effort along "present MONFOOSE lines"--inspire conflict within top of regime. (p. 5, bottom para.)
- Recruit Cubans, within and without Cuba, to implement 'plan of operation which aims at the overthrow of CASTRO Basing outside U.S.; one U.S. adviser 'equipped to provide finance, but not monitoring every move." primarily from within rather than by invasion from without. (p. 6, top)

Sept 27 Special Group (Augmented) consider's ROSTON paper. DDCI wants copy.

MISSILE CRISIS -- Mongoose dies

Oct.

1966-69 ROSTOW IS SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS



The Bay of Pigs

and Latin American Policy

CASTRO: A ROMANTIC REVOLUTIONARY CLOSE TO HOME

tasks of development on behalf of more than a half-billion human beings metter, diverting, as it did, significant telents and resources from essentia disterting the political life of two major nations, and rendering each, in yielding internecine tension on the Indian subcontinent was also a serious ation. But for a working American politician these problems were rela liferent ways, increasingly vulnerable to external influence and manipuly peripheral compared to the presence of Castro in Cuba ENNEDY'S PROBLEMS WITH THE AGGRESSIVE REVOLUTIONARY they involved strategically significant parts of the world. The un-Remantics in Djakarta, Cairo, and Accra were important; and

officers of the United States government training for an invasion of Cuba, under the leadership and instruction of Castro, assembled in Guatemala, were undergoing the final phase of military helding up to the continent a revolutionary solution for its many economic world, handsomely backed by the Soviet Union and other communist states as the result of Eisenhewer's order of March 1960, Cuban opponents o the Monroe Doctrine and a living part of the American political debate. And and social lifs. The communist base ninety miles from Florida was a direc his was actively engaged in subversive action in Latin America and was inoscapable challenge to a vital American interest long incorporated in Ey January 1961 Castro was an acknowledged part of the communis

THE BAY OF PIGS: ONE MAN'S EXPERIENCE

-first meeting on Gubas' The Bay-of-Pigs operation had begun the day before AT 7 A.M. on the morning of Tuesday, April 18, 1964, I-attended my badly. Later McGeorge Bundy asked me to come along to a meeting in the White House Situation Room and asked him how it was going. He said As I came to work early I met Ted Cifton, the President's military aide, in

Chifton, and I were the only others present. Allen Dullos, Pearré Gabell, and Richard Dissell. The President, Bundy, the Cabinet-Room. At the far end of the table were the three senior officers of the CIA:

beaches and Castro's forces were moving systematically against them. Dulles reported the operation was failing: the men were trapped on the

tration, he was about to confront unmitigated disaster whom: I-owed my start as an economist and nucl more. See since 1951. With Cabell I had shared wartime years as a planner for the Dulles I had known a little from wartime OSS days, but well and warmly relling out a concentration plan including that their months into his adminis-Amorican air forces in Europe. bisself was a friend of some thirty years: to I had old and close ties to the three men reporting the incipient debacle

They were wholly professional, Kennedy completely calm. But all were

evidently shaken

not know how my friends had gotten into this situation. I had no sense of higher wisdom or virtue. But I thought a fresh man might be useful. Bundy ters, located in a temporary building along the Potomac, to monitor the -and then Kennedy-agreed. I went over to the CIA operational headquar-After the meeting I asked Sundy if I could help in the mop-up. I did

see their composure break up. Bissell, however, remained collected as 👪 had ever suffered, nor even the worst that I had observed: but it was painfu progressively disintegrated. This was not the first tactical defeat American The reports coming in chronicled the closing in of Castro's forces on the beachhead. The morale of the Washington team engaged in the operation Kennedy and permit him to exercise such options as were available. I did a at a congressional reception, and arrange a meeting. Its purpose was to inform to final disaster during the night, he asked that I call the President, who 🙀 ican military power into the balance. As the situation on the beaches mos men around him begged that he ask the President once more to throw And It was a session in the count office no one present is likely to forge

the President: Pusk, and McNamara-in-white-tier General-byman Ecmnige tragedy of the men on the beaches and the reports of the Revolutionary Continued to the Revolution and Admirat Arteigh Surke in full uniform with medals; the stark hurga in almost enigidal discorping Blassell coolin leging out the options

The limits and dilemmas of power—the relationship of power to the fate of human beings—was never more clear or poignant.

Nennedy was deeply and personally concerned with the fate of the men on the beaches, but he was not about to throw the full strength of the carrier-based aircraft into the battle and reverse his fundamental position that this was a conflict between Cubans, not a war between the United States and Cuba. The possibility of the men moving off the beaches into the hills was raised. It became starkly clear (to me, for the first time) that the eption of moving from an invasion-to-a guerrilla-operation-was-precluded by geography and-the choice-of-the invasion-beach. Kennedy decided to permit a limited cort of fighter sorties to protect the handful of old bembers operating in nort of the operation. The purpose was to buy time in the hope that at the some of the men might be withdrawn. He ordered American naval craft to go in close for the same purpose. Rusk pointed out that we would thereby be more deeply committed. Kennedy raised his hand just below his nose and wild: "We're aiready in it up to here."

Bisself was instructed to inform the entrapped men to disengage as best they could, either to boats or into the countryside. As Bisself left the room, formedy told him to keep his chin up.

Adolf-Berlerand-Arthur-Schlesinger-were then dispatched from the meeting to the hardest mission of all: to meet with the Revolutionary Council in India and inform its members of the limits within which Kennedy was premied to tet.

Somehow, it was difficult to go home that night. Some of us stayed pround until almost four in the morning.

Hour by hour, day by day, the full measure of the failure, with its repercussions at home and abroad, pounded in on Kennedy and his advisers. Every that. There was an initial numbness, except for Kennedy who moved to much full personal responsibility and pull the nation and his administration operation. I saw only one reflection of his inner feeling: sitting in the rocking stair in his office, he was looking at the Washington News, whose headlines could the final capture of the expedition. Then he let the paper crumple with the foor without a word.

Or-Aprilton- Kennedy met with his advisers at length in the afternoon, an afternoon climaxed by the five o'clock arrival of the leaders of the Revolutionary Council. It was a meeting at once painful, dignified, and necessary. At one point, in mid-afternoon, the President left the room for a few minutes and Robert Kennedy spoke in anguish. He said we would have to act on be judged paper figers by Moscow. We just could not sit and take it. All the impeus ment assembled around the Cabinet table ought to be able to think of several hir of the There was no response, as we awaited the President's return. I had not known Robert Kennedy before his brother's inauguration and but never before speken scripusly to him. I asked if we could step out of the

This not Room for a mament. On the negtion sear the Rose Carden I told him

that if you're in a fight and get knocked off your feet, the most dangerous thing to do was to come out swinging. Then you could really get hurt. New was a time to dance around until our heads cleared. We would have ample opportunity to prove we were not paper tigers in Berlin, Southeast Asia, and elsewhere. This was a time to pause and think. He looked up expressionless. He finally said: "That's constructive."

The next day he came back to me and posed the question: If we shouldn't act now, what should we do about Cuba? He said I had a duty to come up with a plan. I promised to collect and set down my thoughts.

On April 20 Kennedy delivered his defiant speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the nation knew it had a leader who could absorb a severe blow and maintain command. It was the speech of a fighting trishman

As I worked through those long days with my colleagues, I was troubled, however, that the obsession with Cuba would divert thought and energy from the paths of action on which Kennedy had begun. **Therefore wrote a long ancmorandum to him on April 2: Tand eirculated it to Reske McNamara, and Bundy. It began in much the spirit of my talk with Robert Kennedy:

Right now the greatest problem we face is not to have the whole of our foreign policy thrown off balance by what we feel and what we do about Cuba itself. We have suffered a serious setback; but that setback will be trivial compared to the consequences of not very soon regaining momentum along the lines which we have begun in the past three months.³

Over the weekend Cuba was temporarily pushed off the front pages. De Gaulle was at the peak of his troubles in Algeria. There was a threat that dissident French paratroopers would descend on Paris. De Gaulle appealed to the French people to block a coup d'état. On Sunday, April 23, Kennedy called from Clen Ora and asked me to come into the White House quietly to monitor what was happening in France and to keep him informed. I settled down in the White House shelter, where there was both communication equipment and a bunk. The only news available, in fact, came from David Scheenbrun's CES broadcasts from Paris. It gradually became apparent that the descent on Paris would not take place; and I used the time to try my hand at a new appreach to the problem posed by Cuba, as Robert Kennedy had suggested.

It had begun to be clear to me from Tuesday morning to Sunday night how the Bay of Pigs had come about. As Cuba emerged under communist control, a visceral reaction developed in the government that this was an outcome with which the United States could not live. Eisenhower shared this feeling, as his memoirs make clear, although his sentiments about Castro cannot be translated into a prediction of what he would have done about the Prv of Pigs when if he had come to the moment of decision. The fears were in

Norther hallitary, in part ideological, in part an ancestral sense that the Monroe Norther had been unacceptably violated. On the other hand, there was no basis in American foreign policy, OAS doctrine, or in international law that instified the United States going to war because a Latin American nation had gone communist. It had clearly happened because of the internal dynamics of Cuba, not because communist arms and men had moved illegally across international frontiers.

Simultaneously, however, a way of escaping the dilemma appeared to emerge. Out of Castro's quite real beautyal of his comrades in the July 26 Nevement and of the humane democratic society they sought, there had come to the United States not Batista reactionaries, not mercenaries, but men prepared to give their lives to undo the perversion of Cuban history Castro and brought about.

The appeal of supporting these men on a clandestine basis was, under the circumstances, irresistible—an appeal strengthened, perhaps, by the successful CIA-backed everthrow of President Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala some seven years earlier.

The Cuban operation, as it evolved, acquired, of course, a momentum of its own; and it proved, of its nature, incapable of being handled on a clandestine basis. It therefore lacked strategic surprise and was technically inadequate in many respects, some of which are summarized below. But the fatal tax, as I saw it that Sunday night, lay in the fallure to distinguish the kinds of circumstances in which an American President could or could not bring American force overtly to bear. In the United States in the World Arena I had argued:

It appears to be a characteristic of American history that this nation cannot be effective in its military and foreign policy unless it believes that both its security interests and its commitment to certain moral principles require the nation to act. . . When idealism alone scemed to be the basis for positions taken the nation did not back its play. . . . Equally, the nation has not been effective when confronted by situations where its power interests might be involved but where a persuasive moral basis for American action was not present.

A covert operation, by definition, cut across the "morel basis" for the engagement of American forces. And, before the event, Kennedy had drawn a sharp inc between supporting Cuban dissidents and sending American forces into balls. Nevertheless, as I observed the denouement of the operation on Tuescay. I could not help feeling that some of the men involved had come to believe that in the last analysis Kennedy would be unable to hold to the policy be had expressed repeatedly, in public and private, before the event; namely, that this was a conflict among Cubáns and regular United States forces would not hardlebje for it. Somewhere within them, one felt, was the perhaps undersegious judgment that Kennedy simply could not afford to let it fail. It

was not only the men on the beaches who, until the end, had "an unshakable conviction that they would not be let down. It was inconceivable that they would be stranged."

But Kennedy did hold to his policy. The operation had failed. And Castro had to be dealt with in other terms.

Sitting in the White House shelter, I began by listing on a yellow pad the specific dangers to the American interest that might arise from Castro's Cuba: the training and infiltrating of subversive agents and guerrillas; the invasion of neighboring states with Soviet arms; Soviet missiles aimed against the United States; an attack on Guantanamo or the Panama Canal; communist radio propaganda; and an example of economic and social development that would prove attractive in Latin America.

For each I suggested lines of action legally and morally open to the United States and, especially, to the hemisphere acting in concert on the principle of collective self-defense.

I called Robert Kennedy from the shelter and told him I would be ready to respond to his question by morning. The next day I went to Hickory Hill for an early breakfast. As we walked around the grounds I outlined this functional, overt, legal approach to dealing with Castro.

the seemed relieved that a coherent approach to Cuban policy had been formulated and he urged me to circulate it in the government. This I did through the committee, headed by Paul Nitze, charged with coordinating policy toward Cuba and the fate of the Cuban refugees in the United States."

THE BAY OF PIGS: A RETROSPECTIVE EVALUATION

There have been a good many retrospective evaluations of the Bay of Pigs operation, public and private. Evidently, it was flawed in terms of political and military intelligence. It could not be kept secret before the event and there was no strategic surprise; no coordination with dissidents in Cuba; and underestimation of the cohesiveness and strength of Castro's ground and a forces and of his ability to round up and neutralize his opposition. It was flawed tactically by the failure to provide sufficient air power and to protect the supply ship with its critically important ammunition supply. (Technically believed the men would have—of going to the hills if the invasion failed—in the control of the landing site.

The basic strategic flaw was, of course, political. If some fifteen hundred men were to serve as a catalyst in the overthrow of Castro, the burden of the effort would have to be borne by those already inside Cuba who were prepared to struggle for this result. And that meant organization, leadership planning, and close coordination. Such possibilities may have existed, but they were not built into the enterprise.

The Bay of Pigs and Latin American Policy

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All in all, it appears to have been an effort beyond the capacities of the CIA to meant successfully. And in such a covert enterprise, it was impossible to bring to bear all the talents and resources of the American government that would have been relevant.

That the plan was inherited from a previous administration by new men also played a role. Allen Dulles and his people were respected professionals and so were Lemnitzer and the Joint Chiefs. It was hard for the new men to bit their judgment with confidence against their predecessors; although the President finally drew the hard line on his own by refusing to engage regular American forces to salvage the enterprise, if the initial plan failed.

And there was a brute political fact. Cuba was part of American politics. Cennedy had taken an activist position during the campaign. The dissolution of the brigade in Guatemala would have brought the men back to Miami. The story would out. Kennedy would be charged with having lacked the courage to back an enterprise that Eisenhower had prepared to eliminate communism from Cuba by the action of brave Cubans.

short-run consequences of revoking the plan could hardly have been as painwe hadn't yet done much to prove it. I asked him what led to his assessment ful as the debacle. In a larger sense, however, there may be some insight in a operations; and, although I worked closely with the President in the post-Bay Vertal said: the Bay of Pigs—if Kennedy had called it off, he would have riverfully by announcing we had a great President. I said I thought so, but Europe in 1947–1949, came to Washington later in the spring. No greeted mo when I had worked as a special assistant in the Economic Commission for udgment of the event from a rather unlikely source. Cunnar Myrdal, for of Pigs days, I have no evidence to challenge that assessment. Clearly, the mak Eisenhower's plan. But if he had engaged American forces to salvage a harge that Castro's continued existence in Cuba was due to his failure to were rained politically at home. He never would have freed himself of the erical, Kennedy could go on ling covert operation, he would have been ruined abroad. Now, suggested Screnson flatly states that Kennedy regretted not having called off the

And Kennedy was determined to go on. Talking about my memorandum of And Link said the United States could simply not afford to brood or sulk or energy in protracted debute or passive introspection. Britain had gone frough such a phase over Suez, France over Algeria. And freedom could survive because each represented only 6 or 7 percent of the free world's rewent Fut the United States was 70 percent of that power. If we did not keep and cargories equilibrium of power in the world would come unstuck.

By his example, Kennedy brought his team back onto its feet. There was, however, much personal introspection and fresh thought about the organization of the executive branch. We—Kennedy and his men—were clearly memons by for the debacie, not abstract bureaucratic entities. There was no

eur business. Bundy wrote a reflective memorandum to Kennedy which was as fine a piece of paper as I had ever read in government. In his own way, each of the others engaged in military and foreign policy asked: What went wrong, what must we now do to avoid further error? Kennedy brought in Maxwell Taylor to conduct a formal inquest. He also told Bundy and me to build up the flow of information to the Situation Room; and Bundy was asked to shift from a comfortable, high-ceilinged room in the Executive Office Building to a small office in the White House west basement close by the flow of traffic. (Remembering those days, I resisted all efforts to have that office redone in White House modern when I occupied it in 1966–1969. I felt it should remain as spare as a city editor's office.)

In getting back on our feet we had an asset. We had all seen, in one context or another, what tactical defeat looked like during the Second World War. (In my case, it was the dangerous and frustrating days of 1942–1943 when it appeared quite likely that daylight bombers, in which America had invested vast resources, would fail to penetrate German antiaircraft and fighter defenses without unacceptable losses.) We had known what it was to take stock, make new dispositions, and get on with the job. My wife caught this meed one night: I came home at three in the morning. She was sitting up in bed and said: "I've not seen you for years more cheerful or effective You're an odd lot. You're not politicians or intellectuals. You're the juniou officers of the Second World War come to responsibility." It remains a no had characterization of the Kennedy administration.

THE TWO PUNTA DEL ESTES

KENNEDY'S post-Bay of Pigs policy toward Latin America emerged in two meetings at Punta del Este in August 1961 and January 1962. They dealt 11 with the ideological and security challenges posed by Castro.

The first was formally a conference of the Inter-American-Economic and Social Council It was the climax to the series of initiatives that had begun when, in 1958, President Juscelino Kubitschek of Brazil had proposed 90 Operation Panamerica as a kind of equivalent to the Marshall Plan for Latin 44 America. Proximately, its purpose was to give substance to Kennedy's speech 25 of March 13 formally launching the Alliance for Progress as a common effort 26 move Latin America into sustained economic and social progress.

The goals defined and agreed on at Punta del Este touched the whole spectrum of Latin America's endemic problems: housing, land reform, education, health, tax reform, domestic price stability, export prices, economic

Fundamentally, however, the Charter of Punta del Este was a commit-55 ment of the Latin American governments to their peoples that economic and 5 social progress, in all their dimensions, would move to the center of political work of the center of political works.