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Stack:

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Row:

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Section:

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10/30 9 a.m.

REVISED VERSION
PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH - BRAZIL

SETTING

- o I am delighted to begin my trip in Brazil, the largest country of Latin America and the fifth largest in the world. This is an immense land -- covering half of South America and four time zones -- with a spirit to match. The success of your economy (the world's eighth largest) and your society is vital to the well-being of all nations in the Americas.
- o Your 30-year old ~~space~~ capital Brasilia symbolizes your nation's energy, inventiveness and aspiration to greatness. I stand today in your congress, like ours, one of three independent branches of government. ~~I am impressed that so many members could appear today during your congressional recess.~~ *stev.*
- o I come to Latin America and to Brazil at a time of great international change and promise. Events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union may have garnered most of the headlines so far. But North Americans are beginning to understand that a political and economic revolution of truly major proportions is occurring in the southern part of this hemisphere. I have come because I wished to witness this revolution -- and to pledge my country's support to see it carried forward successfully.

THE CHANGING HEMISPHERE

- o What is happening in the hemisphere marks this decade as the most important of the 20th century for Latin America. Its significance in fact compares with that of the age of decolonization and political independence of the 19th century. But in this case, the revolution has two sides -- both political and economic.
- o The political revolution reflects the aspirations of the region's peoples for self-rule and a voice over decisions that affect their lives. This stirring tide has swept away almost all authoritarian rule in the region. It will lead one day to the world's first completely democratic hemisphere.

**developed by all.*

We see a future in which trade is free throughout the Americas--from Alaska to Argentina, where growing opportunity, the benefits of technology and the fruits of prosperity are shared by all. A future where there are no more lost decades, where, instead, we forge a permanent partnership between the United States and Latin America to confront a new generation of challenges that know no national boundaries: the scourge of drugs, new threats to the global environment, and the spread of nuclear or chemical weaponry. We have it in our power to build the world's first completely democratic hemisphere--a hemisphere that can serve as a model for the rest of the world of friendship and cooperation between developing and industrial nations. I am committed as President to work with you to realize that bold vision.

- o But running alongside -- perhaps sometimes less noticed -- is an equally profound change in the way in which the peoples of Latin America have come to view the structure and operation of their own economies. Many in Latin America are now beginning for the first time to enjoy economic as well as political democracy.
- o Revolutions, whether political or economic, are untidy. They destroy special privilege. Along with new opportunities, they create new uncertainties. They demand special leaders to provide a steady compass in a storm of change. In this respect, our hemisphere -- and your country -- have proved fortunate. Your president, Fernando Collor, represents a fresh breed of young leadership which is sweeping across Latin America.
- o Since I first met President Collor last January, I have come to value greatly our friendship. He and I have discussed his wish to see Brazil take its rightful place among the world's leading industrial democracies. We in the United States stand ready to help realize this goal.
- o President Collor has spoken of Brazil's rightful place at the table of the first world. What is so important about that table is that there is no limit to its size. Brazil belongs there -- and so do Argentina and Chile, Uruguay and Venezuela. Getting there simply demands courage and a willingness to make hard choices. Today's presidents of these and other countries of the region have shown that they understand this.
- o Latin America's political revolution grew from the grass roots. Its still-uncompleted economic revolution must essentially develop the same way -- from the demands and efforts of your peoples for more efficient, market-driven economies with a fairer distribution of benefits. But the United States wishes to help. This is not simply altruism -- in fact, we have a very large stake in your success.
- o In other words, we have a clear interest in the promotion of economic as well as political democracy in the hemisphere. Your gain will be our gain in terms of expanding markets for our goods and technologies. Your growth will provide new opportunities for investment by U.S. companies. And expansion of economic opportunity for the great mass of Latin America's peoples will pay enormous dividends in terms of social and ecological stability for the entire planet.

"1st world, 2nd world"

BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP

- o The United States has a profound national interest in improving its relations with the countries of Latin America in the years ahead. The problems that characterized the past decade -- debt fatigue, the fragility of emerging democratic institutions, a struggle for consensus on a regional economic model, the growing drug menace -- have also created a window of opportunity for strengthening the US-Latin American relationship.

- o We are approaching the 500th anniversary of Columbus' encounter with the New World. Eight years after Columbus, the first Portuguese squadrons under Pedro Alves Cabral arrived in Brazil. We are both frontier societies and our two youthful and vigorous nations have grown together. Our relations have been strong and productive. But today, nearing five centuries after Columbus and Cabral, we face a series of challenges which offer great promise -- but which will also test our ability to work cooperatively together.

- o Brazil has already taken major steps to meet these challenges. It celebrated its return to democracy last year with the first popular election of a Brazilian President in 29 years. Seventy million Brazilian voters participated in one of the largest expressions of democratic choice that the world has ever seen. Your recent gubernatorial and legislative elections represented one more major step in this process. I congratulate you and the Brazilian people on these achievements.

- o As the two largest countries of the hemisphere, Brazil and the U.S. have a special responsibility for leadership. Our bilateral relations remain close and productive -- but, as we approach the 21st century, I believe there is even more that we can accomplish together in addressing a large and expanding agenda of global issues. These issues touch every one of us -- they include environmental concerns; the absolute need to eliminate the scourges of drugs and of terrorism; arms control; poverty and human rights.

The problem of drugs affects both of our countries in similar ways. It ravages neighborhoods in both Rio de Janeiro and Washington, D.C. I believe we now understand that we cannot make progress against this threat by pointing fingers of blame at each other.

World's 1st
 compl. democ.
 o
 Remigah - free
 trade, free speech,
 free ~~markets~~, free
 markets

largest trading ctr.
 in the world.

Post cold war challenges: drugs
 enviro
 non profit. chem, nuclear

Beyond Blame --

- o We in the U.S. recognize that we must do more to reduce demand. You recognize that the spreading tentacles of the drug industry threaten democratic society. Together, we recognize that we must continue to increase cooperation to protect our children -- the next generation.
- o President Collor has taken a strong lead here by using his office to publicize the threat drugs pose to Brazil's young. I pledge the full efforts of my government to continue to lower our consumption and thus dampen incentives to drug production. Further, as we both learn better how to reduce consumption and treat drug addiction, we can more fully share these lessons.

- o Brazil and the U.S. are also cooperating closely in efforts to protect the global environment. Brazilian and U.S. scientists work side by side to study biodiversity in the Brazilian rain forest. Our space agencies cooperate in remote sensing activities to measure the impact of human settlement in the Amazon region. Our environmental agencies are tackling together our common problems of urban pollution and waste management.
- o I believe that the Brazilian people understand that Latin America should not -- and need not -- make the same mistakes that we did in more careless times: in destroying large tracts of our forests, in creating air and water pollution requiring large investments to correct, or in allowing development to override the human rights of native populations. My country stands ready to cooperate with Brazil and other countries of the hemisphere develop a new and more sustainable economic model -- to allow development without the human and economic costs of environmental degradation.
- o You can be proud of Brazil's new leadership in these fields. There is no better symbol of this than Brazil's constitutional protections for indigenous peoples or its offer to host the second U.N. conference on the environment in 1992.

*See
EPA
and
...*

ECONOMIC REFORM/THE EAI

- o Thirty years ago, Juscelino Kubitschek, the president of Brazil -- and the founder of Brasilia -- received here an illustrious predecessor of mine named Dwight D. Eisenhower. Gazing upon the new city of Brasilia, then under construction, Ike spoke of the towers rising on the Brazilian plateau as "an epic worthy of this nation's vast possibilities and aspirations." Today we descendants of these two great men come together again to undertake a fresh and even more daunting task -- the construction of a new economic relationship for the Western Hemisphere. I have called this effort an "Enterprise for the Americas." Its full realization will take far longer than the xx years it took to build Brasilia. But with the drive of a Kubitschek -- and the determination of an Eisenhower -- it will happen.
- o I am speaking of a new relationship born of the triumph of democracy in this hemisphere and directed towards the necessary next step -- the essential task of raising the standard of living and expanding the economic freedoms of the peoples of Latin America.
- o President Collor and other Latin American leaders understand that democracy is an economic asset. They perceive that to give this asset value, a new vision is needed, one which encourages innovation and competition and which produces maximum opportunity for the individual. Such a new vision requires a redefinition of institutions and their relationship with the peoples they exist to serve.
- o Your president put it well, I think, when he said in his inaugural address: "It is not enough to govern for the people; we must reconcile the government with the people, the power with the citizenry and the State with the Nation."
- o But changes will not happen easily. They will require difficult choices and sacrifices from all of us. Economies which depended on protection and on state regulation must open to competition and greater economic liberty. The transition may for a time be painful for many -- unfortunately including some who already suffer from poverty and deprivation.

- o But the results -- a growing economy and a sound currency -- will lead to new opportunities and a welcome sense of stability.
- o The major challenges that Latin America has faced over the past decade has been economic adjustment. Development came easily to the region in the 60s and 70s. Private investment and bilateral, multilateral and private bank lending were readily available. Economies were bouyant and world demand was high. Conditions were tolerant of mismanagement, inefficiency and protectionism.
- o This is no longer the case. Latin America producers now compete for capital and markets for Southeast Asia, with the mediterranean countries of Europe and with aggressively exporting industrialized countries. Eastern Europe has added a new dimension to the demand for capital.
- o Latin America is already adjusting. ~~your exports are rising~~ ^{Exports are rising}. Fiscal reform is underway. So is privatization. Governments are doing away with subsidies which skew the market. They are giving more attention to agriculture -- a sector which, as we in the U.S. have discovered, can be a powerful engine of development.
- o There is a rapidly growing consensus in the region about a new model of Latin America development. It challenges certain aspects of Latin America's traditional political culture and institutions. As elsewhere in the world, shifting human aspirations are creating new market realities. Political systems too must modernize to keep up.
- o Latin America will have to make further adjustments to integrate into the international economy; yet they must do so if they are to compete on an equal footing with Southeast Asia and emerging European economies, as well as to take advantage of the European Market after 1992. We are confident that you can and will succeed in this task.
- o We know that solutions must be found by Brazilians, by Chileans, by Peruvians -- but we in the United States want to help.

Background

*President Coll
 [in 80s] has
 driven down inflation
 started to free the
 private sector from
 state control, started
 to open the economy
 to growth and
 & vitality
 the opportunity
 prosperity of
 the open market*

- o The Enterprise for the Americas concept that I have proposed calls for a major hemispheric effort to bring our nations closer together in the three key areas of trade, investment and debt:

FARMERS

*an extraordinary offer
to jump-start global
econ. growth, new
decade of prosperity -- an
offer we cannot afford
to miss...*

-- On trade, our first attention should be on successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round negotiations in Geneva. The Round, now in its final stages, holds out a prospect of important trade benefits for Latin America's economies. The U.S. is aligned with Latin America in fighting for an end to agricultural export subsidies and new openings for developing country exports. What is at stake is not just numbers. It represents major new market opportunities and a higher standard of living for the farmer in Mato Grosso, the textile worker in Parana and the engineer in Sao Paulo.

-- The Round and Bilateral Trade Agreements are the first step; they create the necessary conditions for a regime of eventual free trade encompassing all of Latin America and the U.S. We see the Southern Cone Common Market, now developing under the leadership of President Collor and his fellow presidents in neighboring countries, as a major further step towards this goal.

-- On investment we look to Latin American governments, where required, to lift the dead hand of state control. Doing so will allow your entrepreneurs to invest, sell and adapt to changing economic conditions. It will help provide meaningful and well-paid jobs to your workers. It is the key to lifting a large percentage of Latin America's peoples out of the grinding poverty in which they live today. Brazilians know what foreign investment can help produce -- witness its contribution to the dynamism of Sao Paulo and the \$10 billion of U.S. investment already in this country. Just imagine what the result could be in terms of jobs for your workers and goods for your people if Brazilian dynamism were completely unleashed!

- On debt, we are prepared to work with Brazil and with others in Latin America to write down and restructure U.S. official debts contracted on concessionary terms. These swaps have the potential of liberating substantial resources for use in environmental projects. I believe that this can be a very exciting avenue of new collaboration between us. Specifically, it can help Latin America's nations to develop and prosper without undue ecological cost to the communities and countryside upon which we depend and within which our children will be raised.
- Our new approach to official debt is intended to complement commercial debt restructuring through the Brady Plan. I understand the importance to Brazil -- and to the international financial community -- of reaching a new agreement on commercial debt. Continued access to global capital flows is vital to your development. Although we do not sit at the table of such negotiations, we stand ready to assist where appropriate to ensure they reach fruition.
- We have submitted a request to the Congress for legislation that will give us the authorities we need to implement these proposals.

envis? debt/restructure?
VISION

- o Let me stress, my vision of an "Enterprise for the Americas" is of a joint undertaking involving the effort and imagination of all nations in this hemisphere. A great Brazilian poet, Jose Bonifacio, once said that "Brazilians are enthusiasts of a beautiful ideal." As we approach the 21st century, let us all hold fast to the "beautiful ideal" of greater prosperity and freedom of choice for our peoples.
- o At the beginning of this address, I said that I had come to Brazil and to Latin America as witness to a political and an economic revolution in the hemisphere. The political revolution was accomplished by brave and courageous efforts by democratically-elected leaders such as you here in this chamber. You are the pioneers -- you have shown that change need not issue from the barrel of a gun. It can and is taking place under the rule of law.

Mar.

- o It is now the time to complete this revolution by enacting a matching economic bill of rights for Brazil and for all the nations of Latin America. This will be in many ways a harder task than writing constitutions or organizing elections. But its objective will be similar -- the unchaining of your economic possibilities to match your new political freedoms. And its promise is to create a hemisphere of new productivity, open markets and expanding possibilities from Laborador to Lima, from Boston to Buenos Aires, from Pittsburg to Porto Alegre. You and I together are privileged to be witnesses together to such a vision as we move towards the new century which can make it a reality.

Doc SEARABR 4345

10/30 9 a.m.

REVISED VERSION
PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH - BRAZIL

SETTING

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} p. 1 of
Business
Luncheon
remarks

THE CHANGING HEMISPHERE

- o What is happening in the hemisphere marks this decade as the most important of the 20th century for Latin America. Its significance in fact compares with that of the age of decolonization and political independence of the 19th century. But in this case, the revolution has two sides -- both political and economic.
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- The problem of drugs affects both of our countries in similar ways. It ravages neighborhoods in both Rio de Janeiro and Washington, D.C. I believe we now understand that we cannot make progress against this threat by pointing fingers of blame at each other.

- o We in the U.S. recognize that we must do more to reduce demand. You recognize that the spreading tentacles of the drug industry threaten democratic society. Together, we recognize that we must continue to increase cooperation to protect our children -- the next generation.
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ECONOMIC REFORM/THE EAI

- o Thirty years ago, Juscelino Kubitschek, the president of Brazil -- and the founder of Brasilia -- received here an illustrious predecessor of mine named Dwight D. Eisenhower. Gazing upon the new city of Brasilia, then under construction, Ike spoke of the towers rising on the Brazilian plateau as "an epic worthy of this nation's vast possibilities and aspirations." Today we descendants of these two great men come together again to undertake a fresh and even more daunting task -- the construction of a new economic relationship for the Western Hemisphere. I have called this effort an "Enterprise for the Americas." Its full realization will take far longer than the xx years it took to build Brasilia. But with the drive of a Kubitschek -- and the determination of an Eisenhower -- it will happen. 5
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- o Latin America will have to make further adjustments to integrate into the international economy; yet they must do so if they are to compete on an equal footing with Southeast Asia and emerging European economies, as well as to take advantage of the European Market after 1992. We are confident that you can and will succeed in this task.
- o We know that solutions must be found by Brazilians, by Chileans, by Peruvians -- but we in the United States want to help.

- o The Enterprise for the Americas concept that I have proposed calls for a major hemispheric effort to bring our nations closer together in the three key areas of trade, investment and debt:
 - On trade, our first attention should be on successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round negotiations in Geneva. The Round, now in its final stages, holds out a prospect of important trade benefits for Latin America's economies. The U.S. is aligned with Latin America in fighting for an end to agricultural export subsidies and new openings for developing country exports. What is at stake is not just numbers. It represents major new market opportunities and a higher standard of living for the farmer in Mato Grosso, the textile worker in Parana and the engineer in Sao Paulo.
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P. 21
Brazil
Business
Remarks

- On debt, we are prepared to work with Brazil and with others in Latin America to write down and restructure U.S. official debts contracted on concessionary terms. These swaps have the potential of liberating substantial resources for use in environmental projects. I believe that this can be a very exciting avenue of new collaboration between us. Specifically, it can help Latin America's nations to develop and prosper without undue ecological cost to the communities and countryside upon which we depend and within which our children will be raised.
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- We have submitted a request to the Congress for legislation that will give us the authorities we need to implement these proposals.

VISION

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- o At the beginning of this address, I said that I had come to Brazil and to Latin America as witness to a political and an economic revolution in the hemisphere. The political revolution was accomplished by brave and courageous efforts by democratically-elected leaders such as you here in this chamber. You are the pioneers -- you have shown that change need not issue from the barrel of a gun. It can and is taking place under the rule of law.

- o It is now the time to complete this revolution by enacting a matching economic bill of rights for Brazil and for all the nations of Latin America. This will be in many ways a harder task than writing constitutions or organizing elections. But its objective will be similar -- the unchaining of your economic possibilities to match your new political freedoms. And its promise is to create a hemisphere of new productivity, open markets and expanding possibilities from Laborador to Lima, from Boston to Buenos Aires, from Pittsburg to Porto Alegre. You and I together are privileged to be witnesses together to such a vision as we move towards the new century which can make it a reality.

Doc SEARABR 4345

11/8/90

MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL/STADIS~~

TO: S/P - Dennis Ross
ARA - Bernard Aronson

FROM: S/P - Val Martinez *VM*

SUBJECT: Speech for President Bush in South America

I have looked at the draft themes submitted by the Desks for speeches by President Bush on his South American trip. They all look very good and provide some valuable detail. I remember, however, A/S Aronson observing some weeks ago that we needed to work on the more symbolic elements of the President's trip as well. I too think that this is very important. The Latins, I believe, will be expecting some words from the President on how we see the future of U.S.-Latin relations in the years ahead, a broader vision of how we view our shared hemisphere in these days of rapid international change.

To this end I have drafted a brief speech for the President outlining how we see our hemispheric relations. Given the President's call for trade, not aid, and given the Latins' own willingness to forswear blaming us for all of their problems, I think we should have the President speak with clarity and frankness on what we offer to and what we expect from our southern neighbors.

If such a speech is given, it should be given early in the visit, probably in Brazil. The attached draft reflects this.

~~CONFIDENTIAL/STADIS~~

DECLASSIFIED
Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997
By HR NARA, Date 06/05/23

DRAFT SPEECH

PRESIDENT BUSH IN BRAZIL

The Legacy of the New World

Appropriate acknowledgments and thanks.

I am again very happy to be in Latin America, specifically, in this great country of Brazil. I am always impressed by the great cultural diversity and sheer physical beauty of the region. The New World, I think, has indeed been very good to us.

As we approach the 500th anniversary of Columbus' discovery of the Americas, it's a good moment to reflect on the legacy of this New World and our place in it. ^{its place in} That legacy is richly diverse; after all, here I am addressing Portugese-speakers in English, all because of an Italian sailing ^{on behalf of} ~~Spain~~ Spain at the end of the 15th century.
i.e., under their patronage (not "to" Spain)

We have now had half a millennium in this Hemisphere with which to form our nations, to find our way in the world. I will be the first to acknowledge that relations between the United States and its sister republics have not always been the best. Quarrels and misunderstandings have been all too frequent. I wish now to address you in complete frankness; the importance of our relations and our future merit it.

A new dawn for the new world

First and foremost, I firmly assert and sincerely believe that what we have in common far outstrips what we have let come between us in the past. *We are all Frontier Societies* All of us began as colonies, as dependencies of European princes and powers. But even as colonies one great principle was never far from the surface, one latent ideal could never be crushed -- that of the inviolable dignity of the individual and the absolute duty of the state to respect that dignity. Whether it was the courageous friar Las Casas arguing the rights of Indian peoples before the courts of Spain or our own Puritan forefathers seeking freedom of conscience, this ideal was always present.

✓ We cannot pretend that we have not stumbled in pursuit of this ideal, that it was often honored in the breach, if at all.

After all, this hemisphere's two largest republics -- the United States and Brazil -- held human beings in chattel slavery until well past the middle of the last century.

✓ So let us be clear. I do not wish to romanticize our past or offer utopias for our future. I do, however, wish to emphasize that, despite our numerous false starts, this entire hemisphere has represented the ideal of liberty to countless generations.

Further, just as individuals possess the God-given right of their dignity and their liberty, so do sovereign nations. This is what is meant by the rule of law, both within and among nations. This is the very principle that is being so sorely

tested now in the Gulf, but that idea will triumph because good men will see that it is not vanquished. But what does this principle mean in practice for our hemisphere?

o It means that all the nations of the New World must foster the liberty of their citizens in the social, political and economic spheres. This is our joint and solemn duty if we mean what we say about the value of democracy.

o It means that we must jointly -- and jealously -- guard our liberties and convince those few in our hemisphere that deny their citizens the most basic rights that change must come, that the dead hand of tyranny knows no home in the New World.

o It means that relations among our nations should cease to be based on false or distorted images of one another; we must begin to see each other as we are -- free nations in a free hemisphere with much to offer each other.

o It means that shared dangers -- the pestilence of narcotics trafficking, for example -- must lead to shared responsibilities in combatting them.

o It means that we must allow our productive citizens to trade with one another in as free ^{& fair} an arena as possible.

o It also means that shared economic opportunities must be exploited on an equitable basis.

Again, let me be clear. We seek no advantage; nor do we offer miracle solutions to debt and poverty. We believe the sister republics of our hemisphere should instead cooperate with each other on the basis of shared principles and mutual respect. This was the spirit of my Enterprise for the Americas Initiative announced on this past June 27.

The Initiative makes it clear that we believe we have an obligation to foster investment where investment is valued and protected; we believe we have an obligation to try and help on the serious debt question in the spirit of equity and responsibility; we believe we have an obligation to promote the most liberal trade regime possible. I cannot emphasize enough the seriousness with which we hold these ideas. *& stress heavy enviro. pol. in Brazil.*

I see the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative as but the first step toward an end to the First World/Third World dichotomy that has too often distorted our political and economic relations. Let us instead speak of the New World; let us look for common values, not transitory disputes.

Not new geography -> new terrain, abundant oppor.

ENTERO

Our cultures are all vibrant and astounding in their endless creativity and depth. We do not wish to "Americanize" the

hemisphere. Such folly has no attraction, no logic. We do want to enter a new era of relations among nations in the New World. We have all watched the Old World undergo a whirlwind change; ^{a quiet ~~evol.~~ *rise in New World,*} all of us need to change as well. We offer the hand of friendship and trade; we expect only the same in return.

I have met with many Latin and Caribbean leaders. I think all of us have been struggling for a way to express what we see as a new, more mature, relationship among Latin America, the Caribbean and the United States. Our wide range of recent talks with our hemispheric neighbors on everything from free trade to the environment to tariffs reflect this sense of possibility of a new dawn in the New World.

~~F~~riends, the Cold War, the East-West struggle, is nearing an end. I submit that, in this hemisphere, we should also end the rhetorical war between North and South. This New World has no cause to stand divided. There is no reason why the promise of mutual benefit cannot overcome the poison of needless recrimination.

Yes, too many North Americans in the past assumed Latin America was but an adjunct of the U.S. colossus, a ready ally in the larger struggle with the totalitarian East. Yes, too many Latins in the past assumed that North American actions and interests were always wrong and deserving blanket condemnation.

But we here know better.

For our part, we know that there can be no community of democratic nations in this hemisphere without the respect one such nation owes another. You know you have our respect, honestly held and sincerely expressed.

For your part, I believe that Latin America knows that the United States seeks neither fear nor favor.

How, then, do we express this sense of possibility, this birth of a new era in our relationship?

We do so by seeking the common heritage. Above all, the New World has been the land of frontiers. All of us are frontier nations. Most historians in the United States claim that our frontier "died" around the turn of the century as our Western plains were settled. This is true in one sense, but I would argue that all of us remain frontier nations. The horizon still holds great promise, the lure of timeless ideas and immutable principles.

unless possible

We in the United States are genuinely excited as we view today's leaders in Latin America putting such ideas into practice, breaking down barriers that have held back the real strength and vibrancy of talented and industrious peoples.

Richard Weaver, a fine American essayist, once wrote a little book with the title "Ideas Have Consequences." We are already seeing the consequences of a revolution of mind as well as policy. The countries I plan to visit in the days ahead are all led by men of keen and far-reaching vision. They know, as do I, that bad ideas lead to dismal results, that to collectivize the will of the nation can only lead to the enslavement of its citizens.

This experiment has failed, and we have all witnessed its death throes over the last year.

I therefore propose that the United States, Latin America and the Caribbean embark on the joint project of making this New World the first ~~entirely free~~ ^{wholly democratic, fully free} hemisphere -- free men within nations and free commerce among them.

Let us strive to meet the 500th anniversary of the discovery of this fruitful land with the full flowering of its rightful legacy -- the resurgent and revived idea of individual liberty.

As I said on June 27 in announcing the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative:

"Our challenge, the challenge of this new era of the Americas is to secure this shared dream and all of its fruits for all the people of the Americas -- North, Central, and South."

Let us now strive to meet that challenge.

Let us now speak of the New World instead of First and Third Worlds.

Let us drop the hoary rhetoric of dependency theory and the stifling weight of protectionism.

Let us respect the social, cultural and religious values of our respective societies.

Let us always deal with one another on a basis of the respect one free republic owes to another.

It is only in this way can we solve the many problems that remain: debt, trade, investment, poverty, drugs, regional arms control, the environment, nuclear non-proliferation.

~~To those in this hemisphere still resisting the tide of freedom, especially Mr. Castro, we will welcome you to the party of liberty the moment in which you break the chains of your own long-suffering population. If you do not fear the heady sensation of freedom, then you need not fear us. If you do not fear testing the will of your own people, then you need not fear us. If you do not fear the spark of independence and dignity that even the cruelest dictator cannot extinguish, then you need not fear us.~~

I note that Mr. Castro is again rumbling about "socialism or death." He implies a threat from the United States. But this death threat does not come from us, it comes from the very system that Castro has imposed on Cuba, for the deadly totalitarianism of this system fosters the death of the soul, the crushing of the citizen's individuality in the name of the state. This is what we have always opposed and, again speaking frankly, this is what all of us should oppose.

As I noted as I began this brief talk, we will soon celebrate the 500th anniversary of the discovery of the Americas. This celebration will also launch us toward the 21st century, a frontier of promise and hope.

You have heard how we propose to enter that new century with our close and valued friends of the New World. We ask all of you to join us in ensuring that that new era be one of untrammelled freedom and mutual prosperity.

Thank you very much.

11/8/90

MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL/STADIS~~

TO: S/P - Dennis Ross
ARA - Bernard Aronson

FROM: S/P - Val Martinez *V/M*

SUBJECT: Speech for President Bush in South America

I have looked at the draft themes submitted by the Desks for speeches by President Bush on his South American trip. They all look very good and provide some valuable detail. I remember, however, A/S Aronson observing some weeks ago that we needed to work on the more symbolic elements of the President's trip as well. I too think that this is very important. The Latins, I believe, will be expecting some words from the President on how we see the future of U.S.-Latin relations in the years ahead, a broader vision of how we view our shared hemisphere in these days of rapid international change.

To this end I have drafted a brief speech for the President outlining how we see our hemispheric relations. Given the President's call for trade, not aid, and given the Latins' own willingness to forswear blaming us for all of their problems, I think we should have the President speak with clarity and frankness on what we offer to and what we expect from our southern neighbors.

If such a speech is given, it should be given early in the visit, probably in Brazil. The attached draft reflects this.

~~CONFIDENTIAL/STADIS~~

DECLASSIFIED
Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997
By H NARA, Date 06/09/23

DRAFT SPEECH

PRESIDENT BUSH IN BRAZIL

The Legacy of the New World

Appropriate acknowledgments and thanks.

I am again very happy to be in Latin America, specifically, in this great country of Brazil. I am always impressed by the great cultural diversity and sheer physical beauty of the region. The New World, I think, has indeed been very good to us.

As we approach the 500th anniversary of Columbus' discovery of the Americas, it's a good moment to reflect on the legacy of this New World and our place in it. That legacy is richly diverse; after all, here I am addressing Portugese-speakers in English, all because of an Italian sailing ^{on behalf of} ~~for~~ Spain at the end of the 15th century.
i.e., under their patronage (not "to" Spain)

We have now had half a millennium in this Hemisphere with which to form our nations, to find our way in the world. I will be the first to acknowledge that relations between the United States and its sister republics have not always been the best. Quarrels and misunderstandings have been all too frequent. I wish now to address you in complete frankness; the importance of our relations and our future merit it.

A new dawn for the new world

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All of us began as colonies, as dependencies of European princes and powers. But even as colonies one great principle was never far from the surface, one latent ideal could never be crushed -- that of the inviolable dignity of the individual and the absolute duty of the state to respect that dignity. Whether it was the courageous friar Las Casas arguing the rights of Indian peoples before the courts of Spain or our own Puritan forefathers seeking freedom of conscience, this ideal was always present.

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~~After all, this hemisphere's two largest republics -- the United States and Brazil -- held human beings in chattel slavery until well past the middle of the last century.~~

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tested now in the Gulf, but that idea will triumph because good men will see that it is not vanquished. But what does this principle mean in practice for our hemisphere?

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o It means that we must jointly -- and jealously -- guard our liberties and convince those few in our hemisphere that deny their citizens the most basic rights that change must come, that the dead hand of tyranny knows no home in the New World.

o It means that relations among our nations should cease to be based on false or distorted images of one another; we must begin to see each other as we are -- free nations in a free hemisphere with much to offer each other.

o It means that shared dangers -- the pestilence of narcotics trafficking, for example -- must lead to shared responsibilities in combatting them.

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The Initiative makes it clear that we believe we have an obligation to foster investment where investment is valued and protected; we believe we have an obligation to try and help on the serious debt question in the spirit of equity and responsibility; we believe we have an obligation to promote the most liberal trade regime possible. I cannot emphasize enough the seriousness with which we hold these ideas. *& strengthening econ. pol. in hemisph.*

I see the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative as but the first step toward an end to the First World/Third World dichotomy that has too often distorted our political and economic relations. Let us instead speak of the New World; let us look for common values, not transitory disputes. *ENTRO*

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hemisphere. Such folly has no attraction, no logic. We do want to enter a new era of relations among nations in the New World. We have all watched the Old World undergo a whirlwind change; *a quiet revol. here in New World,* ~~all of us need to change~~ as well. We offer the hand of friendship and trade; we expect only the same in return.

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Don't think unless possible

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You have heard how we propose to enter that new century with our close and valued friends of the New World. We ask all of you to join us in ensuring that that new era be one of untrammelled freedom and mutual prosperity.

Thank you very much.

THE PRESIDENT'S SEPTEMBER 16-22 TRIP TO SOUTH AMERICA:
THEMES AND RELATED MATERIAL FOR SPEECHES

I. OVERVIEW

- The President's major address in Brazil and his speeches in Uruguay, Argentina, Chile and Venezuela will provide him an unparalleled opportunity to stress the theme of partnerships based on the principles of free government and free enterprise. The speeches should highlight what we and the Latins have done to sustain the momentum towards stronger democratic institutions and rational economic development, and the challenges that face us in the future. We must be forthright, however, in telling the Latins that even though progress has been made, there is still a great deal to do.
- Governments and electorates in the five countries the President will visit are showing new determination and realism in pursuing economic opening and reform. If these reforms continue, economic progress in which all can participate becomes an attainable goal. The President's Enterprise for the Americas initiative is intended to give impetus to the economic restructuring which has begun -- to greater and lesser degrees -- in these five countries, and to sustain and deepen this process in tangible ways. Development is not a single event, but a continuous process of fundamental change; not just investment or trade reform, but a reshaping of the whole society and its world view.
- In the economic sphere, open markets not only generate growth to the benefit of all concerned, but also offer participation, mobility, opportunity and empowerment to all sectors of society. An overburdened state, trying but failing to perform the work of the private sector, is not the agent of social justice but rather an obstacle to its attainment.
- Just as change, competition and sound currencies are essential to ^{development and to Latin America, they are part of any} ~~and successful economy, they are to Latin American development.~~ This is a lesson we in the U.S. are constantly re-learning. As the pace of technological change grows ever more rapid, only those economies which welcome change and actively seek out new opportunities will prosper.
- The President's initiative offers a vision of where we should aim to go over the next decade and what forms

our cooperation should take. It is not a detailed, comprehensive plan for development, nor a set of ready-made, short-term solutions to specific problems. Its aims to establish a long-term partnership, a process in which the details of our new economic relationship will be developed through consultation and accommodation.

- Attached on Tabs A through E you will find memoranda which describe the individual circumstances affecting each of the five speeches and proposes themes which should be incorporated into the President's remarks.

TAB A

BRAZIL (Sunday, September 16 - Monday, September 17)

- Suggested Venue: still undetermined, most likely a joint session of congress in Brasilia, but possibly a business group in Sao Paulo.
- Probably Audience: members of the Brazilian Congress, selected members of the GOB, representatives of the diplomatic corps, business interests.
- Local Color: (1) Brasilia, a starkly modern planned city, symbolizes Brazil's pioneering vision of the future and its potential as a world economic and political leader. President Eisenhower, whose centenary we celebrate this year, visited Brasilia in 1960, prior to its formal inauguration as the new capital of Brazil; (2) Sao Paulo, Latin America's largest industrial city, embodies the region's potential dynamism and projection toward world markets.
- Themes for the Major Address:
 - As we approach the quincentenary of Columbus' encounter with the new world, it becomes increasing clear that in 1992 -- if not sooner -- the rest of the world will rediscover the Americas.
 - After more than a decade of economic stagnation and serious social and political problems the region now appears on the threshold of sustained economic growth, social development and a new level of political maturity firmly rooted in respect for democratic processes and human/political rights.
 - Regretably, the only anomaly in this revolution of freedom is Cuba, which still clings to outmoded political and economic models that put it more and more out of step with the rest of the hemisphere. We are confident that eventually Cuba too will realize the depth of the changes that are occurring all around the world and rejoin the inter-American community as a full partner.
 - The old idea of a Western Hemisphere that is different, separate and aloof from the corrupting

influences of the Old World must now give way to a new vision of the Americas as full and equal partners with the industrialized nations in the forging of a more cooperative, more peaceful, more interdependent world for the 21st century.

- With democracy largely achieved, the region now faces the challenge of its consolidation and deepening. This will require both economic growth and social modernization. We are prepared to help in this process.
- In the face of this daunting task we have the advantages of a young, vigorous population and abundant natural resources.
- We in the Western Hemisphere appear to be reaching a new understanding of the proper parameters of state authority over the individual and the economy.
- One of the most difficult steps remaining in setting these parameters is the creation of a sound currency and erasing the memory of inflation. Success in this area is galvanizing Germany's unity. Without it development in Latin America is unlikely.
- The balance between public and private sector power will be different from country to country, but throughout the hemisphere opportunities for the individual to speak, act and work according to his own conscience -- and to seek unlimited economic horizons free from the stifling intervention of the state -- now appear better than they have been anytime in this century.
- The Enterprise for the Americas (Iniciativa para las Américas) announced on June 27 -- proposing new ideas on trade, investment and debt -- is a clear indication that the United States is ready to be a full partner in this new American revolution.

Brazil-Specific Themes for the Major Address:

- Brazil, known for its economic miracle" in the 1960's and early '70s, is now a regional political leader and major player in the international economic arena.

- President Collor's bold economic reform program, which we applaud and follow with close interest, can help serve as a catalyst in strengthening Brazil's economy and world role.
- With regard to the all-critical inflation hurdle, the U.S. is prepared to provide technical assistance and to encourage the multilateral institutions to become involved in this area. The challenge, however, is Brazil's.
- The United States attaches great significance to the 1992 U.N.-sponsored environmental conference which will be hosted by Brazil and plans to work closely with the GOB to insure maximum effectiveness.
- The U.S. endorses the establishment of an international fund to assist less developed countries to make the technological changes necessary to reduce chlorofluorocarbons emissions.
- We are working with Brazil through both bilateral and multilateral channels to address the major threats to the world's environment and global climate change.
- President Collor's personal commitment to combatting drug use will spur our joint narcotics interdiction and education efforts.
- Brazil and the United States share an intense interest in the successful outcome of the Uruguay Round of GATT.
- As large nations with global interests, the United States and Brazil have a common interest in international peace and security issues.
- We need to increase the level and frequency of our discussions on the subject of global arms and nuclear proliferation, particularly with regard to regional instability.

• Quotable Quotes:

(None provided by Embassy Brasilia.)

TAB B

URUGUAY (Tuesday, September 18)

- Suggested Venue: a joint session of the Uruguayan congress in Montevideo.
- Probable Audience: members of the Uruguayan Congress, selected members of the GOU, representatives of the diplomatic corps.
- Local Color: the Uruguay Round of the GATT was begun here, making it particularly appropriate for the President to note its successful implementation. President Bush will be the first U.S. president to visit Uruguay since Johnson participated in the Meeting of American Chiefs of State at Punta del Este in 1967.
- Themes:
 - Two facets of the Enterprise for the Americas initiative -- trade and investment -- are of particular interest to Uruguay. In addition to the successful completing of the Uruguay Round of GATT, the U.S. is pleased that Uruguay and its neighbors are actively considering the elimination of reduction of barriers to free trade through a regional trade agreement and through strengthening of ALADI, the Latin American Integration Association.
 - We also applaud President Lacalle's proposal for a hemisphere capital market as a stimulus to investment, and are encouraged by progress made here and else where on bilateral investment treaties.
 - President Lacalle's courageous implementation of a wide range of structural reforms will improve the economic environment, while other reforms will reduce the size of the state, bring greater stability to prices and to the currency, reform or eliminate costly state monopolies, and modernize labor relations to make Uruguay more competitive on the international labor market.
 - We are also encouraged by clear signs that Uruguay is willing to cooperate in controlling international narcotics trafficking, particularly money laundering and other types of criminal financial activity.

Quotable Quotes:

"The economic relationship between Latin America and the United States needs to be reconsidered. We do not believe that the solution is more aid but rather more trade, more investment ... we would also like to point out ... that our countries are undertaking profound transformations in their respective economies creating in this way, a favorable climate for investment. The restructuring of the state has been undertaken as a necessary goal by almost all of the American nations and it is proof of the will towards change which guides the Latin American governments, because we see and recognize that this is not a one-way street." (President Lacalle, OASGA, Asuncion, June 1990)

TAB C

ARGENTINA (Wednesday, September 19)

- Suggested Venue: a joint session of the Argentine Congress in Buenos Aires.
- Probable Audience: members of the Argentine Congress, selected members of the GOA, representatives of the diplomatic corps.
- Local Color: President Bush will be the first U.S. President to visit Argentina since Eisenhower in 1960. It comes at a time of a 180 degree shift in Argentine attitudes toward the world at large, including the United States, and the causes of their national problems. Once the eight ranking economy in the world, Argentina now ranks 58th. President Menem speaks openly of his friendship and admiration for President Bush. He seeks to integrate Argentina fully into the international community while abandoning statist, protectionist economic policies. The magnitude of economic reform needed is greater in Argentina than in the other countries the President is visiting and resistance to Menem's efforts is strong.
- Themes:
 - Argentina is enjoying one of the longest periods of constitutional rule in its recent history and the protection offered to human and civil rights has increased.
 - Argentina led the hemispheric move away from military governments to democracy in the 1980's.
 - The United States supports President Menem's courageous economic reform program, including restructuring of the public sector, and other policies leading to a modern, growing, market-oriented economy.
 - Economic reform will encourage greater individual initiative, thereby improving the prospects of prosperity for this and future generations.
 - The increasing attention paid to the establishment of a sound currency merits hope and further encouragement by those who have supported Argentina's past efforts in this area.

- President Menem's determination to divest monopolistic enterprises, especially the privatization of the national telephone system, sets an example for the other nations of Latin America.
- The Bilateral Investment Treaty which we have signed will encourage United States investors to join Argentines in a cooperative partnership that will result in greater productivity, more exports, more jobs and a return to the level of optimism and the standard of living that Argentina enjoyed in the past.
- The Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty we have signed is a further step forward in our close cooperation in the fight against narcotrafficking and other transnational criminal activity
- In this spirit of reform and modernization, the United States welcomes Argentina's decision to help halt the proliferation of dangerous missile systems and to cooperate more fully with the international community in nuclear safeguards within the spirit of the Tlatelolco Treaty.
- As President Menem's economic reform policies develop and are implemented, they may provide the potential for voluntary, negotiated debt and debt service reduction as a compliment to new commercial bank lending.

• Quotable Quotes:

"To take advantage of democratic experiences to propel economic growth and progress is the principal crossroads and challenge for our peoples and governments."

"We Argentines must abandon this fabled mental colonialism that tells us that all of our problems come from elsewhere. Because if we think that way we'll come to the conclusion that we have no solution within our own means, by our decisions, by our courage. The people will do it; through the people is how its done. People think of opportunities rather than excuses, of possibilities rather than risks, or new horizons rather than old dangers." (President Menem, Congress, May 1, 1990)

TAB D

CHILE (Thursday, September 20)

- Suggested Venue: the GOC very much wants the President to address a joint session of the Chilean Congress at its new headquarters in Valparaiso. This would pose logistical and security problems. Alternative venues are the old congress building in Santiago, the University of Chile and the Diego Portales Building, headquarters of the previous military government, all of which pose political problems.
- Probable Audience: in Valparaiso, members of the congress, selected members of the GOC and representatives of the diplomatic corps.
- Local Color: After more than 16 years of estrangement in U.S.-Chilean relations, the President's visit will be interpreted by most observers as a strong endorsement for democracy and for the kind of market-oriented economic reforms that have made Chile's economy one of the strongest in the region. According to an independent study, Chile has transferred twice the value of state-owned assets to the private sector than has Britain, and in half the time.
- Themes:
 - Latin America, like Eastern Europe, is shedding failed political and economic ideologies and rediscovering the power of individual citizens seeking their own and collective interests within a free and open society.
 - The United States joins all Chileans in celebrating the return to democracy and renewed respect for the sanctity of individual liberties and is ready to play an active, positive role in this process.
 - Chile's economic achievements serve as a guide to economic planners in other countries. Recent economic growth is the envy of the rest of Latin America, fully one third of national output is devoted to international trade, a tribute to the openness of the economy and the productivity of the Chilean people.

- Chile's uniformly low tariffs, simplified investment rules, efficient procedures and honest civil servants combine to give Chile a significant advantage in the new, more integrated world that faces us in the 21st century.
- As a result, Chile stands to benefit more from more open international markets than any other country in Latin America.
- Similarly, Chile's sound, innovative management of its foreign debt, which appeared overwhelming only a few years ago, has been impressive and serves as a model for the rest of Latin America. Through hard work and sacrifice the debt has been reduced from 14 billion to 5 billion dollars, making Chile the first country in the region to regain normal access to sources of international finance.

Quotable Quotes:

"Chileans, with a tradition of democratic institutions, of respect for human rights, of the rule of law, have chosen to remake their society, based on those values which honored their country in the past ... at the same time we want to seek progress and economic development, based on an open and competitive system, in which all creative initiatives find space for expression." (President Aylwin, Expomin'90, May 15, 1990)

"We need to grow if we want to overcome poverty. This requires that we stimulate savings, investments, creative initiative and the entrepreneurial spirit. Government policies must reconcile the spirit of social justice and the legitimate requirement to satisfy essential needs with the unavoidable demand for growth and development." (President Aylwin, Inaugural Address, March 12, 1990)

TAB E

VENEZUELA (Saturday, September 22)

- Suggested Venue: breakfast meeting of the Venezuelan-American Chamber of Commerce (VENAMCHAM), at the Hilton.
- Probable Audience: members of VENAMCHAM and representatives of other appropriate Venezuelan and U.S. organizations.
- Local Color: Venezuela is one of South America's most stable democracies, with a long tradition of free, openly contested elections and respect for civil and political liberties. The oil bonanza is over, however, and Venezuelans are adjusting to the new reality of austerity. Although this has tempered somewhat Venezuelans' image of themselves as regional leaders, President Perez still aspires to play a leading role in hemisphere affairs and can be counted on to be generally supportive of U.S. interests.
- Themes:
 - The VENAMCHAM venue is an ideal forum for emphasizing the U.S. role as Venezuela's largest market and, reciprocally, our role as its principal supplier.
 - The recently concluded free trade agreement with Canada, ongoing negotiations with Mexico for a similar accord, and the recently announced Enterprise for the Americas initiative bode well for economic growth in the hemisphere and the expansion of Latin American trade to non-traditional markets.
 - Venezuela, which has implemented an innovative economic reform program which includes reduction of trade barriers, free market discipline and export oriented growth, is poised to take advantage of these opportunities.
 - Venezuela's role in international cooperation to eliminate narcotics production and trafficking is also important. Although not a producing country, we need Venezuela's help in suppressing transshipment, the uncontrolled use of precursor chemicals and money laundering is crucial to regional anti-narcotics efforts.

• Quotable Quotes:

"President Bush has thrown down a positive challenge to us Latin Americans, to which we cannot, nor should we, respond with the same old suspicions which have generally fed the misunderstandings of the past. If we think what he proposes is easy, it is not. We have to bridge that gap between our beliefs and understanding of Latin America's realities and the concepts that we still hold to with regard to the role our peoples and economies must play in the wake of the industrialized world. Yet never has the United States taken an initiative of such enormous importance for the region. The dialogue we are offered opens up paths so far not explored." (President Perez' Independence Day address, July 5, 1990.)

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to assist State enforcement actions, the Federal Government should have authority to move more quickly and effectively in directing the application of control measures that will swiftly correct such intolerable pollution. In accordance with the 1961 Budget Message, recommendations will be submitted to the Congress for strengthening the enforcement provisions of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act.

Third, the Federal Government should continue to provide modest financial assistance for the administration of control programs by States and interstate water pollution control agencies. Because such programs rest upon a solid foundation of local cooperative action, they properly merit Federal encouragement and assistance. An extended life for this program is recommended in the 1961 Budget.

Fourth, the Federal Government, through research and technical assistance, can be of material help in contributing to our knowledge of water pollution—its causes, its extent, its impact and methods for its control. Increased Federal effort in this respect is also provided for in the 1961 Budget.

These measures will provide Federal authority that accords with the proper Federal, State, and local roles in water pollution abatement. I urge their early consideration by the Congress.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

NOTE: The veto message was released in Washington.

45 ¶ Remarks at the Civic Reception for President Eisenhower in Brasilia.

February 23, 1960

Mr. President, Dr. Pinheiro, citizens of Brasilia:

I am most grateful for the cordial welcome you have extended to me. I am glad that my return to this hospitable land has taken place in this magnificent new city, a living testimony to your own tireless efforts, Mr. President, and a symbol of Brazilian progress. It is an inspiration to get this new glimpse of the vision and energy which characterize modern Brazil and its leadership.

Brasilia has captured the imagination of my fellow countrymen who have visited here and, who, on their return home, have been lavish in their praise of the wonders they have seen.

For several reasons, Brasilia fascinates citizens of the United States. In the first place, your decision to carve a beautiful city out of the wilderness reminds us of our own decision many years ago to move the capital of our fledgling nation from Philadelphia to the District of Columbia.

In the second place, this pioneering venture recalls to our minds the rolling advance of our own frontier—the winning of the American West—a process which was barely accomplished when I was a youngster. Indeed, having now witnessed the speed with which Brasilia is being completed, I understand why Brazil itself is sometimes described as a “country in a hurry.” Brasilia is an epic worthy of this nation’s vast possibilities and aspirations.

And thirdly, one senses here a “boom” spirit not unlike that which pervaded frontier western communities in the United States such as my boyhood town of Abilene, Kansas.

It has been said, somewhat facetiously, that Brazil and the United States—both influenced by the stern demands of the frontier—ought to get along well together because each has so many of the other’s faults. At least we are both willing to confess that we do have faults. And of course we get along well because we have many of the same virtues—we are, indeed, much alike. Our vast expanses of land have many similarities in physiography and resources. Our constitutional systems and forms of government are similar. The people of both our countries have various national origins, gaining strength from diversity. Both countries are forever committed to democracy, human dignity, and freedom with justice.

Our common heritage will be emphasized for us when you inaugurate your new capital next April 21—Tiradentes Day. It was in 1787, when Thomas Jefferson, then our Minister in France, gave sympathetic counsel to José Joaquim da Maia, emissary of Tiradentes and his little band of Inconfidentes. Those Brazilian patriots—to recall the observation of Joaquim Nabuco—had their eyes fixed on the new democracy to the north at a time when, here, even to think of independence was a crime. Your freedom and ours were won by men of dauntless courage and passionate vision, and it is these qualities in our peoples today that will carry us forward to the brighter future so eloquently dramatized by this new city of the frontier.

To you, Dr. Pinheiro, and your thousands of associates, has been en-

Brasilia was barren land - They decided to move the capital there, to get a more central place to govern. They built a city from nothing in about 3 years. The city is laid out in a shape of an airplane, a sign to its forward thinking. [See Fodor's on Brasilia]

trusted the enormous task of transplanting the inspired dream of planners into reality. I congratulate you for the marvels you are fashioning.

And now to the workers assembled here and through them to all Brazilian labor, I bring special greetings. May your toil be fruitful in advancing Brazil's development and well-being. May your hands be firmly clasped with those of the workers of the United States and the entire free world in the building of a richer life, in freedom, for yourselves, your children, and all generations to follow.

I thank all of you here for the honor you today have done me and my country. This has been a moving and memorable experience.

I thank you for the privilege of being here.

NOTE: The President spoke at the Central Platform. Earlier, upon his arrival about 1:45 p.m. at the Brasilia Airport, the President was met by President Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira, members of the

Brazilian Cabinet, and U.S. Ambassador John M. Cabot.

Dr. Israel Pinheiro, to whom the President referred, was in charge of the construction of Brasilia.

46 ¶ Joint Statement of the President and President Kubitschek of Brazil.

February 23, 1960

THE PRESIDENTS of the United States of Brazil and of the United States of America, Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira and Dwight D. Eisenhower, meeting together in the new city of Brasilia, soon to be the capital of Brazil, reaffirm the joint determination of the two nations to defend the following principles:

1. The democratic freedoms and the fundamental rights of man, wherein are included the fight against racial discrimination and the repudiation of any attempt against religious freedom and of any limitation on the expression of thought. These are inalienable conquests of civilization which all free men have the duty to protect, bearing in mind the sacrifices of the soldiers of both countries in the last war, and the need to prevent repetition of the causes which led to the loss of so many young and precious lives.

2. The belief that the aspiration of the peoples of the Americas to an ever-improving way of life, moral and material, presents one of the great challenges and opportunities of our time. This challenge should be met by joining together, ever more closely and harmoniously, the

efforts of all countries within the inter-American community in order that, through coordinated action, there may be an intensification of measures capable of combating underdevelopment in the vast area of the American continents.

3. The full implementation of the principles of political and economic solidarity contained in the Charter of the Organization of American States and in the Mutual Assistance Treaty of Rio de Janeiro.

4. The recognition that economic advancement cannot be disassociated from preservation of peace and democratic rights, and that the effort of each nation must be complemented by hemisphere action helping all Americans to achieve the improved living standards which will fortify belief in democracy, freedom and self-determination of peoples. To this end, the Presidents reaffirm their solidarity with the principles approved by all the nations of America within the scope of Operation Pan America and assure their wholehearted support to the Organization of American States and to those other entities which already are formulating measures to help achieve these ends. This will pave the way to the realization of the inter-American ideals, economic as well as political.

Acknowledging that joint efforts of the American nations have already achieved much, but firm in the conviction that action still more fruitful should be taken, the two Presidents are confident that the hemispheric crusade for economic development will lead toward greater prosperity and harmony for all.

NOTE: This statement, released at Brasilia, was read by Secretary of State Christian A. Herter and Foreign Minister Horacio

Lafer at the site of the monument commemorating President Eisenhower's visit to Brasilia.

47 ¶ Message to the Congress Transmitting Second Annual Report on U.S. Aeronautics and Space Activities. February 24, 1960

[Released February 24, 1960. Dated February 22, 1960]

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with Section 206(b) of the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958, I am transmitting herewith the second annual report on the Nation's activities in the fields of aeronautics and space.

During 1959, the Nation's space effort moved forward with purpose and its accomplishments were many, as this report recounts. In the short period of a single year, a program of great complexity and scope was aligned so that the scientists of many organizations in and out of Government could pool and coordinate their knowledge and skills. Much information of far-reaching significance was acquired on the frontiers of science and technology; substantial gains were made, ranging from advances in aircraft and space vehicle design to greatly improved understanding of the environment in which our planet exists and by which its natural forces and life are conditioned.

The year was also one of transition. The national space program grew in breadth and depth—benefiting greatly from the tremendous efforts of the American scientists, engineers, and technicians who, in the short space of the past five years, have performed miraculously in developing United States rocket technology.

This Report details the steps taken during 1959 to establish a firm foundation for a dynamic program of space exploration, and it summarizes the contributions of Federal agencies toward the paramount goal: the conquest of space for the benefit of all mankind.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

NOTE: The message and report, which were released in Washington, are printed in House Document 349 (86th Cong., 2d sess.).

48 ¶ Remarks Upon Arrival at the Naval Ministry in Rio de Janeiro. February 24, 1960

President Kubitschek, Your Excellencies, and citizens of Rio de Janeiro:

It is a privilege and a particular pleasure to meet again your distinguished President and a privilege to return to this great country with which over the years we have enjoyed fruitful relations in a tradition of friendship.

When I visited Brazil in 1946, I came as a former commander of allied military forces to pay personal tribute to the gallant Brazilian people for their invaluable contributions to our common victory in World War II.

Now, in response to your President's gracious invitation and to my long-held desire to reciprocate the courtesy which he did us in visiting

the United States as President-elect, I come here as the representative of 180 million citizens of the United States. They share with you this fervent wish: that war and all forms of coercion be forever banished from the earth; that leaders of all nations hearken to the prayers of their peoples for peace—for a peace founded on mutual respect, understanding, and collaboration—a peace in which the race of armaments will give way to a constructive, cooperative attack against disease, ignorance, and poverty—a peace which makes neighborliness such as that enjoyed by our two countries a reality throughout the world.

It is impossible to enter Rio de Janeiro without feeling the inspiring impact of this city's scenic grandeur. But Rio has more than natural beauty.

For decades this city has become a symbol of Brazil's cultural contributions to the world.

In the halls of Rio, great principles have been proclaimed, righteous determinations formed.

Here, in 1942, the Foreign Ministers of the American Republics voiced this hemisphere's determination to defend itself against a Fascist aggression. Here representatives of the Americas met in 1947 to proclaim in solemn treaty that an attack on one American Republic would be an attack on all. That treaty has enabled the nations of this hemisphere to live in peace, free of the fear that any one of them, however weak or small, would have its independence challenged by any other, however strong or large.

Brazil and the United States have always lived together in peace and friendship. Constant cooperation has been mutually beneficial. I hope that my brief visit here will emphasize the desire of my Government and all the people of my country to strengthen bonds of friendship with you. We seek only greater understanding of one another, a mutual conviction that all problems existing between us can be resolved to the benefit of both nations, and a lasting partnership in efforts to build a stronger, freer hemisphere—a stronger, freer world.

Mr. President, I am grateful for the generosity of your welcome and remarks, and to all of you, thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:22 a.m.

Theme = Common Voice

49 Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress of Brazil. February 24, 1960

Mr. President, Members of the Congress, fellow citizens of the New World, ladies and gentlemen:

Mr. President, I think you must understand how deeply touched I am by the scene which here before me spreads. I see here represented in the members of this body the spirit, the intellect, and the character of the great Brazilian nation, a nation which is surging forward to heights as yet unimagined, even by ourselves.

Beyond this, I am grateful for the generous statements directed to my country and to me by those who have preceded me today. I am proud that I have been invited the second time by the representative body of Brazil to meet with them for a brief period, and I am more proud of the fact that your spokesmen have greeted me and my country as a country and as an individual that with them work to support and forward the priceless values that make men free and fight those influences which tend or would want to regiment or enslave them.

It is, then, with a sense of singular honor that I come before you, the elected representatives of the people of the United States of Brazil.

But the warm glow of personal pleasure is tempered by the realization that we share awesome responsibilities which this profoundly moving occasion prompts me to discuss with you.

If the burdens of my office permitted, I would travel to the largest cities and the remotest villages of all the Americas, to speak of these responsibilities and of how, together, we may possibly bear them successfully. Since I cannot do this, I trust that what I say here will be accepted by the governments and peoples of all the Western Hemisphere nations as an expression of hope from the millions of my country to the millions who constitute Latin America.

It is fitting, I think, that I should do this here, at the beginning of my present journey, for you of Brazil and we of the United States of America have always worked together for the spiritual unity and material advancement of the hemisphere. If it were physically possible for us to do so, I am sure we would speak with a single voice to all our neighbors of this vast continent.

Not long ago, you and we shared anxieties, suffering, and tragedy

Probable venue for POTUS

in Rio, though - not Brasilia. Could refer to new capital now & new leaders

in an agony of worldwide war. Many of your families, as of ours, paid a heavy price in order that the rule of law and moral suasion might replace the rule of naked force. To pay homage to the gallant Brazilian soldiers, airmen, and sailors who fought side by side with others of the free world I came here 14 years ago. I know that your brave men, who knew the horrors of war, pray with me now, that their children and their children's children will find a better way—so that in the future the deep, abiding desires of humanity will prevail over the arrogance and ambitions of misguided or willful leaders; that consultations will replace coercion; that mutual understanding will eliminate threat and crude accusation; that the earth, casting aside the sterile use of resources for arms, will yield its rich bounty to all who are willing to work in freedom.

I am confident that I shall not be thought presumptuous in suggesting that we—our two nations—could speak with a single voice. For our basic ideas have a common inspiration: man, in his sonship under God, is endowed with dignity, entitled to equality in all human and political relations, and destined, through the employment of consecrated intelligence, to shape a world harmonious with basic moral law. Adhering to these beliefs, we have established similar governmental systems; we have constantly maintained friendly relations unmarred by a single explosive incident; and we have worked together to establish and strengthen the Organization of American States, the United Nations, and other cooperative international organizations.

Bring in the Gulf situation here?

We of the United States admire Brazil for its enviable record of constructive leadership in hemisphere and world affairs, and we salute your statesmen who have played decisive parts in critical international situations, even some involving the United States and one or more of our sister Republics.

Speaking with one voice, then—your country and mine—we would say, I know, that the first responsibility of leadership in any nation is to work for the welfare of its own people, its own land. We would emphasize that heavy reliance must be placed upon the creative talents of the people themselves, with government a helpful partner. While we recognize that success or failure in the whole domestic enterprise is largely a nation's own responsibility, we would look for any needed outside temporary assistance to speed our development. Certainly my country did this from its establishment as a free nation until late in the nineteenth century. And in receiving and using these honors, our sov-

ereignty was not violated—nor was our self-reliance diminished.

You now are experiencing, primarily due to your own persistent labors, a remarkable industrial and economic growth. Yesterday, on what was once a remote plateau, I saw your growth revealed in the stone and steel of an emerging and magnificent new capital—a symbol of the vision and sturdy confidence which characterize modern Brazil. This surging growth is evident everywhere in this seaport city of Rio, and tomorrow I shall see what I am told is the most rapidly growing city in the world—São Paulo.

We of the United States are proud that our public and private agencies have responded to the best of their ability to your requests for temporary assistance. United States public and private investments and loans in Brazil now total about two and a half billion dollars. To this could be added the loans of international financial agencies which obtain the major part of their funds from the United States.

These are mighty, but only supplemental aids. The time will come when Brazil, through its own efforts, will experience both the benefits and the complexities of being a creditor nation, and others will be seeking your help—a seeking which I know will not be unrewarded.

Our second responsibility is to all our good neighbors of this hemisphere.

We, Brazil and the United States, hold the common, burning conviction that relations among these sister nations must be characterized by mutual respect, juridical equality, independence, respect for each human being, regardless of his race, creed, or color, and a willingness to help one another promote the well-being of all our peoples.

Neither of us covets one acre of land from another. We do not wish to prosper at another's expense. We do not wish to impose our particular form of democracy upon another. Rather, fervently and persistently, while avoiding all forms of intervention, we proclaim our hope that the nations of the hemisphere will each, according to its own genius and aspirations, develop and sustain free government. We pray that all of us will reject cruel tyranny, for tyranny is, in simple essence, the outright denial of the teachings of Christ. May each of us in every appropriate way, and especially by example, work for the strengthening of democratic institutions.

You of Brazil have constantly shown your desire for the Americas to be a community of free democratic nations, united by the common ideal

of hemispheric cooperation and solidarity. You, like we, insist upon freedom of choice for every country. And you, like we, aspire to the day when poverty, hunger, illiteracy, and discrimination in all forms will become relics of the past.

In proposing Operation Pan America, Brazil has taken an important initiative for the democratic development of the entire hemisphere. The high purpose of this imaginative proposal of your distinguished President—to attack the problem of underdevelopment by cooperative effort—is one which my government endorses. It is for this reason that we have joined with Brazil in requesting an early meeting of the Committee of Nine; this Committee should accelerate the formulation of the specific projects needed to translate this plan into a working reality.

Permit me here to renew a pledge, which I have made repeatedly: the United States itself stands ready, and will continue to urge other free nations to be ready to join in a gigantic effort: to devote substantial portions of the savings made possible by disarmament to vast constructive programs of peaceful development. We embrace this idea despite the fact that we are now carrying such heavy burdens throughout the world that our own internal and external financial situation requires great caution in management—and incidentally, this aid includes significant volumes of public and private capital and technical assistance to Latin America.

Pending that achievement, I assure you that my government, while honoring its commitments outside this hemisphere is in no mood to allow its special responsibilities among the American States to go by default. Indeed, these commitments and responsibilities are part and parcel of the same problem—preserving the strength and unity of the free world.

This brings me to the third responsibility which we may speak of in common voice—that which involves the larger world.

This is truly a time of fateful decision. Nations now possess power so terrible that mutual annihilation would be the only result of general physical conflict. War is now utterly preposterous. In nearly every generation the fields of earth have been stained with blood. Now, war would not yield blood—only a great emptiness for the combatants, and the threat of death from the skies for all who inhabit the earth. To strive ceaselessly, honestly, and effectively for peace is today the imperative responsibility of every statesman—of yours, of ours, of all countries.

At the same moment of this great crisis, we face anew decisions involv-

ing tyranny or freedom, totalitarianism or democracy. Our shared view on this issue is so eloquent and so clear that any words of mine would not be enlightening.

And, perhaps inseparable from the decision of freedom or slavery, we face the philosophic issue which today brings fear, misgiving, and mistrust to mankind. In contrast to our adherence to a philosophy of common sense, of human dignity, and of moral law, millions now live in an environment permeated with a philosophy which denies the existence of God. That doctrine insists that any means justifies the end sought by the rulers of the state, calls Christianity the "sigh of the oppressed," and, in short, seeks to return mankind to the age-old fatalistic concept of the omnipotent state and omnipotent fate.

You of Brazil and we of my country do not say that this philosophy shall not be held; that peoples may not return to that unenlightened system of tyranny, if they so wish. We would feel a great sorrow for them, but we would respect their right to choose such a system. Here is the key to our policy—the right to choose. Human beings everywhere, simply as an inalienable right of birth, should have freedom to choose their guiding philosophy, their form of government, their methods of progress.

But we—you of Brazil and we of the United States—would consider it intervention in the internal affairs of an American State if any power, whether by invasion, coercion, or subversion, succeeded in denying freedom of choice to the people of any of our sister Republics.

To work throughout the world for a guaranteed peace, free of all outside interference, and for rising levels of human well-being, in justice and in freedom—this is the greatest of the responsibilities which you of Brazil and we of the United States now share.

It is to confer with your distinguished President and his colleagues about these bilateral but hemispheric and global problems that I am making my brief trip to Brazil and your neighbors in this great Southland.

May God cast his grace upon us and guide us in this noble purpose.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:38 p.m. at the Tiradentes Palace in Rio de Janeiro. His opening words "Mr. President" referred to Vice President João Goulart.

Operation Pan America was proposed by Brazil in a memorandum dated August

9, 1958, following the exchange of messages between Presidents Eisenhower and Kubitschek in May and June of that year (see 1958 volume, this series, Item 133). The memorandum of August 9, 1958, is published in *Operación Panamericana, Compilación de Documentos II* (Presi-

dencia de la República, Servicio de Documentación, Rio de Janeiro, 1958).

The Committee of Nine, to which the President referred, is a subcommittee of

the Special Committee of the Council of the Organization of American States to Study the Formulation of New Measures for Economic Cooperation (Committee of 21).

50 ¶ Remarks to the Members of the Supreme Court of Brazil. February 24, 1960

Mr. Chief Justice, Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States of Brazil, and my Brazilian friends:

I have been privileged to call upon the President of the Brazilian Republic. I have just completed a meeting with the legislative body of this great country. Now it is my great privilege and honor to pay a call upon the third branch—equal branch of equal status in the Brazilian Government.

To have been invited once before this august body was in itself a great privilege and an honor. To have been invited back again, Mr. Chief Justice, is an honor that I consider almost unique.

It is my simple concept that the Supreme Court in a Federal Republic exists to make certain that the rule of law will flourish and will not be weakened by any processes that are not approved by the constitution and as interpreted by that Supreme Court.

In my country, the Supreme Court has attained a position in the minds of the average citizen of grandeur, almost of veneration.

I have been examining the history of your Supreme Court. I see the parallels, between its formation and its history, with our own. I know from the picture you have in the window that you give the same respect to the memory of John Marshall that we do. I have also heard of a great jurist of yours named Luís Barbosa who in your country and in his term took the same occasion as did John Marshall to assert the right, the absolute unchallenged right of the Supreme Court to place interpretation upon any law, and to determine whether or not it was in consonance with the Constitution.

Clothed with this kind of responsibility and with this kind of authority, the Supreme Court stands as a true guardian of justice for the individual. And I submit that the reason for republican or democratic government is to protect the individual in his rights which we—you and ourselves—

believe are his, because of the fact of his creation, because he has been created in the image of his God. I can see, therefore, that the decisions of such a body as this, its opinions, are more than mere decisions for application in a particular case and to make certain that the rights of a particular citizen have been protected, or that the law has not been allowed to go astray in its application in some other branch of the government. It is more important—the court is more important than merely to do this. As I see it, the court is also a teacher. Because the real strength of democracy is in the hearts and minds and the understandings of people, not merely the august members of this great body.

In my country, and I think it is possibly true in yours, a man who has been honored by being given a chair in this body is thereby removed from partisan politics. Partisan politicians do much to inform our public. Sometimes they merely try to influence. As I see it, the man now in this kind of position, with this authority, with this opportunity to study without bias, cannot merely influence, he can inform. And I say that in all forms of free government the only final force, the only final authority, is public opinion. And if it be informed public opinion, then in truth democracy is truly working. If the rule of law is to be substituted for the rule of the sword, if persuasion is to take the place of fighting on the battlefield, then the kind of public opinion that I speak of must be strong in all free nations.

And so I salute this body for the opportunity that belongs to each of you, because as a group we know that, just like in my own country, this institution is venerated. Your words carry weight. And your words will be heeded. Consequently, when you say we must substitute the rule of law for force, all will heed, all will help—which is all important.

So, Mr. Chief Justice, and Justices of the Supreme Court of Brazil, I come here to pay my respects, but those words are merely formalities by themselves. My visit has a far deeper meaning to me than mere formality. I do want to pay my respects to this court and to its functions, and what I think it can and will do in helping Brazil toward the destiny that is certain to belong to that nation as long as it lives in the institutions of freedom and pushes forward on the course that it is now pursuing.

Thank you very much indeed.

NOTE: The President spoke in the Federal Room of the Supreme Court building at

Rio de Janeiro. His opening words "Mr. Chief Justice" referred to Chief Justice Luiz Galloti.

51 ¶ Toast by the President at a Dinner Given in His Honor by President Kubitschek in Rio de Janeiro. February 24, 1960

Mr. President, Madame Kubitschek, distinguished guests, and friends:

First, Mr. President, may I thank you sincerely for the generosity of your remarks about my country and about me, and for your generous hospitality toward me and to my party. I deeply regret that my wife could not be here to participate in this most gracious ceremony in which you and your lovely wife are the host and hostess. I think the reasons that she could not come are known, but I assure you her regret is very deep.

Mr. President, this afternoon, in meeting with the assembled Congress of the United States of Brazil, I tried to outline the convictions that I hold as to the common role that your country and mine have in the attempt to better the standards of living for all peoples, in order that democracy and the freedom, of which you so eloquently speak, can be thereby strengthened.

On this trip with me, as you know, are Secretary Herter, Assistant Secretary Rubottom, and the citizen members of the new United States Advisory Committee on Inter-American Affairs. The fact that these gentlemen are accompanying me symbolizes the high importance we of my country attach to good relations with all the nations of Latin America. I know that what we are all learning here, and shall observe throughout this trip, will be helpful to us as we seek constantly to work for hemispheric solidarity.

I should say, Mr. President, that the strong feelings I felt about the need for cooperation, which were the feelings that led me to make this trip, have been emphasized and greatly strengthened by the meetings I have held with you and with your associates during the past hours that I have been able to spend in your great nation.

The friendly relations of our two countries—now stronger and more meaningful than ever before—have an inspiring history. The beautiful home of the Brazilian Foreign Ministry reminds one of thrilling diplomatic traditions.

Here I should like to say if I mispronounce names, it's because of my ignorance and not because of any intent. Itamaraty is symbolic of the

principles enunciated by Baron do Rio Branco, a great hero to us, as to you. Here worked such dedicated statesmen as Joaquim Nabuco and Afranio de Malo France, who stood resolutely for the abiding friendship of our two countries. And here labored Oswaldo Aranha, a firm friend, whose recent passing is deeply mourned in the United States.

I raise my glass in tribute to all who have in these halls worked so patiently and gloriously for the principles of freedom, independence, and abiding cooperation—and to you, President Kubitschek, both for your deeds of friendship and for your staunch support of inter-American solidarity.

Ladies and gentlemen: the President!

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at a dinner at the Itamaraty, the Foreign Ministry in Rio de Janeiro.

52 ¶ Remarks Upon Arrival at Congonhas Airport, São Paulo, Brazil. February 25, 1960

Mr. President, Governor Carvalho Pinto, Mayor de Barros, citizens of São Paulo:

Yesterday I referred to a rumor I have often heard—that São Paulo is the fastest growing city in the world—center of Brazilian commerce and industry. Certainly it is a sincere personal pleasure to have this opportunity today to witness firsthand the mighty achievements of this fabulous community.

In addition to seeing evidence of Brazil's remarkable economic and industrial growth, I have another very special and, to me, deeply moving, mission to perform in your city. Later today, I shall have the honor of paying homage to those brave soldiers of Brazil who were my comrades-in-arms during World War II.

My nation—and all free nations—have reason to remember with gratitude Brazil's partnership in two World Wars.

You made your bases available for our common cause—bases which were truly springboards to victory. On land, sea, and air, Brazilian cooperation was of inestimable value in defeating our enemies and preserving a way of life we cherish. Gallant Brazilian blood, shed with ours, must ever remind us of our solemn, common covenant to preserve the peace, with justice and freedom for all.

I thank all of you for the warmth and cordiality of your welcome, Governor and Mr. Mayor. It is a real privilege to be here.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 a.m. He was met by Governor Carlos Alberto Carvalho Pinto, Mayor Adhemar de Barros, Dr. Potado Rus de Mello Juqueira, President of the Legislative Assembly, Dsembargador Joao Marcelino Gonzaga, President of the Court of Justice, and other officials.

53 ¶ Address by the President at a Luncheon Given in His Honor in São Paulo.

February 25, 1960

Mr. President, Governor Carvalho Pinto, and other Governors here present, ladies and gentlemen:

I am deeply grateful for the generous welcome my associates and I have received in São Paulo. And I must personally express to you my deep gratitude for the warmth of the welcome with which you have greeted me in this hall.

This is my first visit to your great city, the industrial heart of Brazil. Here in your factories and workshops, much of the economic future of Brazil is being forged. It is indeed a privilege to meet personally so many leaders of São Paulo's progressive government, industry, and agriculture.

I do not wonder, as I look around me and see what Paulista energy and initiative have achieved, that you take pride in your city and state, and especially in the fact that in this area great opportunities exist for men of energy, talent, and initiative to carve for themselves important places in the life of the nation. This country, like my own, provides opportunities to all, however humble their origins and whatever the circumstances of their birth.

Opportunity, without discrimination—this is one vital aspect of democracy both in Brazil and the United States. The humblest may become the highest—through his own efforts.

Our societies are designed to permit everyone to pursue family welfare and happiness in liberty, and also to promote the well-being of all, not just a few, of the people.

We believe fervently that no one should be denied the chance for or the fruits of self-betterment because of his race, his religion, sex, class, or

political beliefs. In short, in both our countries we make the concept of the dignity of the individual a living reality, knowing that, given a chance, each person is capable of running his affairs with wisdom, dedication, and due respect for the rights of others.

At this point in history, our countries may differ in economic development, but this difference can and will disappear, for Brazil is on the march. It is today a universal Brazilian aspiration to develop the country's resources, to extend the blessings of education to all, to realize the nation's immense potentialities. Let me say to you most earnestly that we pray for your success. And we rejoice in your progress not only because you and we are friends but also because we know that the progress of Brazil and of all the nations which aspire to develop rapidly will make a happier and more peaceful world for everyone.

Three hundred years ago there was little but forbidding wilderness in the United States of America. Great natural resources existed, as they exist in Brazil. But there were no houses, transportation facilities, utilities, factories, institutions of learning and culture. A hundred years ago half our people were engaged in agriculture; industry was beginning to expand. Even 60 years ago there was not a single industrial research laboratory in the United States. Today we have a mature, highly diversified economy. This has been obtained by the hard work and frugal management of the American people. And of course we are proud of what we have accomplished. But we take even greater satisfaction in the means we have employed. All our progress has been protective of personal freedom, political freedom, economic freedom—in my judgment, inseparable elements of true liberty. Other nations have amassed wealth. However, in no nation, ancient or modern, totalitarian or free, have the rights of the individual been more zealously safeguarded.

Sheer material wealth can of course be accumulated, and scientific miracles can be achieved, by authoritarian methods. But let us not be misled by the boasts that fill the air. The production of goods—either capital or consumer goods—is not an end in itself, nor is it a sound criterion for judging economic and governmental systems. Production is only one element in the human enterprise on this earth. You and I believe that each of us is an inviolable spiritual entity, capable of reaching the heights of creative thought. Each is endowed with the right to build social and cultural institutions compatible with our finest instincts, and more deeply devoted to the protection of human dignity and to love of

God than to the mere acquisition of material things. We see then that production, to be praiseworthy, must serve these nobler ends. Faced with no other choice, you and we in the United States would choose poverty in freedom, rather than prosperity in slavery.

But of course we need make no such choice, for freedom in the long run yields also the most productive economic system ever devised by man. The reason for this is simple. Every human being is capable of greatness. Given opportunity and responsibility, he will reach the heights. Controlled man may become an efficient automaton, but with the limitations and the joylessness of men in lock-step parade.

The proponents of Marxism-Leninism seek to belittle the American system. They speak of the "exploited masses." Certainly anyone who has studied history knows that capitalism, in its early stages, was often exploitative. But it is ridiculous to pretend that conditions of the 18th and early 19th centuries exist today in the economic life of the United States.

Our socially-conscious private-enterprise system benefits all the people, owners and workers alike. It has resulted in high productivity, high consumption, high wages, and reasonable returns on investment. Balanced progress is our watchword.

São Paulo is, I think it can fairly be said, the outstanding example of Brazilian private initiative and of Brazilian balance in development. Here is a concentration of factories which produce much of what all Brazil consumes. You are now helping to provide the means by which the remainder of Brazil will similarly progress. And the rewards of your production are indeed exciting.

In freedom the Brazilian worker is happily demonstrating the joys of life under a democratic system. He knows that you do not consider the accumulation of wealth to be the privilege of a few—rather that the true aim of production is to contribute to the greater well-being of the many.

I wish that all the world could see what I have seen today in this city—a demonstration that a dynamic economy, based on private enterprise and free labor, redounds to the benefit of the worker, the consumer, the public at large and the state which embodies their sovereign will.

I am sure that your workers, as ours in the United States, have attained positions of influence, honor, and prestige. Surely the old concept of "the exploited masses" deserves to be discarded, along with the idea of state omnipotence and the divine right of kings.

I take real pleasure in noting the modest but significant contributions which United States capital has made to the prosperity of São Paulo and Brazil. It cannot be coincidence that this area, in which foreign capital is most heavily concentrated, is also the most prosperous in Brazil.

We too benefited much from foreign capital in the period of our development. Late in the 19th century, foreign investments in the United States were as large as those in Brazil today. In fact, I think if we should take the price of today's dollars, the investments that then were made in our country were many times the amount that I am just speaking of. But at that time the revenue of our national government was only one-third as great as yours is now.

The contributions of United States private enterprise to Brazilian development are matched in other fields. We have sought to express our friendship and our interest in your development through loans of the Export-Import Bank and other public lending institutions, through our Point IV work, the re-loaned funds derived from the sale of agricultural surpluses, our support of the international coffee pact, grants by our private foundations, and through the backing we have given President Kubitschek's imaginative Operation Pan America proposal.

Within our financial and economic capacity, we shall continue to support Brazilian development. In view of the modest part we have had in your growth, it is, then, the more heartening to see the mighty contributions which São Paulo is making to the majestic future of our traditional friend and ally, the United States of Brazil.

And in closing, I should like to repeat the sense of the quotation that the Governor took from Thomas Jefferson, the United States wants to march forward as a true partner and brother to Brazil, as we seek earnestly toward that brightest goal of all mankind: peace with justice.

I thank you. Thank you again.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:30 p.m. at the Fasano Restaurant. He was joined by President Kubitschek at the luncheon, which was given by the Industrial Association, the Commercial Association, and the

Federation of Rural Associations of São Paulo. Antonio de Visale, President of the São Paulo Federation of Industries, introduced President Eisenhower.

54 ¶ Remarks at the Airport in São Paulo Upon Leaving for Rio de Janeiro. February 25, 1960

Mr. President, Governor, and citizens of São Paulo:

As I say a friendly farewell to the leaders and people of São Paulo, I want to express my warm thanks for the cordial welcome and the many courtesies which have been extended to my associates and me during our short stay here.

I was greatly impressed by what I was able to see of your magnificent city during the day. São Paulo, leader in Brazilian commerce and industry, is surely characterized by energy, growth, and the spirit of progress.

You receive here each year vast quantities of goods, especially capital goods, from the United States, and of course you ship a tremendous volume of products, especially coffee, to the United States. The two-way trade of the United States and Brazil has long been of high importance to both countries. We are your major consumer; you a major customer of ours. I am glad to have learned in my conversations here today that there is a minimum of friction in these trade matters. And this is good news.

I might point out that we of the United States are the most insatiable coffee drinkers in the world—indeed, we buy nearly 60 percent of your coffee exports. And I doubt that you would have a surplus here if you drank as much coffee as we do.

On leaving São Paulo, I want to say how happy I am to have met Governor Carvalho Pinto, the state and municipal authorities, and to have been privileged to make a personal visit to this tremendous city.

Thank you again, sincerely, for your cordiality, your kindness, and your hospitality.

NOTE: The President's opening words "Mr. President" referred to President Kubitschek who accompanied him on the return flight to Rio de Janeiro.

55 ¶ Statement by the President Upon Leaving Brazil. February 26, 1960

I MUST NOW say farewell to the leaders and people of this vast and beautiful country. I do so with a full heart weighed down by the tragic

accident which cost the lives of Brazilians and Americans yesterday.

I wish, nevertheless, on leaving Brazil to express my deep gratitude for the magnitude of the reception accorded me and my associates since our arrival among you only a few days ago. I am beginning to understand that sentiment which you Brazilians describe so poignantly with the word *saudade*.

I interpret the cordiality of your greeting as evidence of Brazilian friendship for my countrymen. I assure you that this friendship is earnestly reciprocated.

I saw your sparkling new capital at Brasilia—a symbol of Brazilian progress.

In São Paulo I saw firsthand the phenomenal development which forecasts Brazil's emergence as one of the world's new industrial giants.

And here in your present capital of Rio de Janeiro old memories of unsurpassed scenic beauty and traditional Carioca hospitality have been rekindled.

During the past few days my associates and I have had an opportunity to talk with your distinguished President and other leaders of your country. All of us hope and believe that these conversations will enable us to understand better not only Brazilian aspirations but also how our collaboration can become more effective to our mutual benefit.

As I proceed on this trip, I feel that a significant beginning in fulfilling its purpose has been made here. My desire, in the countries I am visiting, is to emphasize the importance we of the United States attach to hemispheric solidarity; to seek ways in which cooperation among the Americas may be even more fruitful, and to proclaim here as I have repeatedly done in other areas the supreme desire of the United States to do all it can to help bring about peace with justice, in freedom, to all humankind.

For your friendship and your many kindnesses, I thank you, and now, goodbye.

NOTE: The President left from Galeao Airport, Rio de Janeiro, at 8 p.m.

In the opening paragraph the President referred to the collision of a U.S. Navy transport plane with a Brazilian airliner

over Guanabara Bay. The Navy transport plane was carrying U.S. Navy bandmen and members of an anti-submarine team.

The statement was released in Rio de Janeiro.

56 ¶ Remarks Upon Arrival at Ezeiza Airport, Buenos Aires. February 26, 1960

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

With genuine pleasure and satisfaction, I greet you in friendship as I begin my visit in the Republic of Argentina.

My pleasure is in realizing a long-cherished wish to view this beautiful land, and in returning officially the visit which your President and Mrs. Frondizi graciously made to my country.

My satisfaction derives from the knowledge that our commitment to common aspirations provides one stone in the structure of world peace.

I am especially happy that my visit occurs during the 150th anniversary of your nation's valiant fight for freedom. With pride in our own long adherence to the democratic vision, we of my country salute you, and welcome this opportunity to join our voices joyously with yours in your meaningful celebration.

I bring all of you the heartfelt good wishes of the Government and the people of the United States of America. In the few days we shall be here among you, we hope to meet many of you personally, to enjoy the grandeur of your world-famed capital, to visit several other of your beautiful cities, and, at least from the air, to obtain a panoramic perspective of your vast and noble country.

Al gran pueblo Argentino, Salud!

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. Foreign Minister Diogenes Toboada, and He was met by President Arturo Frondizi, U.S. Ambassador Willard L. Beaulac.

57 ¶ Remarks at the U.S. Embassy Residence in Buenos Aires Upon Receiving the Key to the City. February 26, 1960

I AM DEEPLY HONORED not only for the presentation of this key, symbolic of the friendly spirit of your country for the United States, but for the generosity of the terms in which your Mayor has described the ideals and democratic aspirations that bind his country with mine.

If I may be personal, I should like to tell you a bit of a story. Forty-five years ago now, I was just preparing to graduate from West Point—

(FROM BINDER/REPLY)

State?

Draft Input for the President's Opening Speech in Brazil

ENVIRONMENT

cite \$2 mil alloc. for an AIDS enviro. prog. in Br.

cite Collor's solid commitment to enviro. protection

General

-- Concern for the environment is sweeping across the Western Hemisphere, from endangered coral reefs in the Caribbean and ravaged forests along the Amazon, to urban pollution in Caracas, Santiago, and Mexico City, where levels of air pollution exceed health-based limits most of the year.

-- We know that the peoples and governments of Latin America want to protect your ecological heritage. And, we note, with pride and respect, the progress you are making.

-- Several Latin American nations have been playing leadership roles in international negotiations on climate change and depletion of the ozone layer. The Declaration of Brasilia in 1989 reflected the wisdom and dedication of this region to conserving your natural resources. You have built on the Treaty on Amazonian Cooperation to address several specific issues, including forest management.

-- Brazil itself has demonstrated global leadership by offering to host the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992. That conference will mark the twentieth anniversary of the landmark Conference on the Environment held in Sweden in 1972. It will provide an important opportunity to shape a new, comprehensive approach to environmental action and cooperation for the twenty-first century.

Economics and Environment

-- We in the United States know that there can be no sustained economic growth without respect for the environment. We know, too, that there may be no greater impediment to protecting the environment than poverty. The linkage is critical and it is real.

-- Partly for that reason, I have proposed the special environmental component of the Enterprise for the Americas. It is the first time that official bilateral debt relief has been associated with environmental protection.

-- Recourse to this relief could reduce a significant portion of the Latin American debt owed to the United States. The interest could be used for projects that protect the environment. The result? Bigger budgets to expand parks, protect forests, and fight pollution.

commitment to sustainable development.
(see addl.doc)

and your Constitution requires the Fed. govt. to protect & preserve the enviro. of the common use & essential health & general welfare of current & future generations

-- Latin American countries owe governments in Europe and Japan another \$38 billion, beyond the \$12 billion in public debt owed the United States. We hope that other creditor nations will move to convert a similar proportion of debt into funds for the environment.

-- If they do so, this major new commitment to debt-for-nature could serve to refocus the priorities of countries in Latin America so rich in forests and species of plants and wildlife and so burdened by debt.

*Latin Brazil
rejected plan, on
grounds for violate
natl sovereignty?*

-- Swapping debt for protection of natural resources is part of a new wave of thinking about the relationship between development and debt and the environment. Such agreements can help us define and, ultimately, achieve sustainable economic growth. While they cannot be a cure-all for debt, they can make a real dent in degradation of the environment. For example, the interest alone from the debt-for-nature swaps in Costa Rica is several times more than the annual budget for that country's National Park Service. Such swaps have more than doubled Costa Rica's available resources for environmental programs.

-- Here in Brazil, a consortium of non-governmental organizations has presented a proposal to the government for such a debt-for-nature swap. Other Latin American countries are either in the process of developing such proposals or are implementing them. These are important undertakings. We support and applaud them.

Bilateral Cooperation

-- I take pride, along with President Collor, in our expanding partnership in behalf of the environment. We benefit from the commitment of this nation, as with other new governments in the region, to fight for the environment, not against it.

-- Just this last month, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency signed a new Memorandum of Understanding with the National Secretariat for the Environment and the Brazilian Institute for the Environment and Renewable Natural Resources. This agreement will enable our two nations to put new vigor into our shared commitment to address problems that challenge the entire hemisphere.

-- The irreversible loss of wildlife -- of entire species -- is deeply troubling. Many people in this hemisphere depend on the forests for their livelihood. There is, of course, some short-term gain to felling trees. But, in much of the tropics, the soils thereafter erode under heavy rains that strip the land of its productivity and create yet another disappointed farmer and, all too often, an impoverished generation of environmental refugees.

-- The costs of the loss of plant and animal species and their derivative ingredients in agriculture, medicine, and industry are beyond calculation. Ninety-five plants (39 from tropical rain forests) yield chemical substances to produce 121 prescription drugs. Thus, the rewards from reforestation can be just as gratifying as the costs of deforestation are appalling.

-- Our two nations can help assure that we do not lose forever the plant that could help fight cancer or the species of perennial corn that can assure sustenance. I hope very much that the internal agreement on forestry will be ready for signing at the Brazil Conference in 1992. How fitting a place, the country with the world's richest endowment of forests and wildlife to consummate the treaty to protect the world's forests. We believe progress will occur much faster if the forest agreement is negotiated apart from the negotiations on a climate convention, which only related to one of the many benefits forests confer -- carbon sequestration.

-- Our two nations, together, can provide international leadership to meet the challenges of urban environmental blight. We can create the models for preventing pollution, so that our cities, home to the majority of our people, are no longer repositories of hazardous waste and suffocating smog. They can, instead, become healthful havens, where you and I and our families enjoy our rightful claim to clean air and clear water.

Sumner
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part of protocol, as req'd for CO₂ in Climate Change Convention.

*Reilly thinks we can hood it off as Climate Change Convention,
by keeping on separate track.*

Memorandum for all speechwriters and researchers

From Chriss Winston

Subject: Latin American trip

A short postscript to the meeting. Two of the gentlemen attending this morning's meeting will serve as liaison for us at State. They are Phil McLean (647-6754) and Andrew Sens (647-3403).

They are anxious to help in any way and will contact embassies for you if you prefer that to calling direct. Some of the information you will need will probably be sensitive and the embassies may prefer sending it by secure cable.

Also, over the next few weeks, you will receive, no doubt, sensitive documents through Don Johnson of the NSC i.e. cables. NSC had planned to "clean them up" for our use but I told him we had a safe and would lock up all sensitive papers. This should save us some time but, please, be careful of these papers and make sure they are in the safe in my office every night.

Bernie Aronson told me after the meeting that they hope to have the first bullets within two weeks. However, you each have a document to get started.

Copy of Brazil file ✓

Dom Pedro ✓
Ch. 10

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Eisenhower's Presidential Papers Done

Walt Whitman
a poem to the Brazilian people heralding
the birth of the Republic in 1889

Quote Books/Poetry Books Done **ask**

Jose Sarney - Sept. 11, 1986

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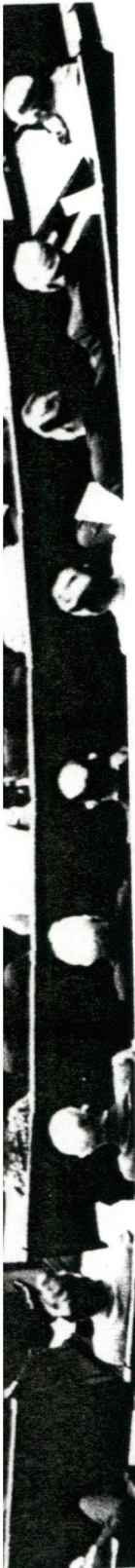
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Epitacio da Silva Pessoa
23 June, 1919

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André de Laboulaye, Ambassador of the Republic of France, addresses a Joint Session of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives on May 20, 1934.

UNITED STATES
CAPITOL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOREIGN VISITORS TO CONGRESS

SPEECHES AND HISTORY

Edited by MARY LEE KERR

Preface by EDMUND S. MUSKIE

Historical Note by FRED SCHWENGEL

VOLUME 1
1824 - 1956

KRAUS INTERNATIONAL PUBLICATIONS
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Epitácio da Silva Pessoa, President-Elect of the Federative Republic of Brazil

INTRODUCTION BY LINDA LEWIN

WHEN EPITÁCIO DA SILVA PESSOA (1865–1943) addressed the U.S. Senate on June 23, 1919, he was homeward bound from Europe, the first Brazilian chief of state to visit this country since Emperor Dom Pedro II had made the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition the occasion for an extended official tour. Epitácio had become president-elect in April, while heading the Brazilian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference as senior senator for his northeastern state of Paraíba. It was in such a capacity that he met President Woodrow Wilson. On Wilson's insistence, Brazil enjoyed very favored representation at the Peace Conference, for it was the only Latin American—or non-European—nation to gain three official delegates, a number that bestowed equal rank with war-ravaged Belgium.

Thanks to Epitácio's expertise in constitutional and international law (between 1900 and 1910 he had served as minister of Justice, attorney general, and as a justice on the Supreme Court, as well as writing the Code Project on International Law for the Third Pan American Conference), Brazil played a significant supporting role at Versailles in relation to the reparations issue. In the course of presenting his country's claims for German ships seized in Brazilian ports during the war, Epitácio both cooperated with Wilson's representative, Norman Davis, and counted on the United States to back up his position. He therefore took Wilson's side in his fight against the opposition of the British and the French to his determination not to surrender the advantageous naval tonnage the United States had acquired from Germany during the war. Thus, in his remarks to the Senate, Epitácio's reference to Brazil as the "ancient friend" of the United States acknowledged that the relationship embraced their recent diplomatic agreement at Versailles, a friendship "augmented by the stand taken by the United States delegates at Paris . . . in favor of the interests and claims of Brazil as an outcome of the world war."¹

¹*New York Times*, June 24, 1919, p. 14.

As Brazil's long-term diplomatic interests were paramount, Epitácio's brief remarks to the Senate—in tandem with lengthier ones uttered during four days of official luncheons and banquets—furthered what was by then for Brazil already a "special relationship" of close, personal diplomacy with the United States. His affirmation on June 24 that Brazil "not only recognizes the Monroe Doctrine but has always recognized it" maintained the special relationship created between 1900 and 1912 as a reservoir of personal friendship and mutual diplomatic support under the guidance of Brazil's foreign minister, the Baron of Rio Branco (José Maria da Silva Paranhos) and Joaquim Nabuco, Brazil's (and South America's) first ambassador accredited in Washington, D.C.² At the same time, as the official guest of the United States, Epitácio was offering Wilson tacit support for the Senate ratification of the Versailles Treaty. Indeed, ratification's great foe, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, escorted Epitácio onto the Senate floor—and on the very day when the newspapers announced both the decision of the German National Assembly to accept the terms of the Peace of Paris and President Wilson's imminent embarkation from Brest for the United States. More fundamentally, however, Epitácio looked to the postwar economic situation. As president of a nation precariously dependent on the export of agricultural products, he underscored that Brazil would see in "the energies and capacity of the United States for trade" her own "widest possibilities for the development of her trade and commerce."³

Consequently, thanks to Epitácio's good working relationship with Wilson, Brazil continued to support the United States during the interwar years at important Pan American conferences. In homage to their brief but fruitful collaboration at Versailles, millions of Brazilians have born the theretofore unknown name of "Wilson" since 1919.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., June 25, 1919, p. 5.

Epitácio Federativ

Address before
June 23, 19

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Epitácio da Silva Pessoa, President-Elect of the
Federative Republic of Brazil

Address before the U.S. Senate

June 23, 1919

Gentlemen, I have no words to express all my thanks for the honor you tender to me by receiving me in this House. It is not remarkable that I have no words to express my thanks, because my thanks are very great and very extensive and my English is very short. But I can assure you that Brazil, the ancient friend in the life of the United States, will keep in her heart the memory of this cordial reception. [*Great applause.*]

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Jose Sarney
11 Sept 1986

UNITED STATES
CAPITOL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOREIGN VISITORS TO CONGRESS

SPEECHES AND HISTORY

Edited by MARY LEE KERR

Preface by EDMUND S. MUSKIE

Historical Note by FRED SCHWENGEL

VOLUME 2
1956 - 1988

KRAUS INTERNATIONAL PUBLICATIONS
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Madame Chiang Kai-shek of China addresses the U.S. House of Representatives on February 18, 1943.

Bettman



TO CONGRESS

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José Sarney, President of the Federative Republic of Brazil

INTRODUCTION BY E. BRADFORD BURNS

BRAZIL RANKS IN EVERY SENSE AS an international giant. It is the fifth largest nation of the world and the sixth most populous. It boasts one of the world's ten largest economies.

After a relatively stable first-century of independence, Brazil experienced political, social, and economic restiveness from the 1920s to the present. Accelerating efforts to develop economically and to democratize have sparked conflicts with firmly rooted, traditional institutions.

After twenty-one years of military rule, José Sarney, a citizen and former governor of the state of Maranhão and for nearly three decades active in the Brazilian congress as deputy and senator, became the first president of the "Second Republic" on March 15, 1985. Under a civilian president, Brazil entered a new phase of its political history. Sarney's ascendancy to the presidency was not without drama. An electoral college had selected him, the candidate of the Liberal Alliance party, to be vice president, and Tancredo Neves, a member of the Brazilian Democratic Movement party, to be president. On the eve of his inauguration, Neves suffered a heart attack and died, plunging Brazil momentarily into a political crisis. The legal process triumphed. Vice President Sarney took the oath of office as president.

In his appearance before the U.S. Congress, approximately a year and a half after he assumed office, President Sarney recalled the long and traditional friendship between the United States and Brazil. Fittingly, he reminded his audience that his inauguration opened a new period of hope and expectations, marked politically by a return to democracy and freedom. He emphasized the need for economic development, "to banish the scourge of hunger from the face of the earth."

His speech also signified the determination of a nation of 135 million to exert international leadership and to maintain a relationship of dignity with the hemisphere's superpower. A glance at a

world map indicates Brazil's strategic significance. It borders on all but two of the eleven South American nations, dominates the South Atlantic, and pushes a strategic finger at Africa. In short, location, population, size, and economic vitality promise Brazil an increasingly important voice in world forums.

This brief but significant speech of President Sarney advises the U.S. Congress of Brazil's determination to redemocratize, to develop economically, and to play an increasingly active role in international leadership. He solicited U.S. cooperation and understanding for the achievement of those challenging goals.

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José Sarney, President of the Federative Republic
of Brazil

*Address before a Joint Meeting of the U.S. Senate and House of
Representatives*
September 11, 1986

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, it is difficult for a statesman from any part of the world to remain unmoved when received within these halls. It is difficult not to remember the lessons of the history and of the traditions of this Congress, since its origins in 18th-century Philadelphia, a Congress which has but one entrance and exit: The will of the people, free elections.

This country has faced crises, savored moments of triumph, and more than once tasted the bitterness of danger and mourning. It has heard the trumpets sound notes of rejoicing, and has shed bitter tears of sorrow. It has known the ravages of war and the blessing of peace.

One institution has remained unchanged and resilient: The United States Congress.

We should keep in mind what Brogan said. At the time the Constitution was drawn up, there still ruled a French monarchy, a Roman emperor, a Venetian republic, and a German republic, an autocracy in St. Petersburg, a caliph in Constantinople, a divinely invested Emperor in Peking, and a shogun in what was then a weak and little-known Japan.

Times have changed, and rulers have changed, but the branches of government in the United States, since the Presidency of George Washington, have changed less than the forms of royal power in place not long ago in Tibet.

"All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives."

With these laconic words, the Founding Fathers devised the structure of these two legislative Chambers.

The whole world was inspired by your example.

In how many parts of the world, over two centuries, have dreamers, heroes, and martyrs not been drawn to the flame of your ideas of self-government?

Two hundred years ago, my country, Brazil, was a European colony. Since that distant time, the people of Brazil have felt close to the United States.

In 1787, the young Brazilian, José Joaquim Maia sought out Thomas Jefferson, then Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, to ask his support for our independence. Two years later, our hero, Tiradentes, who dreamed of a free and republican Brazil, was hanged, drawn, and quartered, his severed body hung for all to see, in the streets and the roads, as a cruel example to smother the dream of freedom, and to declare that it would not come forth in our land.

Do you know what the King's agents found among the papers that had set the heart of our martyr afire with the holy madness of independence? The Constitution of the United States of America.

I have long been a legislator, a Representative and a Senator for 29 years. The Brazilian Congress was my school of political education. I pay tribute to the United States Congress, knowing what it represents. I am grateful for the kind gesture of this Joint Meeting of the Senate and House of Representatives. I could not come to this country without accepting this opportunity to renew faith in democracy.

I know that this warm welcome is a sign of friendship with Brazil.

Accept my gratitude, which I personally renew to Speaker O'NEILL and convey to all the Members of the House of Representatives and of the Senate, who have honored me with the invitation to address this Joint Meeting.

Congress is a school for public life. It is greater than the sum of all its Members. This institution is the sovereignty of the people. One learns here to listen rather than to speak. To listen to all the voices, all the groups of society, all the emotions, all the injustices. Here, all decisions are questioned, and here are shaped the true sentiments of the democrat, which can be summarized in an example that is also yours: Benjamin Franklin. Frail at 81 years of age and unable to sign his name to the Constitution, he asked James Wilson to read what he had written for that occasion. What were his words?

"The older I become, the more I come to doubt my judgment, and the more I respect the judgment of others!"

This is the belief of a true democrat: To respect the opinions of others. Democracy has survived because it does not live by dogma, absolute truths, or inquisitions of faith. It is nurtured by the creative

power of freedom of opinion, of initiative, of having, working, informing, believing, not believing, loving, dreaming.

Only he who has lost freedom knows its true value. And knows how difficult it is to regain it.

Brazil is a country of conciliation and dialog, a country that practices peace. The true name of peace is democracy, because democracy is understanding, the capacity to find solutions other than the solutions of might. This is why democracies do not make war on one another.

I am here in the United States at the invitation of President Ronald Reagan, who, with tenacity and leadership, governs this country at a time when the international situation raises great concern.

The 18th century Nation of farmers has become the most highly industrialized Nation in the world.

The country that sought at any price to avoid "foreign entanglements" has become a world power with global responsibilities.

In World War II, we fought as allies against Nazi-Fascism. Throughout its history, Brazil has admired the vigor of American democracy, the solidity of its institutions, the public spirit of its people, and the creativity of its artists, scientists, and intellectuals.

Starting from different cultural backgrounds, Brazil and the United States have grown together, both founded on shared values forged by the period during which we stepped onto the stage of history as independent nations: The values of the enlightenment, from which we drew our unwavering faith in reason, truth, peace, and concord.

Members of Congress.

That is the Brazil that I represent before you.

I have come here as the President of a country that has affinities with the United States, and which, neither humbly nor arrogantly, is quietly conscious of its place in history and its importance as the eighth largest economy of the Western world. I represent a great people, and I have come here to visit a great Nation. I bring you greetings from my countrymen and the wishes of the Brazilian people that this Nation will move onward in its course of greatness, a course that is necessarily guided by justice.

Brazil and the United States today come together in the practice of democracy, which is not only the most just and humane form of government, but also the strongest and most efficient.

Brazil has experienced 20 years of institutional difficulties.

In only 17 months of democracy, the civilian government has shown its ability to act with determination and courage. It dared to abandon indexation, the speculative attitude of a whole generation.

It reduced hyperinflation from over 200 percent a year to less than 1 percent per month. It spurred the economy to grow again at a rate of 8 percent. It created hundreds of thousands of jobs. It restored the value of wages. It launched agrarian reform. It is raising social investment to 12.5 percent of gross domestic product, so that by the century's end, we will have attained standards of living comparable to those of southern Europe.

It has restored full political and trade union freedom. It has called elections for a constitutional assembly, in which 69 million Brazilians will cast their votes, a number larger than the population of any Western country with the exception of the United States.

All of this has been accomplished without trauma, without violence, and in keeping with the motto of the new republic: Conciliation and change.

The same constructive attitude is the foundation of our international conduct. Every facet of the new Brazil—political, economic, social—should find an international response to reinforce and foster it.

We strive for political peace and stability, economic growth and expansion, and an end to hunger, disease, ignorance, and poverty. We seek to play our part in the international system.

We have not come here to exact or demand from others what we ourselves do not practice. Rather, we wish to be judged by our actions, by what we are doing to achieve each of our goals.

Our relations of friendship and cooperation with 10 neighboring countries, along a border of more than 10,000 miles, strengthen a world held together by the art of negotiation.

Overcoming the rivalry or indifference of the past, we are building with Argentina a historic project of integration and development, which has been joined by Uruguay.

Abandoning a narrow and distorted interpretation of sovereignty, we have adhered to the international conventions on human rights and against torture.

We are proposing that the South Atlantic, between South America and Africa, be preserved as an area of peace and unity, free from nuclear weapons, as has already been done, with our participation, in the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America.

We are a member of the group that supports a peaceful and negotiated solution for Central America, and we have passed legislation with effective sanctions against apartheid.

We are a mixed race nation, and the world's second largest black nation, after Nigeria. We practice exemplary racial democracy.

All Brazilians are united in the task of rebuilding our country. But we face a serious constraint—the volume of resources that the Brazilian economy has been transferring abroad yearly to service a burdensome foreign debt.

Last year, the sum of such transfers represented one-fourth of Brazil's gross domestic savings. It is clear that we cannot grow at the necessary and desirable rate if this continues.

It is a simple matter. To grow, we must import more and raise the investment rate.

In so doing, we will be buying more agricultural and industrial goods from our chief trading partners, especially from the largest, the United States of America.

Our demand for imports will thus help to reduce the trade deficit of this country.

Brazil has the potential for such cooperation. But at the same time, we will be reducing our trade surplus. In recent years, Brazil has maintained a trade surplus equivalent to nearly half its exports. In relative terms, very few countries have performed so well.

With this surplus, we have been meeting our debt service payments. If we reduce that surplus by increasing imports, we will necessarily curtail our ability to transfer resources as debt repayment. In other words, we will have to pay less for some time, to be able to import more. This is the only way we can attain targeted growth in the immediate future and reintegrate our country in the international economy in the medium and long term, without crises, shocks, or disruption, thus fulfilling our steadfast commitment to our people.

Latin America cannot survive on the poverty of a wage of \$25 per month. It is this criminal injustice that spawns social upheaval, revolt, and the resort to violence.

We have proposed repeatedly, in the appropriate forums, a joint effort by creditors and debtors. The high spreads charged by banks and high real interest rates impede the growth of the debtor countries, and thus the enhancement of their ability to pay. Unstable interest rates and exchange fluctuations hamper their economic and social development planning, since they cannot forecast their financial obligations and liquidity for the upcoming 6 months, much less for the next year.

It is necessary to promote an understanding among the leaders of creditor and debtor nations to reduce the magnitude of payments now being made. This would allow the debtor countries to again import more from the creditor countries, and their own growth can, in turn, contribute to the recovery and normalization of the world economy.

For our part, we are still prepared to engage in such a joint endeavor. But we must not wait until it is too late. We have urged our industrialized partners to join us now in such an effort to safeguard the financial health and stability of the Western World.

With respect to the larger question of rescuing man from poverty and suffering, I recognize that we have been able to do little beyond our borders. My government's priority has been to honor our most important debt: The social and moral debt we owe our own people. Still, we stand ready to do our part to even disparities of wealth, fight disease and ignorance, and eradicate drug traffic. I repeat here the appeal I made at the United Nations: That a dedicated battle be waged to banish the scourge of hunger from the face of the Earth.

Members of Congress,

On every aspect of the global agenda, Brazil stands for stability and peace, conciliation, and balance. We are a country that gives, that does not take away. A country that brings not problems, but answers.

Our ability to forge our own solutions to challenges was demonstrated by our peaceful transition to democracy, and by our nonrecessive fight against inflation.

We are confident in our strength, while acknowledging that we rely, as do all of us to some degree, on the forces and conditions of the international system.

Brazil has everything to succeed. It has everything that is needed to make the leap to full development in the near future.

There is ample investment opportunity in the country, open to private domestic and foreign investors.

In addition to a robust economy, abundant resources, diligent and skilled labor, and a modern infrastructure, investors will find that we have sound legislation on the treatment of foreign capital.

For more than 20 years, our legislation, in addition to being fair and flexible, has successfully guided our relations with foreign companies that bring us their capital, their technology, and their management skills. This relationship has been stable, transparent, and dependable. With the return of economic growth and with the political and social stability Brazil now enjoys, I am sure it will again attract growing flows of investment to participate in the development of our wealth.

Brazil's success threatens no one. It is rather a victory for those who believe in the power of man's work to overcome backwardness and underdevelopment.

Brazil's success will vindicate the Western values of pluralistic and participatory democracy, of a free and open society, of a

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creative market economy, in which the economic freedom of private enterprise is the guarantee of political freedom and the driving force of development.

We strongly desire a high degree of cooperation with the United States, the first country to recognize our independence, a country with which we have cultural, political, and economic ties.

Cooperation that unites a superpower with global interests to a Latin American nation advancing toward development and assuming greater responsibilities in the world.

For this relationship to prosper and grow stronger, each side must have the maturity to accept as natural the difficulties that may arise, respect for the legitimate interests and viewpoints of the other, and an ongoing openness to dialog and understanding.

This has been our tradition in the past, is our practice now, and our expectation for the future.

*Members of Congress, now, as we look toward the third millenium with the vitality and confidence of the youthful pioneer societies of the Americans, in my rough English spoken as a Brazilian from the northeast of my country. I would like to conclude by quoting the poet of democracy, the great Walt Whitman.

He wrote a poem to the Brazilian people to herald the birth of the Republic in 1889 that speaks to us still today. These are eternal verses that evoke freedom and democracy as forcefully as the lines of "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloomed":

"Welcome, Brazilian Brother, thy ample place is ready;
 A loving hand, a smile from the north, a sunny instant hail!
 (let the future care for itself, where it reveals its troubles,
 impedimentas,
 ours, ours the present throe, the democratic aim, the acceptance and
 the faith);
 to thee to-day our reaching arm, our turning neck—to thee from us the
 expectant eye.
 thou cluster free! Thou brilliant lustrous one! thou, learning well,
 the true lesson of a nation's light in the sky,
 (more shining than the cross, more than the crown),
 the height to be superb humanity."

God bless the United States. God bless the Americas.
 Thank you,
 [Applause, the Members rising.]

[A portion of President José Sarney's address was translated from Portuguese. *The remainder of the address was delivered in English.]

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WALT WHITMAN

COMPLETE POETRY AND COLLECTED PROSE

Leaves of Grass (1855)

Leaves of Grass (1891-92)

Complete Prose Works (1892)

Supplementary Prose



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The Iliad, Odyssey, plots, doings, wanderings of Eneas,
 Hesiod, Eschylus, Sophocles, Merlin, Arthur,
 The Cid, Roland at Roncesvalles, the Nibelungen,
 The troubadours, minstrels, minnesingers, skalds,
 Chaucer, Dante, flocks of singing birds,
 The Border Minstrelsy, the bye-gone ballads, feudal tales,
 essays, plays,
 Shakspeare, Schiller, Walter Scott, Tennyson,
 As some vast wondrous weird dream-presences,
 The great shadowy groups gathering around,
 Darting their mighty masterful eyes forward at thee,
 Thou! with as now thy bending neck and head, with
 courteous hand and word, ascending,
 Thou! pausing a moment, drooping thine eyes upon them,
 blent with their music,
 Well pleased, accepting all, curiously prepared for by them,
 Thou interest at thy entrance porch.

A Christmas Greeting

From a Northern Star-Group to a Southern, 1889-'90.

WELCOME, Brazilian brother—thy ample place is ready;
 A loving hand—a smile from the north—a sunny instant hail
 (Let the future care for itself, where it reveals its troubles, ^{hail!}
 impedimentas,
 Ours, ours the present throe, the democratic aim, the
 acceptance and the faith;) ^{hail!}
 To thee to-day our reaching arm, our turning neck—to thee
 from us the expectant eye,
 Thou cluster free! thou brilliant lustrous one! thou, learning
 well,
 The true lesson of a nation's light in the sky,
 (More shining than the Cross, more than the Crown,)
 The height to be superb humanity.

Sounds of the Winter

SOUNDS of the winter too,
 Sunshine upon the mountains—many a distant strain
 From cheery railroad train—from nearer field, barn, house.

The whispering air—even the mute crops, garner'd apples,
 corn,
 Children's and women's tones—rhythm of many a farmer
 and of flail,
 An old man's garrulous lips among the rest, *Think not we*
give out yet,
Forth from these snowy hairs we keep up yet the lilt.

A Twilight Song

As I sit in twilight late alone by the flickering oak-flame,
 Musing on long-pass'd war-scenes—of the countless buried
 unknown soldiers,
 Of the vacant names, as unindented air's and sea's—the
 unreturn'd,
 The brief truce after battle, with grim burial-squads, and the
 deep-fill'd trenches
 Of gather'd dead from all America, North, South, East,
 West, whence they came up,
 From wooded Maine, New-England's farms, from fertile
 Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio,
 From the measureless West, Virginia, the South, the
 Carolinas, Texas,
 Even here in my room-shadows and half-lights in the
 noiseless flickering flames,
 Again I see the stalwart ranks on-filing, rising—I hear the
 rhythmic tramp of the armies;) ^{hail!}
 You million unwrit names all, all—you dark bequest from
 all the war,
 A special verse for you—a flash of duty long neglected—
 your mystic roll strangely gather'd here,
 Each name recall'd by me from out the darkness and death's
 ashes,
 Henceforth to be, deep, deep within my heart recording, for
 many a future year,
 Your mystic roll entire of unknown names, or North or
 South,
 Enshalm'd with love in this twilight song.

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PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE UNITED STATES

Dwight D. Eisenhower



1960-61

*Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and
Statements of the President*

JANUARY 1, 1960, TO JANUARY 20, 1961

4-540

to assist State enforcement actions, the Federal Government should have authority to move more quickly and effectively in directing the application of control measures that will swiftly correct such intolerable pollution. In accordance with the 1961 Budget Message, recommendations will be submitted to the Congress for strengthening the enforcement provisions of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act.

Third, the Federal Government should continue to provide modest financial assistance for the administration of control programs by States and interstate water pollution control agencies. Because such programs rest upon a solid foundation of local cooperative action, they properly merit Federal encouragement and assistance. An extended life for this program is recommended in the 1961 Budget.

Fourth, the Federal Government, through research and technical assistance, can be of material help in contributing to our knowledge of water pollution—its causes, its extent, its impact and methods for its control. Increased Federal effort in this respect is also provided for in the 1961 Budget.

These measures will provide Federal authority that accords with the proper Federal, State, and local roles in water pollution abatement. I urge their early consideration by the Congress.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

NOTE: The veto message was released in Washington.

45 ¶ Remarks at the Civic Reception for President Eisenhower in Brasilia.

February 23, 1960

Mr. President, Dr. Pinheiro, citizens of Brasilia:

I am most grateful for the cordial welcome you have extended to me. I am glad that my return to this hospitable land has taken place in this magnificent new city, a living testimony to your own tireless efforts, Mr. President, and a symbol of Brazilian progress. It is an inspiration to get this new glimpse of the vision and energy which characterize modern Brazil and its leadership.

Brasilia has captured the imagination of my fellow countrymen who have visited here and, who, on their return home, have been lavish in their praise of the wonders they have seen.

For several reasons, Brasilia fascinates citizens of the United States. In the first place, your decision to carve a beautiful city out of the wilderness reminds us of our own decision many years ago to move the capital of our fledgling nation from Philadelphia to the District of Columbia.

In the second place, this pioneering venture recalls to our minds the rolling advance of our own frontier—the winning of the American West—a process which was barely accomplished when I was a youngster. Indeed, having now witnessed the speed with which Brasilia is being completed, I understand why Brazil itself is sometimes described as a “country in a hurry.” Brasilia is an epic worthy of this nation’s vast possibilities and aspirations.

And thirdly, one senses here a “boom” spirit not unlike that which pervaded frontier western communities in the United States such as my boyhood town of Abilene, Kansas.

It has been said, somewhat facetiously, that Brazil and the United States—both influenced by the stern demands of the frontier—ought to get along well together because each has so many of the other’s faults. At least we are both willing to confess that we do have faults. And of course we get along well because we have many of the same virtues—we are, indeed, much alike. Our vast expanses of land have many similarities in physiography and resources. Our constitutional systems and forms of government are similar. The people of both our countries have various national origins, gaining strength from diversity. Both countries are forever committed to democracy, human dignity, and freedom with justice.

Our common heritage will be emphasized for us when you inaugurate your new capital next April 21—Tiradentes Day. It was in 1787, when Thomas Jefferson, then our Minister in France, gave sympathetic counsel to José Joaquim da Maia, emissary of Tiradentes and his little band of Inconfidentes. Those Brazilian patriots—to recall the observation of Joaquim Nabuco—had their eyes fixed on the new democracy to the north at a time when, here, even to think of independence was a crime. Your freedom and ours were won by men of dauntless courage and passionate vision, and it is these qualities in our peoples today that will carry us forward to the brighter future so eloquently dramatized by this new city of the frontier.

To you, Dr. Pinheiro, and your thousands of associates, has been en-

trusted the enormous task of transplanting the inspired dream of planners into reality. I congratulate you for the marvels you are fashioning.

And now to the workers assembled here and through them to all Brazilian labor, I bring special greetings. May your toil be fruitful in advancing Brazil's development and well-being. May your hands be firmly clasped with those of the workers of the United States and the entire free world in the building of a richer life, in freedom, for yourselves, your children, and all generations to follow.

I thank all of you here for the honor you today have done me and my country. This has been a moving and memorable experience.

I thank you for the privilege of being here.

NOTE: The President spoke at the Central Platform. Earlier, upon his arrival about 1:45 p.m. at the Brasilia Airport, the President was met by President Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira, members of the

Brazilian Cabinet, and U.S. Ambassador John M. Cabot.

Dr. Israel Pinheiro, to whom the President referred, was in charge of the construction of Brasilia.

46 ¶ Joint Statement of the President and President Kubitschek of Brazil.

February 23, 1960

THE PRESIDENTS of the United States of America and of the United States of Brazil, Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira and Dwight D. Eisenhower, meeting together in the new city of Brasilia, soon to be the capital of Brazil, reaffirm the joint determination of the two nations to defend the following principles:

1. The democratic freedoms and the fundamental rights of man, wherein are included the fight against racial discrimination and the repudiation of any attempt against religious freedom and of any limitation on the expression of thought. These are inalienable conquests of civilization which all free men have the duty to protect, bearing in mind the sacrifices of the soldiers of both countries in the last war, and the need to prevent repetition of the causes which led to the loss of so many young and precious lives.

2. The belief that the aspiration of the peoples of the Americas to an ever-improving way of life, moral and material, presents one of the great challenges and opportunities of our time. This challenge should be met by joining together, ever more closely and harmoniously, the

efforts of all countries within the inter-American community in order that, through coordinated action, there may be an intensification of measures capable of combating underdevelopment in the vast area of the American continents.

3. The full implementation of the principles of political and economic solidarity contained in the Charter of the Organization of American States and in the Mutual Assistance Treaty of Rio de Janeiro.

4. The recognition that economic advancement cannot be disassociated from preservation of peace and democratic rights, and that the effort of each nation must be complemented by hemisphere action helping all Americans to achieve the improved living standards which will fortify belief in democracy, freedom and self-determination of peoples. To this end, the Presidents reaffirm their solidarity with the principles approved by all the nations of America within the scope of Operation Pan America and assure their wholehearted support to the Organization of American States and to those other entities which already are formulating measures to help achieve these ends. This will pave the way to the realization of the inter-American ideals, economic as well as political.

Acknowledging that joint efforts of the American nations have already achieved much, but firm in the conviction that action still more fruitful should be taken, the two Presidents are confident that the hemispheric crusade for economic development will lead toward greater prosperity and harmony for all.

NOTE: This statement, released at Brasilia, Lafer at the site of the monument commemorating President Eisenhower's visit to Brasilia, was read by Secretary of State Christian A. Herter and Foreign Minister Horacio

47 ¶ Message to the Congress Transmitting Second Annual Report on U.S. Aeronautics and Space Activities. *February 24, 1960*

[Released February 24, 1960. Dated February 22, 1960]

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with Section 206(b) of the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958, I am transmitting herewith the second annual report on the Nation's activities in the fields of aeronautics and space.

49 ¶ Address Before a Joint Session of the
Congress of Brazil. *February 24, 1960*

Mr. President, Members of the Congress, fellow citizens of the New World, ladies and gentlemen:

Mr. President, I think you must understand how deeply touched I am by the scene which here before me spreads. I see here represented in the members of this body the spirit, the intellect, and the character of the great Brazilian nation, a nation which is surging forward to heights as yet unimagined, even by ourselves.

Beyond this, I am grateful for the generous statements directed to my country and to me by those who have preceded me today. I am proud that I have been invited the second time by the representative body of Brazil to meet with them for a brief period, and I am more proud of the fact that your spokesmen have greeted me and my country as a country and as an individual that with them work to support and forward the priceless values that make men free and fight those influences which tend or would want to regiment or enslave them.

It is, then, with a sense of singular honor that I come before you, the elected representatives of the people of the United States of Brazil.

But the warm glow of personal pleasure is tempered by the realization that we share awesome responsibilities which this profoundly moving occasion prompts me to discuss with you.

If the burdens of my office permitted, I would travel to the largest cities and the remotest villages of all the Americas, to speak of these responsibilities and of how, together, we may possibly bear them successfully. Since I cannot do this, I trust that what I say here will be accepted by the governments and peoples of all the Western Hemisphere nations as an expression of hope from the millions of my country to the millions who constitute Latin America.

It is fitting, I think, that I should do this here, at the beginning of my present journey, for you of Brazil and we of the United States of America have always worked together for the spiritual unity and material advancement of the hemisphere. If it were physically possible for us to do so, I am sure we would speak with a single voice to all our neighbors of this vast continent.

Not long ago, you and we shared anxieties, suffering, and tragedy

in an agony of worldwide war. Many of your families, as of ours, paid a heavy price in order that the rule of law and moral suasion might replace the rule of naked force. To pay homage to the gallant Brazilian soldiers, airmen, and sailors who fought side by side with others of the free world I came here 14 years ago. I know that your brave men, who knew the horrors of war, pray with me now, that their children and their children's children will find a better way—so that in the future the deep, abiding desires of humanity will prevail over the arrogance and ambitions of misguided or willful leaders; that consultations will replace coercion; that mutual understanding will eliminate threat and crude accusation; that the earth, casting aside the sterile use of resources for arms, will yield its rich bounty to all who are willing to work in freedom.

I am confident that I shall not be thought presumptuous in suggesting that we—our two nations—could speak with a single voice. For our basic ideas have a common inspiration: man, in his sonship under God, is endowed with dignity, entitled to equality in all human and political relations, and destined, through the employment of consecrated intelligence, to shape a world harmonious with basic moral law. Adhering to these beliefs, we have established similar governmental systems; we have constantly maintained friendly relations unmarred by a single explosive incident; and we have worked together to establish and strengthen the Organization of American States, the United Nations, and other cooperative international organizations.

We of the United States admire Brazil for its enviable record of constructive leadership in hemisphere and world affairs, and we salute your statesmen who have played decisive parts in critical international situations, even some involving the United States and one or more of our sister Republics.

Speaking with one voice, then—your country and mine—we would say, I know, that the first responsibility of leadership in any nation is to work for the welfare of its own people, its own land. We would emphasize that heavy reliance must be placed upon the creative talents of the people themselves, with government a helpful partner. While we recognize that success or failure in the whole domestic enterprise is largely a nation's own responsibility, we would look for any needed outside temporary assistance to speed our development. Certainly my country did this from its establishment as a free nation until late in the nineteenth century. And in receiving and using these honors, our sov-

ereignty was not violated—nor was our self-reliance diminished.

You now are experiencing, primarily due to your own persistent labors, a remarkable industrial and economic growth. Yesterday, on what was once a remote plateau, I saw your growth revealed in the stone and steel of an emerging and magnificent new capital—a symbol of the vision and sturdy confidence which characterize modern Brazil. This surging growth is evident everywhere in this seaport city of Rio, and tomorrow I shall see what I am told is the most rapidly growing city in the world—São Paulo.

We of the United States are proud that our public and private agencies have responded to the best of their ability to your requests for temporary assistance. United States public and private investments and loans in Brazil now total about two and a half billion dollars. To this could be added the loans of international financial agencies which obtain the major part of their funds from the United States.

These are mighty, but only supplemental aids. The time will come when Brazil, through its own efforts, will experience both the benefits and the complexities of being a creditor nation, and others will be seeking your help—a seeking which I know will not be unrewarded.

Our second responsibility is to all our good neighbors of this hemisphere.

We, Brazil and the United States, hold the common, burning conviction that relations among these sister nations must be characterized by mutual respect, juridical equality, independence, respect for each human being, regardless of his race, creed, or color, and a willingness to help one another promote the well-being of all our peoples.

Neither of us covets one acre of land from another. We do not wish to prosper at another's expense. We do not wish to impose our particular form of democracy upon another. Rather, fervently and persistently, while avoiding all forms of intervention, we proclaim our hope that the nations of the hemisphere will each, according to its own genius and aspirations, develop and sustain free government. We pray that all of us will reject cruel tyranny, for tyranny is, in simple essence, the outright denial of the teachings of Christ. May each of us in every appropriate way, and especially by example, work for the strengthening of democratic institutions.

You of Brazil have constantly shown your desire for the Americas to be a community of free democratic nations, united by the common ideal

of hemispheric cooperation and solidarity. You, like we, insist upon freedom of choice for every country. And you, like we, aspire to the day when poverty, hunger, illiteracy, and discrimination in all forms will become relics of the past.

In proposing Operation Pan America, Brazil has taken an important initiative for the democratic development of the entire hemisphere. The high purpose of this imaginative proposal of your distinguished President—to attack the problem of underdevelopment by cooperative effort—is one which my government endorses. It is for this reason that we have joined with Brazil in requesting an early meeting of the Committee of Nine; this Committee should accelerate the formulation of the specific projects needed to translate this plan into a working reality.

Permit me here to renew a pledge, which I have made repeatedly: the United States itself stands ready, and will continue to urge other free nations to be ready to join in a gigantic effort: to devote substantial portions of the savings made possible by disarmament to vast constructive programs of peaceful development. We embrace this idea despite the fact that we are now carrying such heavy burdens throughout the world that our own internal and external financial situation requires great caution in management—and incidentally, this aid includes significant volumes of public and private capital and technical assistance to Latin America.

Pending that achievement, I assure you that my government, while honoring its commitments outside this hemisphere is in no mood to allow its special responsibilities among the American States to go by default. Indeed, these commitments and responsibilities are part and parcel of the same problem—preserving the strength and unity of the free world.

This brings me to the third responsibility which we may speak of in common voice—that which involves the larger world.

This is truly a time of fateful decision. Nations now possess power so terrible that mutual annihilation would be the only result of general physical conflict. War is now utterly preposterous. In nearly every generation the fields of earth have been stained with blood. Now, war would not yield blood—only a great emptiness for the combatants, and the threat of death from the skies for all who inhabit the earth. To strive ceaselessly, honestly, and effectively for peace is today the imperative responsibility of every statesman—of yours, of ours, of all countries.

At the same moment of this great crisis, we face anew decisions involv-

ing tyranny or freedom, totalitarianism or democracy. Our shared view on this issue is so eloquent and so clear that any words of mine would not be enlightening.

And, perhaps inseparable from the decision of freedom or slavery, we face the philosophic issue which today brings fear, misgiving, and mistrust to mankind. In contrast to our adherence to a philosophy of common sonship, of human dignity, and of moral law, millions now live in an environment permeated with a philosophy which denies the existence of God. That doctrine insists that any means justifies the end sought by the rulers of the state, calls Christianity the "sigh of the oppressed," and, in short, seeks to return mankind to the age-old fatalistic concept of the omnipotent state and omnipotent fate.

You of Brazil and we of my country do not say that this philosophy shall not be held; that peoples may not return to that unenlightened system of tyranny, if they so wish. We would feel a great sorrow for them, but we would respect their right to choose such a system. Here is the key to our policy—the right to choose. Human beings everywhere, simply as an inalienable right of birth, should have freedom to choose their guiding philosophy, their form of government, their methods of progress.

But we—you of Brazil and we of the United States—would consider it intervention in the internal affairs of an American State if any power, whether by invasion, coercion, or subversion, succeeded in denying freedom of choice to the people of any of our sister Republics.

To work throughout the world for a guaranteed peace, free of all outside interference, and for rising levels of human well-being, in justice and in freedom—this is the greatest of the responsibilities which you of Brazil and we of the United States now share.

It is to confer with your distinguished President and his colleagues about these bilateral but hemispheric and global problems that I am making my brief trip to Brazil and your neighbors in this great Southland.

May God cast his grace upon us and guide us in this noble purpose.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:38 p.m. at the Tiradentes Palace in Rio de Janeiro. His opening words "Mr. President" referred to Vice President João Goulart.

Operation Pan America was proposed by Brazil in a memorandum dated August

9, 1958, following the exchange of messages between Presidents Eisenhower and Kubitschek in May and June of that year (see 1958 volume, this series, Item 133). The memorandum of August 9, 1958, is published in *Operación Panamericana*, *Compilación de Documentos II* (Presi-

dencia de la República, Servicio de Documentación, Rio de Janeiro, 1958).

The Committee of Nine, to which the President referred, is a subcommittee of

the Special Committee of the Council of the Organization of American States to Study the Formulation of New Measures for Economic Cooperation (Committee of 21).

50 ¶ Remarks to the Members of the Supreme Court of Brazil. February 24, 1960

Mr. Chief Justice, Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States of Brazil, and my Brazilian friends:

I have been privileged to call upon the President of the Brazilian Republic. I have just completed a meeting with the legislative body of this great country. Now it is my great privilege and honor to pay a call upon the third branch—equal branch of equal status in the Brazilian Government.

To have been invited once before this august body was in itself a great privilege and an honor. To have been invited back again, Mr. Chief Justice, is an honor that I consider almost unique.

It is my simple concept that the Supreme Court in a Federal Republic exists to make certain that the rule of law will flourish and will not be weakened by any processes that are not approved by the constitution and as interpreted by that Supreme Court.

In my country, the Supreme Court has attained a position in the minds of the average citizen of grandeur, almost of veneration.

I have been examining the history of your Supreme Court. I see the parallels, between its formation and its history, with our own. I know from the picture you have in the window that you give the same respect to the memory of John Marshall that we do. I have also heard of a great jurist of yours named Luís Barbosa who in your country and in his term took the same occasion as did John Marshall to assert the right, the absolute unchallenged right of the Supreme Court to place interpretation upon any law, and to determine whether or not it was in consonance with the Constitution.

Clothed with this kind of responsibility and with this kind of authority, the Supreme Court stands as a true guardian of justice for the individual. And I submit that the reason for republican or democratic government is to protect the individual in his rights which we—you and ourselves—

believe are his, because of the fact of his creation, because he has been created in the image of his God. I can see, therefore, that the decisions of such a body as this, its opinions, are more than mere decisions for application in a particular case and to make certain that the rights of a particular citizen have been protected, or that the law has not been allowed to go astray in its application in some other branch of the government. It is more important—the court is more important than merely to do this. As I see it, the court is also a teacher. Because the real strength of democracy is in the hearts and minds and the understandings of people, not merely the august members of this great body.

In my country, and I think it is possibly true in yours, a man who has been honored by being given a chair in this body is thereby removed from partisan politics. Partisan politicians do much to inform our public. Sometimes they merely try to influence. As I see it, the man now in this kind of position, with this authority, with this opportunity to study without bias, cannot merely influence, he can inform. And I say that in all forms of free government the only final force, the only final authority, is public opinion. And if it be informed public opinion, then in truth democracy is truly working. If the rule of law is to be substituted for the rule of the sword, if persuasion is to take the place of fighting on the battlefield, then the kind of public opinion that I speak of must be strong in all free nations.

And so I salute this body for the opportunity that belongs to each of you, because as a group we know that, just like in my own country, this institution is venerated. Your words carry weight. And your words will be heeded. Consequently, when you say we must substitute the rule of law for force, all will heed, all will help—which is all important.

So, Mr. Chief Justice, and Justices of the Supreme Court of Brazil, I come here to pay my respects, but those words are merely formalities by themselves. My visit has a far deeper meaning to me than mere formality. I do want to pay my respects to this court and to its functions, and what I think it can and will do in helping Brazil toward the destiny that is certain to belong to that nation as long as it lives in the institutions of freedom and pushes forward on the course that it is now pursuing.

Thank you very much indeed.

NOTE: The President spoke in the Federal Room of the Supreme Court building at Rio de Janeiro. His opening words "Mr. Chief Justice" referred to Chief Justice Luiz Galloti.

51 ¶ Toast by the President at a Dinner Given in His Honor by President Kubitschek in Rio de Janeiro. February 24, 1960

Mr. President, Madame Kubitschek, distinguished guests, and friends:

First, Mr. President, may I thank you sincerely for the generosity of your remarks about my country and about me, and for your generous hospitality toward me and to my party. I deeply regret that my wife could not be here to participate in this most gracious ceremony in which you and your lovely wife are the host and hostess. I think the reasons that she could not come are known, but I assure you her regret is very deep.

Mr. President, this afternoon, in meeting with the assembled Congress of the United States of Brazil, I tried to outline the convictions that I hold as to the common role that your country and mine have in the attempt to better the standards of living for all peoples, in order that democracy and the freedom, of which you so eloquently speak, can be thereby strengthened.

On this trip with me, as you know, are Secretary Herter, Assistant Secretary Rubottom, and the citizen members of the new United States Advisory Committee on Inter-American Affairs. The fact that these gentlemen are accompanying me symbolizes the high importance we of my country attach to good relations with all the nations of Latin America. I know that what we are all learning here, and shall observe throughout this trip, will be helpful to us as we seek constantly to work for hemispheric solidarity.

I should say, Mr. President, that the strong feelings I felt about the need for cooperation, which were the feelings that led me to make this trip, have been emphasized and greatly strengthened by the meetings I have held with you and with your associates during the past hours that I have been able to spend in your great nation.

The friendly relations of our two countries—now stronger and more meaningful than ever before—have an inspiring history. The beautiful home of the Brazilian Foreign Ministry reminds one of thrilling diplomatic traditions.

Here I should like to say if I mispronounce names, it's because of my ignorance and not because of any intent. Itamaraty is symbolic of the

principles enunciated by Baron do Rio Branco, a great hero to us, as to you. Here worked such dedicated statesmen as Joaquim Nabuco and Afranio de Malo France, who stood resolutely for the abiding friendship of our two countries. And here labored Oswaldo Aranha, a firm friend, whose recent passing is deeply mourned in the United States.

I raise my glass in tribute to all who have in these halls worked so patiently and gloriously for the principles of freedom, independence, and abiding cooperation—and to you, President Kubitschek, both for your deeds of friendship and for your staunch support of inter-American solidarity.

Ladies and gentlemen: the President!

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at a dinner at the Itamaraty, the Foreign Ministry in Rio de Janeiro.

52 ¶ Remarks Upon Arrival at Congonhas Airport, São Paulo, Brazil. February 25, 1960

Mr. President, Governor Carvalho Pinto, Mayor de Barros, citizens of São Paulo:

Yesterday I referred to a rumor I have often heard—that São Paulo is the fastest growing city in the world—center of Brazilian commerce and industry. Certainly it is a sincere personal pleasure to have this opportunity today to witness firsthand the mighty achievements of this fabulous community.

In addition to seeing evidence of Brazil's remarkable economic and industrial growth, I have another very special and, to me, deeply moving, mission to perform in your city. Later today, I shall have the honor of paying homage to those brave soldiers of Brazil who were my comrades-in-arms during World War II.

My nation—and all free nations—have reason to remember with gratitude Brazil's partnership in two World Wars.

You made your bases available for our common cause—bases which were truly springboards to victory. On land, sea, and air, Brazilian cooperation was of inestimable value in defeating our enemies and preserving a way of life we cherish. Gallant Brazilian blood, shed with ours, must ever remind us of our solemn, common covenant to preserve the peace, with justice and freedom for all.

I thank all of you for the warmth and cordiality of your welcome, Governor and Mr. Mayor. It is a real privilege to be here.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 a.m. He was met by Governor Carlos Alberto Carvalho Pinto, Mayor Adhemar de Barros, Dr. Potado Rus de Mello Juqueira, President of the Legislative Assembly, Dsembargador Joao Marcelino Gonzaga, President of the Court of Justice, and other officials.

53 ¶ Address by the President at a Luncheon Given in His Honor in São Paulo.

February 25, 1960

Mr. President, Governor Carvalho Pinto, and other Governors here present, ladies and gentlemen:

I am deeply grateful for the generous welcome my associates and I have received in São Paulo. And I must personally express to you my deep gratitude for the warmth of the welcome with which you have greeted me in this hall.

This is my first visit to your great city, the industrial heart of Brazil. Here in your factories and workshops, much of the economic future of Brazil is being forged. It is indeed a privilege to meet personally so many leaders of São Paulo's progressive government, industry, and agriculture.

I do not wonder, as I look around me and see what Paulista energy and initiative have achieved, that you take pride in your city and state, and especially in the fact that in this area great opportunities exist for men of energy, talent, and initiative to carve for themselves important places in the life of the nation. This country, like my own, provides opportunities to all, however humble their origins and whatever the circumstances of their birth.

Opportunity, without discrimination—this is one vital aspect of democracy both in Brazil and the United States. The humblest may become the highest—through his own efforts.

Our societies are designed to permit everyone to pursue family welfare and happiness in liberty, and also to promote the well-being of all, not just a few, of the people.

We believe fervently that no one should be denied the chance for or the fruits of self-betterment because of his race, his religion, sex, class, or

Color

November 19, 1990

MEMORANDUM

TO: LANGER
FROM: CAROLYN
RE: BRAZIL

Large War He contributed U.S.

Brazil and the US share a long history of friendship and cooperation.

Traditionally, Brazil has been a leader in the inter-American community and has played an important role in collective security efforts as well as in economic cooperation in the Western Hemisphere.

Brazil aligned with the Allies during both World Wars.

Brazil is an active party in many regional and international organizations. These include:

- the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (the Rio Treaty)
- the OAS
- founding member of the Amazon Pact
- founding member of the Latin American Integration Association, the successor to the Lat Am Free Trade Association

- Charter member of the UN
- Member of GATT (Round will be underway in Geneva during POTUS' visit to Brazil)

The US and Brazil:

The United States was the first country to recognize Brazil's independence in 1822.

Brazil's 19th century leader, Emperor Dom Pedro II, admired Abraham Lincoln and visited the US during the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia -- the first Brazilian chief of state to visit. (Quote to come.)

The agreements between Brazil and the US include a treaty of peace and friendship; an extradition treaty, a joint participation treaty on communication satellites, and scientific cooperation, civil aviation, and maritime agreements. We exchange professors under Fulbright and other academic programs and carry out university cooperation projects.

We are both frontier societies and have both had 3 capitals: (New York, Philadelphia, D.C.) and (Salvador, Rio, Brasilia).

Epitacio da Silva Pessoa President-elect of the Federative Republic of Brazil in 1919; 2nd chief of state to visit the US. He made remarks to a joint session of the US Congress.

In his remarks, he referred to Brazil as the "ancient friend" of the US, acknowledging that the relationship embraced their recent diplomatic agreement at Versailles.

As President of a nation precariously dependent on the export of agricultural products, he underscored that Brazil would see in "the energies and capacity of the US for trade" her own "widest possibilities for the development of her trade and commerce."

Walt Whitman wrote a poem to the Brazilian people to herald the birth of the Republic in 1889.

"Welcome, Brazilian Brother, thy ample place is ready.
A loving hand, a smile from the North, a sunny instant
hail!

Let the future care for itself, where it reveals it's
troubles, impedimentas,
ours, ours the present throe, the democratic aim, the
acceptance and the faith;

To thee today our reaching arm, our turning neck --
to thee from us the expectant eye.

Thou cluster free! Thou brilliant lustrous one! One
thou, learning well,

The true lesson of a nation's light in the sky,
more shining than the cross, more than the crown,
the height to be superb humanity."

BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP

- o The United States has a profound national interest in improving its relations with the countries of Latin America in the years ahead. The problems that characterized the past decade -- debt fatigue, the fragility of emerging democratic institutions, a struggle for consensus on a regional economic model, the growing drug menace -- have also created a window of opportunity for strengthening the US-Latin American relationship.

o We are approaching the 500th anniversary of Columbus' encounter with the New World. Eight years after Columbus, the first Portuguese squadrons under Pedro Alves Cabral arrived in Brazil. We are both frontier societies and our two youthful and vigorous nations have grown together. Our relations have been strong and productive. But today, nearing five centuries after Columbus and Cabral, we face a series of challenges which offer great promise -- but which will also test our ability to work cooperatively together.

o Brazil has already taken major steps to meet these challenges. It celebrated its return to democracy last year with the first popular election of a Brazilian President in 29 years. Seventy million Brazilian voters participated in one of the largest expressions of democratic choice that the world has ever seen. Your recent gubernatorial and legislative elections represented one more major step in this process. I congratulate you and the Brazilian people on these achievements.

o As the two largest countries of the hemisphere, Brazil and the U.S. have a special responsibility for leadership. Our bilateral relations remain close and productive -- but, as we approach the 21st century, I believe there is even more that we can accomplish together in addressing a large and expanding agenda of global issues. These issues touch every one of us -- they include environmental concerns; the absolute need to eliminate the scourges of drugs and of terrorism; arms control; poverty and human rights.

The problem of drugs affects both of our countries in similar ways. It ravages neighborhoods in both Rio de Janeiro and Washington, D.C. I believe we now understand that we cannot make progress against this threat by pointing fingers of blame at each other.

World's 1st
 emp. democ.
 Brazil - free
 trade, free speech,
 free markets

largest trading ctr.
 in the world.

→ Post cold war challenges: drugs
 enviro
 non-profit. chem, nuclear

Excerpts of President Jose Sarney's speech before a Joint Session
of the US Congress -- September 11, 1986

--On Jose Joaquim Maia

"In 1787 the young Brazilian, Jose Joaquim Maia, sought out Thomas Jefferson, then Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, to ask his support for our independence. Two years later, our hero, Tiradentes, who dreamed of a free and republican Brazil, was hanged, drawn, and quartered, his severed body hung for all to see, in the streets and roads, as cruel example to smother the dream of freedom, and to declare that it would not come forth in the land.

Do you know what the King's agents found among the papers that had set the heart of our martyr afire with the holy madness of independence? The Constitution of the United States of America."

--On Congress

"Congress is a school for public life. It is greater than the sum of all its Members. This institution is the sovereignty of the people. One learns here to listen rather than to speak. To listen to all the voices, all the groups of society, all the emotions, all the injustices. Here, all decisions are questioned...."

The National Anthem of Brazil

The music was written in 1831 on the accession of Emperor Dom Pedro II. New text adopted in 1922 but same tune.

"A challenge from a people who were fearless;

Thenceforth the sun of Freedom climbed our country's
sky and poured its rays upon us, bright and
peerless...."

"Oh mighty vision, well we know that we survey our
country's future greatness shown for us there

10/30 9 a.m.

REVISED VERSION
PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH - BRAZIL

SETTING

- o I am delighted to begin my trip in Brazil, the largest country of Latin America and the fifth largest in the world. This is an immense land -- covering half of South America and four time zones -- with a spirit to match. The success of your economy (the world's eighth largest) and your society is vital to the well-being of all nations in the Americas.
- o Your 30-year old ~~capital~~ capital Brasilia symbolizes your nation's energy, inventiveness and aspiration to greatness. I stand today in your congress ~~in the presence of your congress~~. I am impressed that so many members could appear today during your congressional recess.
- o I come to Latin America and to Brazil at a time of great international change and promise. Events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union may have garnered most of the headlines so far. But North Americans are beginning to understand that a political and economic revolution of truly major proportions is occurring in the southern part of this hemisphere. I have come because I wished to witness this revolution -- and to pledge my country's support to see it carried forward successfully.

see memo on "3 Powers Square"

THE CHANGING HEMISPHERE

- o ~~_____~~
~~_____~~
~~_____~~
But in this case, the revolution has two sides -- both ~~_____~~. Contrast 19th c. w/ 20th c. & draw vision for the next century.
- o The political revolution reflects the aspirations of the region's peoples for self-rule and a voice over decisions that affect their lives. This stirring tide has swept away almost all authoritarian rule in the region. It will lead one day to the ~~_____~~

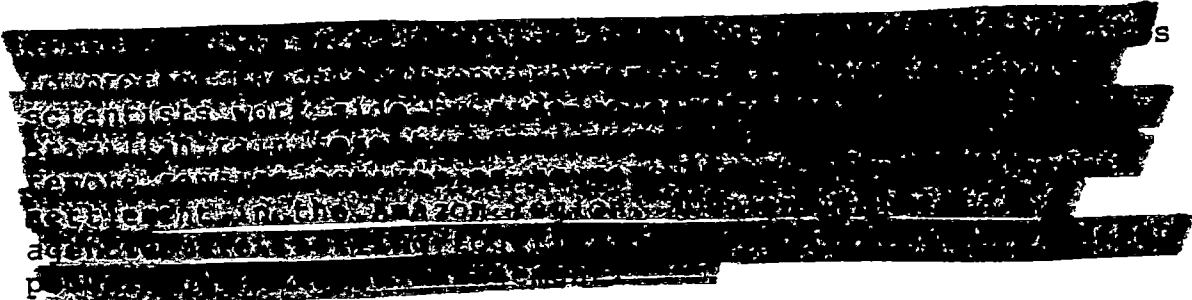
- o But running alongside -- perhaps sometimes less noticed -- is an equally profound change in the way in which the peoples of Latin America have come to view the structure and operation of their own economies. Many in Latin America are now beginning for the first time to enjoy economic as well as political democracy.
- o Revolutions, whether political or economic, are untidy. They destroy special privilege. Along with new opportunities, they create new uncertainties. They demand special leaders to provide a steady compass in a storm of change. In this respect, our hemisphere -- and your country -- have proved fortunate. Your president, Fernando Collor, represents a fresh breed of young leadership which is sweeping across Latin America.
- o Since I first met President Collor last January, I have come to value greatly our friendship. He and I have discussed his wish to see Brazil take its rightful place among the world's leading industrial democracies. We in the United States stand ready to help realize this goal.
- o President Collor has spoken of Brazil's rightful place at the table of the first world. What is so important about that table is that there is no limit to its size. Brazil belongs there -- and so do Argentina and Chile, Uruguay and Venezuela. Getting there simply demands courage and a willingness to make hard choices. Today's presidents of these and other countries of the region have shown that they understand this.
- o Latin America's political revolution grew from the grass roots. Its still-uncompleted economic revolution must essentially develop the same way -- from the demands and efforts of your peoples for more efficient, market-driven economies with a fairer distribution of benefits. But the United States wishes to help. This is not simply altruism -- in fact, we have a very large stake in your success.
- o In other words, we have a clear interest in the promotion of economic as well as political democracy in the hemisphere. Your gain will be our gain in terms of expanding markets for our goods and technologies. Your growth will provide new opportunities for investment by U.S. companies. And expansion of economic opportunity for the great mass of Latin America's peoples will pay enormous dividends in terms of social and ecological stability for the entire planet.

BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP

- o The United States has a profound national interest in improving its relations with the countries of Latin America in the years ahead. The problems that characterized the past decade -- debt fatigue, the fragility of emerging democratic institutions, a struggle for consensus on a regional economic model, the growing drug menace -- have also created a window of opportunity for strengthening the US-Latin American relationship.
- o We are approaching the 500th anniversary of Columbus' encounter with the New World. Eight years after Columbus, the first Portuguese squadrons under Pedro Alves Cabral arrived in Brazil. [REDACTED] r. Our relations have been strong and productive. But today, nearing five centuries after Columbus and Cabral, we face a series of challenges which offer great promise -- but which will also test our ability to work cooperatively together.
- o Brazil has already taken major steps to meet these challenges. It celebrated its return to democracy last year with the [REDACTED] s. Your recent gubernatorial and legislative elections represented one more major step in this process. I congratulate you and the Brazilian people on these achievements.
- o [REDACTED], Brazil and the U.S. have a special responsibility for leadership. Our bilateral relations remain close and productive -- but, as we approach the 21st century, I believe there is even more that we can accomplish together in addressing a large and expanding agenda of global issues. These issues touch every one of us -- they include environmental concerns: the absolute need to eliminate the scourges of drugs and of terrorism; arms control; poverty and human rights.
- o The problem of drugs affects both of our countries in similar ways. It ravages neighborhoods in both Rio de Janeiro and Washington, D.C. I believe we now understand that we cannot make progress against this threat by pointing fingers of blame at each other.

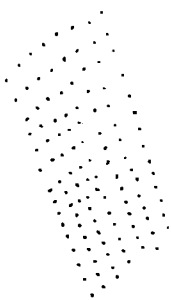
o We in the U.S. recognize that we must do more to reduce demand. You recognize that the spreading tentacles of the drug industry threaten democratic society. Together, we recognize that we must continue to increase cooperation to protect our children -- the next generation.

o President Collor has taken a strong lead here by using his office to publicize the threat drugs pose to Brazil's young. I pledge the full efforts of my government to continue to lower our consumption and thus dampen incentives to drug production. Further, as we both learn better how to reduce consumption and treat drug addiction, we can more fully share these lessons.

o  s

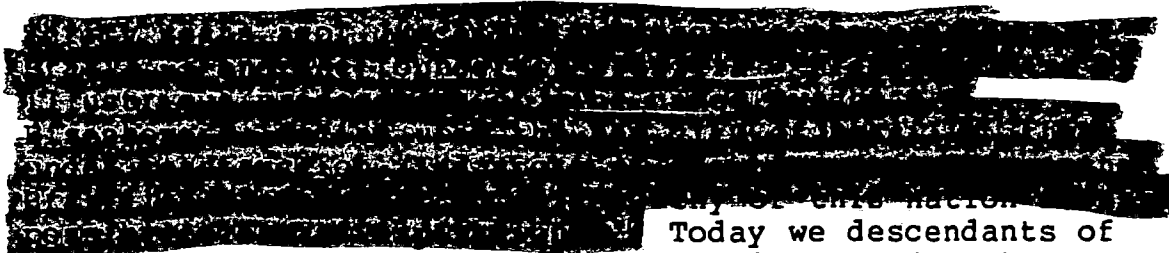
o I believe that the Brazilian people understand that Latin America should not -- and need not -- make the same mistakes that we did in more careless times: in destroying large tracts of our forests, in creating air and water pollution requiring large investments to correct, or in allowing development to override the human rights of native populations. My country stands ready to cooperate with Brazil and other countries of the hemisphere develop a new and more sustainable economic model -- to allow development without the human and economic costs of environmental degradation.

o You can be proud of Brazil's new leadership in these fields. There is no better symbol of this than Brazil's constitutional protections for indigenous peoples or its offer to host the second U.N. conference on the environment in 1992.



ECONOMIC REFORM/THE EAI

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Today we descendants of these two great men come together again to undertake a fresh and even more daunting task -- the construction of a new economic relationship for the Western Hemisphere. I have called this effort an "Enterprise for the Americas." Its full realization will take far longer than the xx years it took to build Brasilia. But with the drive of a Kubitschek -- and the determination of an Eisenhower -- it will happen.

- o I am speaking of a new relationship born of the triumph of democracy in this hemisphere and directed towards the necessary next step -- the essential task of raising the standard of living and expanding the economic freedoms of the peoples of Latin America.
- o President Collor and other Latin American leaders understand that democracy is an economic asset. They perceive that to give this asset value, a new vision is needed, one which encourages innovation and competition and which produces maximum opportunity for the individual. Such a new vision requires a redefinition of institutions and their relationship with the peoples they exist to serve.
- o [Our president put it well, I think, when he said in his inaugural address: "It is not enough to govern for the people; we must reconcile the government with the people, the power with the citizenry and the State with the Nation."]
- o But changes will not happen easily. They will require difficult choices and sacrifices from all of us. Economies which depended on protection and on state regulation must open to competition and greater economic liberty. The transition may for a time be painful for many -- unfortunately including some who already suffer from poverty and deprivation.

- o But the results -- a growing economy and a sound currency -- will lead to new opportunities and a welcome sense of stability.
- o The major challenges that Latin America has faced over the past decade has been economic adjustment. Development came easily to the region in the 60s and 70s. Private investment and bilateral, multilateral and private bank lending were readily available. Economies were bouyant and world demand was high. Conditions were tolerant of mismanagement, inefficiency and protectionism.
- o This is no longer the case. Latin America producers now compete for capital and markets for Southeast Asia, with the mediterranean countries of Europe and with aggressively exporting industrialized countries. Eastern Europe has added a new dimension to the demand for capital.
- o Latin America is already adjusting. Your exports are rising. Fiscal reform is underway. So is privatization. Governments are doing away with subsidies which skew the market. They are giving more attention to agriculture -- a sector which, as we in the U.S. have discovered, can be a powerful engine of development.
- o There is a rapidly growing consensus in the region about a new model of Latin America development. It challenges certain aspects of Latin America's traditional political culture and institutions. As elsewhere in the world, shifting human aspirations are creating new market realities. Political systems too must modernize to keep up.
- o Latin America will have to make further adjustments to integrate into the international economy; yet they must do so if they are to compete on an equal footing with Southeast Asia and emerging European economies, as well as to take advantage of the European Market after 1992. We are confident that you can and will succeed in this task.
- o We know that solutions must be found by Brazilians, by Chileans, by Peruvians -- but we in the United States want to help.

- For debt, we are prepared to work with Brazil and with others in Latin America to write down and restructure U.S. official debts contracted on concessionary terms. These swaps have the potential of liberating substantial resources for use in environmental projects. I believe that this can be a very exciting venue of new collaboration between us. Specifically, it can help Latin America's nations to develop and prosper without undue ecological cost to the communities and countryside upon which we depend and within which our children will live.
- Our new approach to official debt is intended to complement commercial debt restructuring through the Brady Plan. I understand the importance to Brazil and to the international financial community -- of reaching a new agreement on commercial debt. Continued access to global capital flows is vital to your development. Although we do not sit at the table of such negotiations, we stand ready to assist where appropriate to ensure they reach a successful conclusion.
- We have submitted a request to the Congress for legislation that will give us the authority to negotiate to international proposals.

VISION

- o Let me stress, my vision of an "Enterprise for the Americas" is of a joint undertaking involving the effort and imagination of all nations in this hemisphere. [REDACTED] As we approach the 21st century, let us all hold fast to the "beautiful ideal" of greater prosperity and freedom of choice for our peoples.
- o At the beginning of this address, I said that I had come to Brazil and to Latin America as witness to a political and an economic revolution in the hemisphere. The political revolution was accomplished by brave and courageous efforts by democratically-elected leaders such as you here in this chamber. You are the pioneers -- you have shown that change need not issue from the barrel of a gun. It can and is taking place under the rule of law.

- o It is now the time to complete this revolution by enacting a matching economic bill of rights for Brazil and for all the nations of Latin America. This will be in many ways a harder task than writing constitutions or organizing elections. But its objective will be similar -- the unchaining of your economic possibilities to match your new political freedoms. And its promise is to create a hemisphere of new productivity, open markets and expanding possibilities from Laborador to Lima, from Boston to Buenos Aires, from Pittsburg to Porto Alegre. You and I together are privileged to be witnesses together to such a vision as we move towards the new century which can make it a reality.

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REVISED VERSION
PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH - BRAZIL

SETTING

- o I am delighted to begin my trip in Brazil, the largest country of Latin America and the fifth largest in the world. This is an immense land -- covering half of South America and four time zones -- with a spirit to match. The success of your economy (the world's eighth largest) and your society is vital to the well-being of all nations in the Americas.
- o Your 30-year old ~~space~~ capital Brasilia symbolizes your nation's energy, inventiveness and aspiration to greatness. I stand today in your congress, like ours, one of three independent branches of government. ~~I am impressed that so many members could appear today during your congressional recess.~~ *SPY.*
- o I come to Latin America and to Brazil at a time of great international change and promise. Events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union may have garnered most of the headlines so far. But North Americans are beginning to understand that a political and economic revolution of truly major proportions is occurring in the southern part of this hemisphere. I have come because I wished to witness this revolution -- and to pledge my country's support to see it carried forward successfully.

THE CHANGING HEMISPHERE

- o What is happening in the hemisphere marks this decade as the most important of the 20th century for Latin America. Its significance in fact compares with that of the age of decolonization and political independence of the 19th century. But in this case, the revolution has two sides -- both political and economic.
- o The political revolution reflects the aspirations of the region's peoples for self-rule and a voice over decisions that affect their lives. This stirring tide has swept away almost all authoritarian rule in the region. It will lead one day to the world's first completely democratic hemisphere.

Identified by all.

We see a future in which trade is free throughout the Americas--from Alaska to Argentina, where growing opportunity, the benefits of technology and the fruits of prosperity are shared by all. A future where there are no more lost decades, where, instead, we forge a permanent partnership between the United States and Latin America to confront a new generation of challenges that know no national boundaries: the scourge of drugs, new threats to the global environment, and the spread of nuclear or chemical weaponry. We have it in our power to build the world's first completely democratic hemisphere--a hemisphere that can serve as a model for the rest of the world of friendship and cooperation between developing and industrial nations. I am committed as President to work with you to realize that bold vision.

- o But running alongside -- perhaps sometimes less noticed -- is an equally profound change in the way in which the peoples of Latin America have come to view the structure and operation of their own economies. Many in Latin America are now beginning for the first time to enjoy economic as well as political democracy.
- o Revolutions, whether political or economic, are untidy. They destroy special privilege. Along with new opportunities, they create new uncertainties. They demand special leaders to provide a steady compass in a storm of change. In this respect, our hemisphere -- and your country -- have proved fortunate. Your president, Fernando Collor, represents a fresh breed of young leadership which is sweeping across Latin America.
- o Since I first met President Collor last January, I have come to value greatly our friendship. He and I have discussed his wish to see Brazil take its rightful place among the world's leading industrial democracies. We in the United States stand ready to help realize this goal.
- o President Collor has spoken of Brazil's rightful place at the table of the first world. What is so important about that table is that there is no limit to its size. Brazil belongs there -- and so do Argentina and Chile, Uruguay and Venezuela. Getting there simply demands courage and a willingness to make hard choices. Today's presidents of these and other countries of the region have shown that they understand this.
- o Latin America's political revolution grew from the grass roots. Its still-uncompleted economic revolution must essentially develop the same way -- from the demands and efforts of your peoples for more efficient, market-driven economies with a fairer distribution of benefits. But the United States wishes to help. This is not simply altruism -- in fact, we have a very large stake in your success.
- o In other words, we have a clear interest in the promotion of economic as well as political democracy in the hemisphere. Your gain will be our gain in terms of expanding markets for our goods and technologies. Your growth will provide new opportunities for investment by U.S. companies. And expansion of economic opportunity for the great mass of Latin America's peoples will pay enormous dividends in terms of social and ecological stability for the entire planet.

~~1st world 2nd world~~

BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP

- o The United States has a profound national interest in improving its relations with the countries of Latin America in the years ahead. The problems that characterized the past decade -- debt fatigue, the fragility of emerging democratic institutions, a struggle for consensus on a regional economic model, the growing drug menace -- have also created a window of opportunity for strengthening the US-Latin American relationship.

o We are approaching the 500th anniversary of Columbus' encounter with the New World. Eight years after Columbus, the first Portuguese squadrons under Pedro Alves Cabral arrived in Brazil. We are both frontier societies and our two youthful and vigorous nations have grown together. Our relations have been strong and productive. But today, nearing five centuries after Columbus and Cabral, we face a series of challenges which offer great promise -- but which will also test our ability to work cooperatively together.

o Brazil has already taken major steps to meet these challenges. It celebrated its return to democracy last year with the first popular election of a Brazilian President in 29 years. Seventy million Brazilian voters participated in one of the largest expressions of democratic choice that the world has ever seen. Your recent gubernatorial and legislative elections represented one more major step in this process. I congratulate you and the Brazilian people on these achievements.

o As the two largest countries of the hemisphere, Brazil and the U.S. have a special responsibility for leadership. Our bilateral relations remain close and productive -- but, as we approach the 21st century, I believe there is even more that we can accomplish together in addressing a large and expanding agenda of global issues. These issues touch every one of us -- they include environmental concerns; the absolute need to eliminate the scourges of drugs and of terrorism; arms control; poverty and human rights.

The problem of drugs affects both of our countries in similar ways. It ravages neighborhoods in both Rio de Janeiro and Washington, D.C. I believe we now understand that we cannot make progress against this threat by pointing fingers of blame at each other.

World's 1st
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largest trading ctr.
in the world.

→ Post cold war challenge: drugs
enviro
non profit. dem, welfare

Byron Blaine --

- o We in the U.S. recognize that we must do more to reduce demand. You recognize that the spreading tentacles of the drug industry threaten democratic society. Together, we recognize that we must continue to increase cooperation to protect our children -- the next generation.
- o President Collor has taken a strong lead here by using his office to publicize the threat drugs pose to Brazil's young. I pledge the full efforts of my government to continue to lower our consumption and thus dampen incentives to drug production. Further, as we both learn better how to reduce consumption and treat drug addiction, we can more fully share these lessons.

- o Brazil and the U.S. are also cooperating closely in efforts to protect the global environment. Brazilian and U.S. scientists work side by side to study biodiversity in the Brazilian rain forest. Our space agencies cooperate in remote sensing activities to measure the impact of human settlement in the Amazon region. Our environmental agencies are tackling together our common problems of urban pollution and waste management.

*See
 EPA
 [unclear]*

o I believe that the Brazilian people understand that Latin America should not -- and need not -- make the same mistakes that we did in more careless times: in destroying large tracts of our forests, in creating air and water pollution requiring large investments to correct, or in allowing development to override the human rights of native populations. My country stands ready to cooperate with Brazil and other countries of the hemisphere develop a new and more sustainable economic model -- to allow development without the human and economic costs of environmental degradation.

- o You can be proud of Brazil's new leadership in these fields. There is no better symbol of this than Brazil's constitutional protections for indigenous peoples or its offer to host the second U.N. conference on the environment in 1992.

ECONOMIC REFORM/THE EAI

- o Thirty years ago, Juscelino Kubitschek, the president of Brazil -- and the founder of Brasilia -- received here an illustrious predecessor of mine named Dwight D. Eisenhower. Gazing upon the new city of Brasilia, then under construction, Ike spoke of the towers rising on the Brazilian plateau as "an epic worthy of this nation's vast possibilities and aspirations." Today we descendants of these two great men come together again to undertake a fresh and even more daunting task -- the construction of a new economic relationship for the Western Hemisphere. I have called this effort an "Enterprise for the Americas." Its full realization will take far longer than the xx years it took to build Brasilia. But with the drive of a Kubitschek -- and the determination of an Eisenhower -- it will happen.
- o I am speaking of a new relationship born of the triumph of democracy in this hemisphere and directed towards the necessary next step -- the essential task of raising the standard of living and expanding the economic freedoms of the peoples of Latin America.
- o President Collor and other Latin American leaders understand that democracy is an economic asset. They perceive that to give this asset value, a new vision is needed, one which encourages innovation and competition and which produces maximum opportunity for the individual. Such a new vision requires a redefinition of institutions and their relationship with the peoples they exist to serve.
- o Your president put it well, I think, when he said in his inaugural address: "It is not enough to govern for the people; we must reconcile the government with the people, the power with the citizenry and the State with the Nation."
- o But changes will not happen easily. They will require difficult choices and sacrifices from all of us. Economies which depended on protection and on state regulation must open to competition and greater economic liberty. The transition may for a time be painful for many -- unfortunately including some who already suffer from poverty and deprivation.

- o But the results -- a growing economy and a sound currency -- will lead to new opportunities and a welcome sense of stability.
- o The major challenges that Latin America has faced over the past decade has been economic adjustment. Development came easily to the region in the 60s and 70s. Private investment and bilateral, multilateral and private bank lending were readily available. Economies were bouyant and world demand was high. Conditions were tolerant of mismanagement, inefficiency and protectionism.
- o This is no longer the case. Latin America producers now compete for capital and markets for Southeast Asia, with the mediterranean countries of Europe and with aggressively exporting industrialized countries. Eastern Europe has added a new dimension to the demand for capital.
- o Latin America is already adjusting. ~~your exports are rising~~ Your exports are rising. Fiscal reform is underway. So is privatization. Governments are doing away with subsidies which skew the market. They are giving more attention to agriculture -- a sector which, as we in the U.S. have discovered, can be a powerful engine of development.
- o There is a rapidly growing consensus in the region about a new model of Latin America development. It challenges certain aspects of Latin America's traditional political culture and institutions. As elsewhere in the world, shifting human aspirations are creating new market realities. Political systems too must modernize to keep up.
- o Latin America will have to make further adjustments to integrate into the international economy; yet they must do so if they are to compete on an equal footing with Southeast Asia and emerging European economies, as well as to take advantage of the European Market after 1992. We are confident that you can and will succeed in this task.
- o We know that solutions must be found by Brazilians, by Chileans, by Peruvians -- but we in the United States want to help.

Background

~~inflation policy under control~~

*President Coll
 (in 8 areas) has
 driven down inflation
 started to free the
 private sector from
 state, started
 to open the economy
 to greater competition
 & vitality
 He's responsible
 for the progress of
 the open market.*

- o The Enterprise for the Americas concept that I have proposed calls for a major hemispheric effort to bring our nations closer together in the three key areas of trade, investment and debt:

FARMERS --
 an extraordinary offer
 to jump-start global
 econ. growth, new
 decade of prosperity -- an
 offer we cannot afford
 to miss...

-- On trade, our first attention should be on successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round negotiations in Geneva. The Round, now in its final stages, holds out a prospect of important trade benefits for Latin America's economies. The U.S. is aligned with Latin America in fighting for an end to agricultural export subsidies and new openings for developing country exports. What is at stake is not just numbers. It represents major new market opportunities and a higher standard of living for the farmer in Mato Grosso, the textile worker in Parana and the engineer in Sao Paulo.

-- The Round and Bilateral Trade Agreements are the first step; they create the necessary conditions for a regime of eventual free trade encompassing all of Latin America and the U.S. We see the Southern Cone Common Market, now developing under the leadership of President Collor and his fellow presidents in neighboring countries, as a major further step towards this goal.

-- On investment we look to Latin American governments, where required, to lift the dead hand of state control. Doing so will allow your entrepreneurs to invest, sell and adapt to changing economic conditions. It will help provide meaningful and well-paid jobs to your workers. It is the key to lifting a large percentage of Latin America's peoples out of the grinding poverty in which they live today. Brazilians know what foreign investment can help produce -- witness its contribution to the dynamism of Sao Paulo and the \$10 billion of U.S. investment already in this country. Just imagine what the result could be in terms of jobs for your workers and goods for your people if Brazilian dynamism were completely unleashed!

- On debt, we are prepared to work with Brazil and with others in Latin America to write down and restructure U.S. official debts contracted on concessionary terms. These swaps have the potential of liberating substantial resources for use in environmental projects. I believe that this can be a very exciting avenue of new collaboration between us. Specifically, it can help Latin America's nations to develop and prosper without undue ecological cost to the communities and countryside upon which we depend and within which our children will be raised.
- Our new approach to official debt is intended to complement commercial debt restructuring through the Brady Plan. I understand the importance to Brazil -- and to the international financial community -- of reaching a new agreement on commercial debt. Continued access to global capital flows is vital to your development. Although we do not sit at the table of such negotiations, we stand ready to assist where appropriate to ensure they reach fruition.
- We have submitted a request to the Congress for legislation that will give us the authorities we need to implement these proposals.

enviro? debt/nature?
VISION

- o Let me stress, my vision of an "Enterprise for the Americas" is of a joint undertaking involving the effort and imagination of all nations in this hemisphere. A great Brazilian poet, Jose Bonifacio, once said that "Brazilians are enthusiasts of a beautiful ideal." As we approach the 21st century, let us all hold fast to the "beautiful ideal" of greater prosperity and freedom of choice for our peoples.
- o At the beginning of this address, I said that I had come to Brazil and to Latin America as witness to a political and an economic revolution in the hemisphere. The political revolution was accomplished by brave and courageous efforts by democratically-elected leaders such as you here in this chamber. You are the pioneers -- you have shown that change need not issue from the barrel of a gun. It can and is taking place under the rule of law.

↓
Mar.

- o It is now the time to complete this revolution by enacting a matching economic bill of rights for Brazil and for all the nations of Latin America. This will be in many ways a harder task than writing constitutions or organizing elections. But its objective will be similar -- the unchaining of your economic possibilities to match your new political freedoms. And its promise is to create a hemisphere of new productivity, open markets and expanding possibilities from Laborador to Lima, from Boston to Buenos Aires, from Pittsburg to Porto Alegre. You and I together are privileged to be witnesses together to such a vision as we move towards the new century which can make it a reality.

Doc SEARABR 4345

10/30 9 a.m.

REVISED VERSION
PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH - BRAZIL

SETTING

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} p. 1 of
Business
Luncheon
remarks

THE CHANGING HEMISPHERE

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- The problem of drugs affects both of our countries in similar ways. It ravages neighborhoods in both Rio de Janeiro and Washington, D.C. I believe we now understand that we cannot make progress against this threat by pointing fingers of blame at each other.

- We in the U.S. recognize that we must do more to reduce demand. You recognize that the spreading tentacles of the drug industry threaten democratic society. Together, we recognize that we must continue to increase cooperation to protect our children -- the next generation.
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- o Your president put it well, I think, when he said in his inaugural address: "It is not enough to govern for the people; we must reconcile the government with the people, the power with the citizenry and the State with the Nation."
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- o We know that solutions must be found by Brazilians, by Chileans, by Peruvians -- but we in the United States want to help.

- o The Enterprise for the Americas concept that I have proposed calls for a major hemispheric effort to bring our nations closer together in the three key areas of trade, investment and debt:
 - On trade, our first attention should be on successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round negotiations in Geneva. The Round, now in its final stages, holds out a prospect of important trade benefits for Latin America's economies. The U.S. is aligned with Latin America in fighting for an end to agricultural export subsidies and new openings for developing country exports. What is at stake is not just numbers. It represents major new market opportunities and a higher standard of living for the farmer in Mato Grosso, the textile worker in Parana and the engineer in Sao Paulo.
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P. 2,
Brazil
Business
Remarks

- On debt, we are prepared to work with Brazil and with others in Latin America to write down and restructure U.S. official debts contracted on concessionary terms. These swaps have the potential of liberating substantial resources for use in environmental projects. I believe that this can be a very exciting avenue of new collaboration between us. Specifically, it can help Latin America's nations to develop and prosper without undue ecological cost to the communities and countryside upon which we depend and within which our children will be raised.

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VISION

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- o It is now the time to complete this revolution by enacting a matching economic bill of rights for Brazil and for all the nations of Latin America. This will be in many ways a harder task than writing constitutions or organizing elections. But its objective will be similar -- the unchaining of your economic possibilities to match your new political freedoms. And its promise is to create a hemisphere of new productivity, open markets and expanding possibilities from Laborador to Lima, from Boston to Buenos Aires, from Pittsburg to Porto Alegre. You and I together are privileged to be witnesses together to such a vision as we move towards the new century which can make it a reality.

Doc SEARABR 4345

(FROM BINDER/REPLY)

GxG

Draft Input for the President's Opening Speech in Brazil

ENVIRONMENT

*cite \$2 mil alloc. for an AID enviro. prog. in Br.
cite Collo's solid commitment to enviro. protection*

General

-- Concern for the environment is sweeping across the Western Hemisphere, from endangered coral reefs in the Caribbean and ravaged forests along the Amazon, to urban pollution in Caracas, Santiago, and Mexico City, where levels of air pollution exceed health-based limits most of the year.

-- We know that the peoples and governments of Latin America want to protect your ecological heritage. And, we note, with pride and respect, the progress you are making.

-- Several Latin American nations have been playing leadership roles in international negotiations on climate change and depletion of the ozone layer. The Declaration of Brasilia in 1989 reflected the wisdom and dedication of this region to conserving your natural resources. You have built on the Treaty on Amazonian Cooperation to address several specific issues, including forest management.

✓
and your Constitution requires the Fed. govt. to protect & preserve the enviro. of the common use & essential health & good of the citizens

-- Brazil itself has demonstrated global leadership by offering to host the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992. That conference will mark the twentieth anniversary of the landmark Conference on the Environment held in Sweden in 1972. It will provide an important opportunity to shape a new, comprehensive approach to environmental action and cooperation for the twenty-first century.

of current & future generations

Economics and Environment

-- We in the United States know that there can be no sustained economic growth without respect for the environment. We know, too, that there may be no greater impediment to protecting the environment than poverty. The linkage is critical and it is real.

-- Partly for that reason, I have proposed the special environmental component of the Enterprise for the Americas. It is the first time that official bilateral debt relief has been associated with environmental protection.

-- Recourse to this relief could reduce a significant portion of the Latin American debt owed to the United States. The interest could be used for projects that protect the environment. The result? Bigger budgets to expand parks, protect forests, and fight pollution.

*Commitment to sustainable development.
(see Old doc)*

✓ -- Latin American countries owe governments in Europe and Japan another \$38 billion, beyond the \$12 billion in public debt owed the United States. We hope that other creditor nations will move to convert a similar proportion of debt into funds for the environment.

-- If they do so, this major new commitment to debt-for-nature could serve to refocus the priorities of countries in Latin America so rich in forests and species of plants and wildlife and so burdened by debt.

*Latin Brazil
rejects plan, on
grounds of viola-
tion sovereignty?*

-- Swapping debt for protection of natural resources is part of a new wave of thinking about the relationship between development and debt and the environment. Such agreements can help us define and, ultimately, achieve sustainable economic growth. While they cannot be a cure-all for debt, they can make a real dent in degradation of the environment. For example, the interest alone from the debt-for-nature swaps in Costa Rica is several times more than the annual budget for that country's National Park Service. Such swaps have more than doubled Costa Rica's available resources for environmental programs.

✓ -- Here in Brazil, a consortium of non-governmental organizations has presented a proposal to the government for such a debt-for-nature swap. Other Latin American countries are either in the process of developing such proposals or are implementing them. These are important undertakings. We support and applaud them.

Bilateral Cooperation

-- I take pride, along with President Collor, in our expanding partnership in behalf of the environment. We benefit from the commitment of this nation, as with other new governments in the region, to fight for the environment, not against it.

-- Just this last month, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency signed a new Memorandum of Understanding with the National Secretariat for the Environment and the Brazilian Institute for the Environment and Renewable Natural Resources. This agreement will enable our two nations to put new vigor into our shared commitment to address problems that challenge the entire hemisphere.

-- The irreversible loss of wildlife -- of entire species -- is deeply troubling. Many people in this hemisphere depend on the forests for their livelihood. There is, of course, some short-term gain to felling trees. But, in much of the tropics, the soils thereafter erode under heavy rains that strip the land of its productivity and create yet another disappointed farmer and, all too often, an impoverished generation of environmental refugees.

-- The costs of the loss of plant and animal species and their derivative ingredients in agriculture, medicine, and industry are beyond calculation. Ninety-five plants (39 from tropical rain forests) yield chemical substances to produce 121 prescription drugs. Thus, the rewards from reforestation can be just as gratifying as the costs of deforestation are appalling.

*New** -- Our two nations can help assure that we do not lose forever the plant that could help fight cancer or the species of perennial corn that can assure sustenance. I hope very much that the internal agreement on forestry will be ready for signing at the Brazil Conference in 1992. How fitting a place, the country with the world's richest endowment of forests and wildlife to consummate the treaty to protect the world's forests. We believe progress will occur much faster if the forest agreement is negotiated apart from the negotiations on a climate convention, which only related to one of the many benefits forests confer -- carbon sequestration.

-- Our two nations, together, can provide international leadership to meet the challenges of urban environmental blight. We can create the models for preventing pollution, so that our cities, home to the majority of our people, are no longer repositories of hazardous waste and suffocating smog. They can, instead, become healthful havens, where you and I and our families enjoy our rightful claim to clean air and clear water.

Serrano
* heated. Reilly pressing. Some in N.H. want to go slow --
part of protocol, as equal for CO₂ in Climate Change Convention.

*Reilly thinks we can hold it off as Climate Change Convention,
by keeping on separate track.*

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES
TRADE REPRESENTATIVE
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON
20506

THE DECADE OF THE AMERICAS
Person of the Year Award Acceptance Remarks
By United States Trade Representative Carla A. Hills
Brazilian-American Chamber of Commerce
New York City
October 25, 1990

Introduction

I am honored to be named "Person of the Year" by the Brazilian-American Chamber of Commerce along with the distinguished Sergio Coimbra. The splendid reputation of the Chamber and eminence of the previous recipients make this award one especially to be cherished.

I am also grateful to have this opportunity to address this extraordinary gathering of leading citizens from both Brazil and the United States.

As the two largest countries in the Americas -- with nearly 400 million people -- it is exhilarating to think that together we could make the 1990s the Decade of the Americas.

By joining together in a positive partnership for prosperity, we could build upon the dramatic economic reforms that President Fernando Collor has undertaken this year. In just seven months since taking office he has driven down inflation, begun to remove the government from the private sector, and started to open the economy to greater competition.

President Collor's success comes from his strongly held belief in freedom and his deeply rooted vision of the future for Brazil and Latin America. In a speech last month to Yale University, my alma mater, President Collor made clear what he was after:

"We know exactly what we want. We want to have a fair share in the benefits of mankind's progress. We want to join those in the forefront of our era. We want our peoples to have access to the best there is in well-being, security, education, and information. In short, we want our people to be able to fulfill their legitimate aspirations for happiness."

In this great quest for prosperity, Brazil, and indeed all of Latin America, are beginning to look outward. Recognizing the extraordinary changes underway, this past June, President Bush

announced his Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, one of the most exciting ideas of our time. His vision is to create a hemispheric free trade zone.

The Uruguay Round

We will far be more able to realize the promise of his Initiative for this hemisphere if we can successfully conclude the Uruguay Round of global trade talks this December and open markets worldwide.

The Uruguay Round -- so named because it was launched in Uruguay in 1986 -- is seeking to strengthen and broaden the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, or GATT. The GATT is without doubt the world's most important trade agreement -- indeed, it is the Constitution of World Trade.

The GATT started out small after World War II with just a handful of nations looking for a way to spur economic growth. It succeeded beyond all expectations.

Under GATT sponsorship, the world's trading nations have held seven successful rounds of negotiations in which they slashed tariff rates by more than 75 percent. As a result, trade exploded from just \$60 billion in 1950 to nudge the \$4 trillion mark this year.

This enormous expansion in global commerce has fueled a spectacular surge of the world economy which has grown faster in the last 40 years than in any four decades of world history. Those nations whose opened their markets have enjoyed unparalleled prosperity.

The GATT opened new markets for business, increased choices and lowered prices for consumers, and led to higher incomes and more jobs for workers.

But just as a thriving family outgrows its first house, so too has the family of 100 nations that now make up the GATT and account for 85 percent of world trade outgrown the rules that served us so well for so long. Today, a third of world trade -- more than \$1 trillion a year -- is not adequately covered by internationally agreed rules of fair play.

Areas inadequately covered by GATT rules, like agriculture, or not covered at all like services, investment, and intellectual property have taken on an enormous importance in global trade.

That is why four years ago, the nations of the world launched the Uruguay Round, so that they could negotiate new GATT rules and amend old ones.

As we head into the final 39 days of those negotiations, here is what the Uruguay Round could mean for Brazil and the United States:

- o Reducing tariff and non-tariff barriers by one-third could cause global output to grow by an extra \$4 trillion over the next 10 years. And the Americas' share would be over \$1 trillion.
- o Developing comprehensive rules of fair play for the new areas of services, investment, and intellectual property would spur economic growth and facilitate the transfer of technology.
- o Reining in the hundreds of billions of dollars of subsidies would result in fairer competition and expanded trade.
- o Bringing the developing world, which accounts for nearly \$500 billion in annual sales, fully into the global trading system would spread the benefits of that system to the nations most in need.
- o Creating a swift and effective means to resolve trade disputes would increase international cooperation.
- o Finally, achieving fundamental reform of agriculture would allow farmers worldwide to grow what they want, sell where they want, and prosper without government interference.

These trade talks are not abstract discussions of arcane principles. As President Collor also said at Yale: "Economic change is a requirement for modernization. The engine of growth is fueled by free enterprise, unencumbered trade, increased efficiency and scientific and technological capability."

Brazil's Position in the Round

The United States and Brazil have been partners in working to achieve a good agreement in the Uruguay Round with respect to agriculture. We need to extend our partnership to other areas as well, including the balance of payments provision, trade-related investment measures, and intellectual property.

When developing countries are experiencing real balance of payments difficulties, the United States agrees that they should be permitted temporarily to restrict imports that are injuring domestic industries. Brazil should work with us to develop clear international rules governing when and under what circumstances such restrictions can be used.

A country that permits open investment fosters economic growth; those that don't, stifle it. Again Brazil should work with us to develop clear international rules to prohibit governments from unduly interfering with investment -- that is the road by which Brazil can become a world-class competitor.

Finally, a country that protects inventions and creative ideas encourages their development at home and attracts valuable technology from abroad. Thus, Brazil should work with us to develop international rules that protect patents, trademarks, and copyrights.

We are working hard in the Uruguay Round negotiations to forge agreements in these areas. Little time is left and much remains to be done. Quite frankly, President Collor's policies in support of open markets and economic growth in Brasilia are not getting translated into action in Geneva. Poor translation puts at risk all that his administration is trying so courageously to accomplish.

Conclusion

Both President Bush and President Collor have said that the success of the Uruguay Round is a key to future hemispheric and global prosperity.

President Bush said in speaking to the IMF/World Bank meeting just last month: "The Round is not just a trade issue, it is a growth issue. It can be the engine of economic growth that carries us into the 21st century."

Our exciting new partnership for prosperity can help fuel that engine.

Informed groups like the Brazilian-American Chamber of Commerce can strengthen this partnership by educating the public, politicians, and press in both of our countries about what is at stake in this Round.

Make clear to them that your new markets, new sales, and new profits gained through a successful Round will mean new jobs, increased revenues, dollars in their pockets, and a better standard of living for everyone.

Years of substantial economic growth are just within our grasp. The Uruguay Round presents us with the extraordinary moment in history to recharge global economic growth, propel Brazil to prosperity, and launch the Decade of the Americas.

Thank you again for this award.

#

from Luzia - ①
 Cultural Affairs Section -
 US Embassy - Brasilia

Quotes from Brazilians

1) "A liberdade, para nós, corresponde a uma série de conquistas sociais e políticas." [REDACTED]

2) "Deste planalto central, desta solidão que em breve se transformará em cérebro das altas decisões nacionais lanço os olhos mais uma vez sobre o amanhã do meu país e antevejo esta alvorada com fé inquebrantável e uma confiança sem limites no seu grande destino." [REDACTED]

3) "Considero uma dádiva de Deus ter a oportunidade de construir Brasília." [REDACTED]

4) "Liberdade. As democracias que atentam contra a tua majestade perecerão na tirania dos Césares ou na anarquia das ruas." (Rui Barbosa)

(Liberty. The democracies that offend your majesty will perish under the tyranny of the Caesars or the anarchy of the streets.)

5) "Toda a civilização se encerra na liberdade, toda a liberdade na segurança dos direitos individuais." (Rui Barbosa)

(Civilization embodies liberty, all liberty in assuring individual rights.)

6) "Em Política, é a mesma coisa que em Religião: o essencial não está na profissão do credo, mas na prática das obras." (Rui Barbosa)

(In Politics, it is the same as in Religion: the essential is not in the profession of creed but in actual work.)

②

7) Os povos podem o que querem. Uma raça, uma nacionalidade, ou um povo só não é capaz do que não saiba querer." (Rui Barbosa)

(The people have the power to do what they want. A race, a nationality, or a people will not be able to do only what they do not know to desire.)

8) "O povo vive de persuasão e esperança, de benignidade e trabalho." (Rui Barbosa)

(People live on persuasion and hope, on kindness and work.)

9) "Um povo que não tem quem lhe fale, perde o hábito de ouvir." (Rui Barbosa)

(People who do not have someone to listen to, lose the habit of listening.)

10) "Não falsifica a história somente quem inverte a verdade, senão também quem a omite." (Rui Barbosa)

(It is not only he who distorts the truth that falsifies history but also he who omits it.)

11) "Política é a arte de assegurar o êxito do bem." (San Tiago Dantas, politician, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1911/1964)

(Politics is the art of assuring the success of virtue.)

12) "Não basta viver para ser livre e responsável. É preciso sofrer o peso das opções e a dificuldade das escolhas." [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Bree qah do

(Thank you)

Obrigado

3



Quotes by President Juscelino Kubitschek
(On wall of the Congress entrance hall, Salto Negro)

"Este ato representa o passo mais viril, mais energético, que a Nação dá, após a sua independência política, para a sua plena afirmação como povo que tomou a seus ombros uma das mais extraordinárias tarefas que a História contemporânea viu atribuir-se a uma coletividade: a de povoar e civilizar as terras que conquistou, vistas como um continente; a de integrar, na comunhão dos povos, para o bem comum da humanidade, um dos mais ricos territórios do mundo."

(This act represents the most energetic step that the Nation has taken since its political independence. It is the affirmation of a people that has taken upon its shoulders one of the most extraordinary tasks that contemporary history has seen assigned to a community: that of populating and civilizing the lands it has conquered, seen as a continent; that of integrating, in the communion of peoples, for the well-being of mankind, one of the world's richest territories.)

"E congratulo-me com o Congresso Nacional que, com alto discernimento e patriotismo, soube auscultar os sentimentos desta Nação, soube acolher seus históricos anseios, soube, mais uma vez, mostrar-se fiel cumpridor da soberana vontade do povo brasileiro."

(And I congratulate the National Congress for its high discernment and patriotism. It has listened to the sentiments of this country, it has known how to accept its historical yearnings, and once again has revealed itself as a faithful fulfiller of the sovereign wish of the Brazilian people.)

(Presidente Juscelino Kubitschek - discurso ao sancionar a lei que fixou a data de mudança da capital - Palácio do Catete - 10/10/57).

(President Juscelino Kubitschek - discourse when he signed the law that fixed the date for the move of the Capital - Palácio do Catete - 10/10/57.)

File

During the Cruzado plan (March–November 1986), the official cruzado exchange rate was held constant against the dollar, resulting in an overvalued Brazilian currency, and import controls were relaxed in response to excess domestic demand. Following the plan's collapse, the government returned to "crawling peg" devaluation of the cruzado to spur exports. In addition, just prior to announcing its moratorium on medium- and long-term commercial bank debt, Brazil announced that it would add 2,500 items to a list of prohibited imports, to save scarce foreign exchange. (That provision was reversed in September 1987.)

Foreign direct investment represents a relatively small but important part of Brazil's capital base. The share of foreign direct investment and reinvestment registered with the Central Bank totaled \$27.7 billion as of September 30, 1986; U.S. investment totaled \$8.2 billion, about 30% of the total. Brazil's investment policy had been fairly liberal since the mid-1960s and particularly effective in attracting new investment from the developed countries.

Recent measures, including the market reserve on informatics and the lack of intellectual property protection (especially patents and copyrights on specific processes and manufactured goods), have served to cool the investment climate.

Initial drafts of the new constitution include provisions that could restrict considerably the activities of foreign firms in various sectors of the economy. The possibility that market reserve provisions will be extended to other sectors, high inflation rates, uncertainty about economic policies, and the 1987 moratorium on interest payments to commercial banks, have created an adverse climate for the foreign investor. Foreign direct investment flows were negative in 1986 and probably will be negative in 1987.

to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio treaty) and the Organization of American States (OAS). In recent years, Brazil has given high priority to expanding relations with its South American neighbors and is a founding member of the Amazon Pact and the Latin American Integration Association (ALADI), the successor to the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA).

Brazil is a charter member of the United Nations and participates in many of its specialized agencies. It has contributed troops to UN peacekeeping efforts in the Middle East, the former Belgian Congo, and Cyprus.

As Brazil's domestic economy has grown and diversified, the country has become increasingly involved in international politics and economics. It is a member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the Committee of Twenty of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Group of 77, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), and several international commodity agreements. The United States, Western Europe, and Japan are primary markets for Brazilian exports and sources of foreign lending and investment. Brazil's dependence on imported petroleum has resulted in more intensive political and economic ties with Middle Eastern countries. In the 1970s, Brazil expanded its relations with black African countries. In 1986, it introduced a proposal at the UN General Assembly to establish a Zone of Peace and Cooperation in the South Atlantic. As an indication of Brazil's broader international role, trade with other developing countries increased from 9% of the total in the 1970s to nearly 30% in 1983.

The Brazilian Government has diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R., China, all of the East European communist countries, and Cuba but not with Vietnam, Cambodia, or North Korea.

when he visited Brazil in 1960. Presidents Roosevelt and Truman made earlier visits; President Carter visited in 1978, and President Reagan in 1982. President Sarney visited the United States in 1986.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Brazil received about \$2.4 billion in U.S. economic assistance—\$1.4 billion under the auspices of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) and the remainder under PL 480 (Food for Peace) and Peace Corps programs. After 1972, the emphasis was on the training of Brazilian leaders in technology and physical and social sciences (in the United States), especially at the graduate level. Some 14,000 persons were trained by USAID during this period, 22,000 from all U.S. Government sources. In view of Brazil's impressive economic development and its increased ability to obtain loans and technical assistance from private and multilateral sources, U.S. assistance programs were phased out in the 1970s, major AID activities in Brazil ended in 1979, and the Peace Corp's program was ended in 1980. Currently, AID maintains a small advanced developing country program that emphasizes cooperation in science and technology and family planning and responds to endemic disease, emergencies, and natural disasters.

The United States is Brazil's most important commercial partner, although the U.S. share of Brazilian trade dropped from a high of 26% to about 21% in 1985, when two-way trade amounted to \$9.6 billion. The growing diversification of U.S.-Brazil trade has led to trade disputes, and bilateral discussions have concerned such issues as Brazilian export subsidies and trade restrictions, U.S. restrictions on certain import items, technology transfer, intellectual property protection, and multilateral trade and commodity questions.

agreement

FOREIGN RELATIONS

[Redacted text]

d, during World War II, its expeditionary force in Italy played a key role in the Allied victory at Monte Castelo. It is a party

U.S.-BRAZILIAN RELATIONS

[Redacted text]

President Eisenhower was given a hero's welcome

[Redacted text]

on p. 8 of 11/26 draft for Congress speech.