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Grant/Aarhus
November 8, 1991
A: MENEMARR
Draft Two

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL CEREMONY FOR PRESIDENT MENEM
NOVEMBER 14, 1991
~~10 A.M.~~ 9:45 a.m.

Thank you all very much. President Menem, it gives me great pleasure to welcome you to the White House. The ties between our countries have never been stronger, and a great deal of credit goes to you and your administration.

Nearly a year ago, a revolt ensued by renegade soldiers faced you in your nation's capital. You stood firm in defense of freedom and liberty and in defense of your people's right to a government of their choice. In the end, freedom triumphed. It was an honor to join you, just ~~two~~ ^{a few} days later, in beautiful Buenos Aires, the capital of a proud and free Argentina.

Cut Per Andy Sens

State
647-2407
Andy Sens
(Al Perez)
deputy

In your inaugural address you told the Argentine people, "Only working together we shall become the architects of a deep change and of a positive transformation." You asked Argentina to "arise and walk." And you reassured your people that the sight of their forefathers would guide them: ~~San Martin, Bolivar, Artigas and Peron~~ -- leaders who believed that common frontiers must turn into union bridges. President Menem, in their tradition, you are a leader of courage and common sense, a man of conviction, and a visionary for a people facing common frontiers.

When we met last year in Buenos Aires, we spoke about the challenges your country faces, and the changes that have already

been set in motion.

Under your leadership, Argentina has become one of this hemisphere's strongest defenders of democracy, both at home and abroad. When Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait, you sent ~~troops~~ ^{ships} from the Argentine navy to join the international coalition that liberated that pillaged nation. When tanks rumbled through the streets of Moscow, threatening the Soviet Union's democratic reconstruction, you were one of the first to speak out in defense of liberty. You have called for democratic reform in Cuba and worked within the Organization of American States to restore democratic government in Haiti. ^{in Latin America}

At home, you have brought down barriers to trade and investment, slashed government spending, privatized state-owned industries, and abolished harmful government regulation of the economy. You have worked hard to meet Argentina's foreign debt commitments. You have brought once-rampant inflation under control. Industrial production levels are up; your stock market -- the oldest in Latin America -- has risen sharply in recent months. Last year, Argentina had a trade surplus of ~~over~~ ^{about} \$8 billion; U.S. firms alone invested over \$200 million in Argentina, ^{last year.}

You faced many difficult challenges when you took office in 1989, but these measures earned the respect of the international community. More importantly, they set Argentina on the road to a stronger competitive position in the global economy.

In the rapidly evolving relationship among the nations of the Southern Cone, you have taken the lead in achieving regional

economic integration and arms control.

For example, by the end of ~~1994~~¹⁹⁹⁵, the Mercosur common market will eliminate tariffs between Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay -- linking your economies together consistent with GATT -
- to form one of the hemisphere's largest open markets. You and your partners are taking a giant step toward the goal I stated last year in announcing the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative: to make the Americas the world's largest partnership of free-trading nations.

We also welcome your efforts -- and the efforts of Brazil -
- to bring the Treaty of Tlatelolco into force by setting in place nuclear safeguards which will increase security in this hemisphere and the rest of the world.

From Rivadavia to Rio Gallegos, from Zapala to Buenos Aires ... your strong, committed leadership is bringing your people hope for positive change -- faith in their countrymen -- and the courage to "arise and walk" together.

On behalf of the people of the United States, it is my great pleasure to welcome you to the White House. May God bless the Argentine Republic.

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Grant/Aarhus
November 8, 1991
A: MENEMTOA
Draft Two

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: STATE DINNER TOAST
PRESIDENT MENEM OF ARGENTINA
NOVEMBER 14, 1991

~~9:45 a.m.~~ 8 p.m. (ok w/ line by line)

President Menem, distinguished guests.

I'd like to begin tonight with a short story. In ¹⁸³⁹ ~~November~~
~~of 1840~~, the "Thomas Jefferson of Argentina," Domingo Faustino
Sarmiento, began publishing a weekly newspaper, El Zonda, and
wrote of the yearning for democracy and the dream of freedom for
his people. After six issues, it was forced out of business
after the Federalist Governor raised the tax on newsprint.
Soon after, Sarmiento was imprisoned for conspiracy and nearly
lynched, then sent into exile. Sarmiento, under armed guard
while crossing the Andes into exile, wrote a message in French on
the wall of a shack he had built in the Zonda Valley. The
soldiers escorting him to the border did not read French, and so
the message remained. Sarmiento had written: "On ne tue pas les
idees" -- translated, "ideas cannot be killed."

President Menem, you are a man of ideas -- ideas of freedom,
opportunity and hope for a better life for your people. These
ideas can never be killed.

In your Inaugural address, you said: "I call you to
participate in the birth of a new time. Of a new opportunity
which may be the last one, which may be the most important,
definite and decisive opportunity of our days. The most
beautiful country is the one we have not built yet."

I now raise my glass to a man of ideas, Carlos Menem. To the beautiful world that we have not yet built: May it be one of freedom, opportunity and a better life for all people.

#

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TRADUCCION. -

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC

MESSAGE ADDRESSED BY PRESIDENT CARLOS SAUL MENEM BEFORE THE
HONOURABLE LEGISLATURE. - 8th July 1989. -

To the Honourable Congress of the Argentine Republic.
To Your Excellencies, Heads of States.
To the Brothers and Sisters of all nations.
To the people of my country:

I want to inaugurate this transcendental moment we are living
in with a request, a prayer, a call.

I want my first words addressed as President of the Argentine
Republic to be a prayer to heaven, asking for strength and hope.

In the eyes of God and before the testimony of History, I
say:

Argentina: Araise and walk.

Argentiniains: Stand up to defeat our crisis.

Argentiniains: Open your hearts to goodwill.

Brothers and Sisters: Tell the world in a single voice: "a
new and glorious Nation rises on the face of the world."

This government, a government of national unity that is born
today starts from a basic premise, from a reality we all have
to admit in order to be able to overcome it: each one, in a
bigger or a lesser degree has taken part in and is liable for

this Argentine failure.

And together, only working together we shall become the architects of a deep change and of a positive transformation.

Upon these ruins we shall build up the home we deserve.

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Upon this broken country we shall erect a new fatherland for us and for our children.

Upon this crisis that is paralyzing us and is eating us away we shall find the courage to be proud and be sure of our destiny.

To each worker, to each youngster, to each businessman, to each woman, to each retired person, to each military, to each child I say: there is a vacant place where future may be built.

And that place is awaiting us.

We have to tell the truth once and for all.

Argentina is broken.

At this historic hour her reconstruction begins.

I solemnly proclaim before the people of my country that from this moment onwards it is time for reconciliation among Argentinians. This is the time of our great national reconquest. Man to man, metre to metre, piece to piece, community to community, entity to entity, soul to soul, People to people.

The country of "everybody against everybody" is over. A new country is born. The country of "everyone with everyone".

Therefore, while addressing the Honourable Congress and before the expectations from all over the world, I hope that my voice be heard in each home, that it dwell in every heart, that it be heard at each table, that it embrace all and every Argentinian who at this moment is undergoing a difficult, dramatic, definite and fundamental situation as never before.

My words do not carry easy or immediate promises.

I do not bring the simplicity of demagogy.

I do not bring stimulation or...

I do NOT bring simulation or deceit.

Reality' lies heavily on my back, and this reality is the only

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truth.

I CAN ONLY offer sacrifice, work and hope to the people of my country. Sacrifice, work and hope.

I can assure you that I shall be the first Argentinian to ~~back~~ austerity, to clench my teeth and make an effort. This is an effort everybody must make, not an effort of a few.

There is no other way to put it: the country is broken, ~~down~~ devastated, destroyed, ransacked.

The legacy we are receiving is like a hot piece of coal in the hands. That of a burning reality, a reality which hurts, which mortifies, which hounds, which urges for solutions.

Inflation has been raised to frightening limits. The culture of speculation devours our work. Production today is lower than in 1970. Investment rates are negative. Education is a luxury of a few. Housing, a mere utopia of the past. Hunger is a common coin among millions of fellow countrymen. Unemployment is an illness that afflicts us spreading to even greater spheres of our society.

Pain, violence, illiteracy and marginalization haunt nine million Argentinians. Nine million brothers and sisters who cannot eat adequately, who cannot even dress or learn or even know what dignity is. Nine million broken willpowers facing a country which has dramatically seen their living standards decrease. Gentlemen, this is the evidence. This is how the situation happens to be. However, I do not expect this first message I address to the president of the Argentinians to be a message full of lamentations, of complaints, of resignation.

The first words I have uttered are not

... words I have uttered are not expected to be interpreted as tears wept on the Argentina of the past. These words are expected to become songs of optimism for the Argentina of

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tomorrow.

They are not a lamentation of what it could have been and was not. They are a call to imagination, to creative work, to the expectations of the future and not of the past. Now, while everybody is listening to me I might stop and enumerate in detail all our dramas, our necessities, our shameful statistics. I might point an accusing finger and become prosecutor of a political failure, I might also become a censor of a history in decay.

I might also mention the figures that show the unbelievable decay of our national situation.

But it would be redundant. It would be useless. It would be inadequate. My words would not be necessary now.

Because every Argentinian knows very well the peak reached by this crisis that defeats and destroys everything.

Because all the citizens know I do not lie when I state we are living a long and painful crisis. The worst of them all. The deepest of them all. The most definite one. The most terrible crisis we can ever remember. But this crisis is no excuse. This crisis is an opportunity. It is a challenge.

That is why I am not here to speak of lost times. I call you to participate in the birth of a new time. Of a new opportunity which may be the last one, which may be the most important, definite and decisive opportunity of our days. The most beautiful country is the one we have not built yet.

The most glorious day is the one that has not yet dawned.

The most promising future is not what is to come. It is what we are capable of building together.

This is the challenge we Argentinians are here to accept.

... challenges we, as governments, are here to face.
The challenge to change the crisis into a fertile scenery;

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This is the time for thought and imagination. This is the time for ideas but it is also the time for creativity and boldness.

It is the time to say farewell to decrepitude and welcome what is to be born.

It is the time for creative audacity, for innovation, for courage.

The People of the Argentine Republic has chosen the path to democracy in its social sense.

It has chosen liberty and justice. Peace and development.

The Argentine people has decided to change our decadence. To overcome our mean discrepancies. To make an effort together.

The Argentine people voted for the fight of national unity. That is why our government is a government of national unity.

To us, national unity does not consolidate behind hegemonic projects or fatherly attitudes or passional raptures or transitory emotions.

The government of the people, by the people and for the people cannot depend on a single man's power, or the caprice of a party or on the impositions of a fraction.

The government of national unity is co-owned by all the Argentinians. Nobody can remain indifferent. Nobody can be considered left out.

If Argentina is not placed where she should be, it is not her fault. It is the Argentinians responsibility. It is due to our divisions, to our historical weight, to our ideological prejudices, to our sectarianism. We have been unable to make an honest balance sheet for victories and defeats. For weakness and strength.

gth. For mistakes and success.

This is the first lesson we have already learned together.

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The time of the worst underdevelopment is over. The underdevelopment of considering a foe he who thinks differently.

The country where the law of the jungle prevails is dead. The official and submerged country is also dead. The dualism between a visible and a real country is over.

I am here to join these two Argentinas: I have come to fight for matching these two fatherlands,

I do not wish to become president of a fraction, of a group, of a section of a political thought. I do not desire to be president of a new frustration. I want to be the president of a united Argentina that moves on to the future however her discrepancies.

I want to be the president of the Argentina of Rosas and Sarmiento, Mitre and Facundo, Angel Vicente Peñalosa and Juan Bautista Alberdi, Pellegrini and Yrigoyen, Perón and Balbín.

I want to be the president of a reconciliation instead of becoming the leader of a new division among brothers and sisters.

That is why I have seriously decided to call men from the most different national thoughts to integrate my government.

Because we do believe this nation stands on a single identity. And because we are convinced that it is time to grow out of our coincidences and not to destroy everything out of our discrepancies.

One day, down in my cell, out of my long suffering tortures, far from the worst of my jail, I asked the Almighty to let me dream about this moment.

I asked Him to let me stretch my hand to my adversaries, instead of showing my fist to my enemies.

... my side to my enemies. I pleaded for wisdom to bridge the unity gap instead of abiding discord.

Today I am feeling this dream has come true.

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This is a government of genuine national unity. This is not a system to please friends. This is not a government of compliance. This is not a government transformed into a political headquarter.

This is a government that has called all sectors. This is a government which tries to rescue the best of each one, to get the most efficient and positive part of everyone. Because we have to breach the infamous pact of living on selfishness.

Because we have to have noble thoughts, deep feelings and clear language.

We shall not administer decadence. We shall smash this crisis.

We shall not accept mediocrity. We shall worship excellence.

Sometimes, audacity is needed to proclaim an idea. But one has to be quite courageous to be ready to accept an idea which is not its own. I know the wager is difficult, but I am absolutely convinced that without national unity there is no hope to take off.

Our future in common is still non-existent. There is a present. And it is from this present that we have to close ranks, join will power and raise our aims to a destiny of greatness.

Argentina, without greatness cannot be truly Argentina. Because a country without all its sections working together in a truly communal action is not a Nation.

I know perfectly well that many fellowmen have been taken aback by this generous call made at all levels of our community.

I tell them all: unity does not mean uniformity. Unity does not mean slavishness. Unity does not mean...

... NOT MEAN CONFUSION

We have called other political and sectarian thoughts because we have clear objectives. We are not arrogant. Arrogance is the

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privilege of the fool. We are neither naive nor stubborn,

All of us will cure Argentina or Argentina will die. She will die.

This is the cruel choice.

We shall not waste time and call for an immediate reconciliation among Argentinians.

I shall ask for reconciliation once and again. I shall repeat it. If necessary I shall exhaust it until I get tired. . . . I shall ask for it house by house, family by family, sector by sector, home by home.

It is time for every Argentinian to stretch his hand to his brother, to make a chain stronger than rancour, than discord, than resentment, than pain, than death, than the past.

It is time for peace, for love, for patriotism; After six years of democracy, we have not yet come to terms with the differences that separate us since more than a decade.

I say we have had enough. The Argentine people say they have had enough, they want to face the future with the certainty that they are winning a future instead of being buried in the past.

All of us are going to find a definite and final solution to all these wounds which still are unhealed. We shall not call the ghosts of fight. We shall calm down the spirits.

We are to say that confrontation between the military and the civilians shall not be fed. And this is simply done because they themselves conform and nourish the essence of the Argentine Nation.

Our policy of national unity will not be run out to

... .. out by turning
the page of a painful history. We do not believe that real uni-
ty cannot live without justice. We shall encourage a federal

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and political agreement, constituting the essence of a new political and social organization.

An organization without second class citizens, second class cities or provinces. An organization where dignity prevails as well as for a child born in "La Quiaca" or Patagonia or the Federal Capital. The country is requesting us to nourish this democracy with efficiency, development and welfare. As Justicialists we would have no excuse if we continue to misunderstand Argentina in terms of the language of old mistakes.

To rescue this truth we raise our priceless banners. To be strong enough so as not to renounce to our deepest beliefs. But also to be humble enough, for in politics nobody is altogether right.

Therefore, instead of searching for our differences we prefer to think of what we have in common.

We do believe in social justice, sovereignty and economic independence. Which is the Argentinian who does not share these postulates? How many country fellowmen do not esteem these principles?

We do also believe in updating and in the enrichment out of new and creative ideas.

To us, social justice means today the elimination of all kind of privileges. The privilege of impunity, the privilege of government prebends, the privilege of bureaucracy, of speculation, of lack of competence.

As no nation can exist without hope, neither can a true democracy live with exclusions.

Those who are deprived of cultura. dignitate.

... , ... , work, housing,
health and welfare are tracing our first steps and our great
responsibility. This is to match democracy with freedom and

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justice, with bread and peace, with work and production.

Social justice DOES NOT mean to distribute poverty. To lower down. Social Justice does not mean the perpetuation of our decline. The productive revolution we have been speaking about alongside the country has a heart, a central idea, an essence: to exterminate the Argentina where it is forbidden to work. In order to achieve this national aim it is necessary to start a new series of steady and definite measures to put an end to speculation in the Argentine Republic.

So that is why social justice in its first stage will be consolidated from the recognition of a peremptory reality. We are living in an emergency economy. We are in the middle of a genuine social and economic emergency.

It is necessary that the country know it straight away that we cannot get out of this national tragedy without making an effort. A fair effort that will comprehend all the social spheres.

Nobody can assume a policy of this kind better than Justicialism.

Our people knows that if today this government asks for a sacrifice it is to get a reward, a concrete result, a tangible improvement in the living standard.

This is the hope we cannot betray.

We must point out, anticipate and say that the results will not be felt as soon as we would like them to be. But we also have the courage to swear before our people that we shall move on to the correct way, that we shall walk hand in hand with those who are deprived of everything, that we shall place economy

to serve the dignity of the Argontino man.

You must understand it very well: the first and essential battle to be defeated by the emergency economy will be that

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of hiperinflation. The principal foe against social justice is hiperinflation. It eats up the salaries and the welfare of millions of people.

The frontal attack we are ready to carry out needs of the decisive and compromising support of the political, business and union sectors to back our acts and doings and to avoid sectorial discrepancies to annihilate the whole of the productive machinery.

I would be a hypocrite if I denied this. The emergency economy shall bear first instance restraints. Heavy restraints. Tough restraints. Hard ones.

For the Argentine economy, the rope is round its neck, and there is no place for hesitation.

Social Justice is to be conjugated with a sole verb: to produce; to produce and to produce.

Social Justice shall establish a system of clear rules, with necessary rewards and punishments, and with the deep amendments the country needs. While untying the knot of this perverse inflationary rush we shall be able to walk towards reactivation.

Bear it in mind: from today onwards all privileges of any kind are abolished. Alike 1813, when the founders of the country abolished slavery, today we abolish these privileges.

From the State itself we shall give the example through a major surgery which will remove from its root the ancestral or unbearable diseases. Because we do believe in social justice we shall place the national state to the service of the whole Argentine people.

We shall establish the grounds of a State for nations.

... of a state for national de-

... fense and not for the defense of crime and bribery.

We shall refound a State at the service of the people and

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not at the service of bureaucracy, which always finds a problem to every solution.

Social efficiency, the participation of all citizens, a sound administration, the participation of the users and the abolishment of all kind of privileges, will be the main tools to transform the State.

A State that recognizes as slaves of a few instead of fulfilling the needs of those who suffer.

And as the heart of social justice is the heart of sheer federalism I say we shall start with a definite decentralizing administrative policy.

What private persons can do shall not be done by the State, what the provinces can do in an autonomous way shall not be done by the State.

What the municipalities can do shall not be done by the State. In this true crusade that I am starting today for the definite reconquering of the state sectors I want very specially to summon all the workers. I want you to know that these changes are destined to the poor. To their best opportunities of work. To their personal dignity. To their own fulfillment. To their participation in the life of the country. They will be the spinal column of this change, simply because this change is meant to its main beneficiary; the worker itself.

The Argentine people has an appointment with history, to answer this call we shall have to make a shocking effort that will start from the reconstruction of the National State. The reconstruction shall not fade away. It shall be a clear paradigm which involves the rest of our community.

we shall be pragmatic without making pragmatism our ideology.
We shall be practical without making realism a dogma. We shall

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be sensible without forgetting that development is the true name of peace.

Honourable Congress:

An emergency economy shall be an economy that shall severely punish tax evasion.

I strongly point this out because I do not want anybody to misunderstand it. We shall be generous and broad minded to call foreign and national capitals to be a party in this new national stage but we shall be inflexible with the crime of tax evasion.

Gentlemen; do believe me! We shall put an end to the crimes committed by those who rob the treasury and those who rob us.

We shall do it no matter the price and no matter the door.

The whole world will know of our ample criteria, of the clear and transparent rules to welcome the capital that comes for productive investments.

To this government, true nationalism is development, wealth and production.

As truly Argentinians in the conception of our economic ideals, we consider that no realization can be feasible within a frame of impoverishment, delay, recession and international isolation.

The policies referred to exportation, foreign trade and investments shall be destined to a common goal: to set the grounds for a long lasting development and a genuine growth.

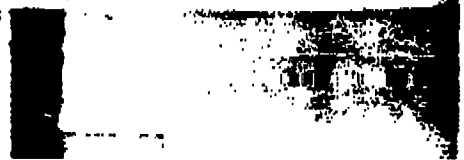
As everybody knows, the foreign debt contracted more than a decade ago is a heavy burden to the Argentine people.

But it is a compromise of honour for the Argentine Republic, as General Perón used to say.

... GENERAL ...

That is why my government will see to it together with the
creditors' help and with the consent of your honourability.

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We shall need flexible formulas of negotiation and a truce to finish with the shortage, to balance finances and to put in motion the productive revolution that shall enable us to export more, generating thus the necessary conditions to fulfill our obligations.

Likewise, we shall guarantee the coming back of savings in Argentina: Nowadays savings are hoard in the country or invested in a foreign country.

In short, we shall respect the compromises contracted, but we shall also ask for understanding and prudence, because in the present world, with its enormous independence, there are no isolated problems or problems of a small group of nations.

As already pointed out, we are not in the least afraid of creative audacity, of sound defiance, or mental and political minds, capable of making Argentina walk and get rid of schemes already overcome to keep pace with a world in constant evolution.

Brothers and sisters of all nations;

In this founding time, economic independency means the defeat of stagnation, the triumph of production and of development.

Economic independence means to extract oil, minerals, to increase our exportation, and to trade with the whole world, to find a place of autonomous decision and transform the willpower of a country in action.

As Eduardo Mallén - one of the greatest philosophers of our country - said, Argentina was until yesterday a "desert of words".

I assure you that from this moment onwards, Argentina becomes independent from rhetoric, from stillness, from foolishness.

We shall speak with facts, not with sheer words addressed
in speeches.

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That is why for this government of national unity, political sovereignty means to make of each Argentinian the protagonist of his own destiny, instead of a slave of pessimism and resignation.

Sovereignty means also liberation from all resources and potencialities of the country. It means an authentic explosion of individual and communal initiatives within a country which offers opportunities to everybody.

Sovereignty means the participation of every Argentinian in the construction of the country. The first and foremost revolution starts from the very inside of every man and of every woman. It starts from a great national mysticism, capable of putting our most vital energies in motion.

We say no to the sovereignty of hunger, to the sovereignty of illiteracy. We say no to the sovereignty of illness.

And while saying no we are also saying yes.

We say yes to a positive sovereignty that will integrate us to the world with much more opportunities than risks, with more benefits than threats, with more illusions than distrust.

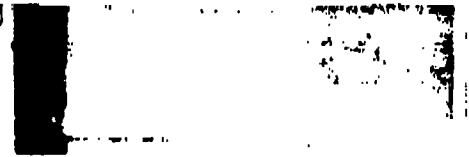
That is why we shall not accept any ideological frontier to handle our foreign policy. To this administration the only frontiers will be those limited by peace and fraternity among nations, the self determination of the countries and the non interference with the home issues of other countries.

We are today putting an end to the ideology that has relegated us and deprived us of ample possibilities to progress in the international sphere.

The world is reaching new levels in the distention and...

ration among nations of different political ideologies. The

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world is calling Argentina to comply with the role our best historical tradition is tracing us and our urgent needs of development and integration are requiring from us.

This replacement, naturally, will have as priority the Latin American countries.

It could not be otherwise.

We want a national unity from the inside. And we want the Latin American unity with continental influence.

To be sovereign does not mean to be in isolation. To be sovereign means to be open minded with the brothers of our great country. So, we shall be consolidating and widening the agreements achieved in every field, to make our doctrinary principles come true, and to higher the standard of living of all Latin American countries.

I am convinced that also in this field the option is: now or never.

The sight of our parents is here to guide us, to make us wiser. They are San Martín, Bolívar, Artigas, Perón and so many others saying that our common frontiers must turn into union bridges along which country fellowmen could walk to strengthen our brotherhood and development.

As a Latin American citizen I want to state that sovereignty cannot become true under colonialism, humiliation or under violation of legitimate rights.

As president of the Argentine Republic I assume an irrevocable compromise. I shall devote the greatest and most important of my efforts to a cause that shall be won according to Law. It will be the great national cause: the recovery of the

Malvinas Islands, the Georgias del Sur and Sandwich del Sur.

Argentine Brothers and Sisters:

The government that today is taking over will be a strong one. But it will be strong with the power of solidarity, not

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with the power of barbarism. With conviction and not with violence. With the powers of reason and not with the powers of fear.

We shall not be an authoritarian government. We shall have authority. And in order to have genuine authority, the government shall have steady moral values.

Our crisis is not simply political or economic. Our crisis is deeply moral, and eats up wide sectors of our community.

We live a terminal instance that we have to avoid on time because we run the risk of dissolution.

That a society is immoral is serious. But this immorality brings together another evil: that a society does not exist as such. The lack of solidarity has invalidated us for a long time. In Argentina, anybody was capable of destroying but no one was capable of doing positive things. This is the perverse circle we have already started to revert to.

Thus, I am informing the representatives of the people that from this moment onwards corruption crimes within the public administration shall be deemed as high treason.

In the same way as we are going to investigate the crimes committed in the last times we are going to be inflexible with our officials.

I hope my government to be an example of austerity, honesty and patriotism. The people's government is not owned by its leaders.

The administrative corruption is a highly criminal act and as such we have to denounce it: to the opinions and consciences of all citizens. Argentina must stop being the country of illegal transactions.

...to become the country of fair business.

07.19.89 11:51 AM P18



Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto

To the urgent and anguishing question: what is democracy worth of, I expect from my collaborators to say: if democracy is NOT good enough to make people happy, then it is no good at all. If our contribution of honesty, capability and loyalty does not help to back democracy, then democracy is no good at all.

This will be the main course of action of our administration. We shall riden with the myth of politics. We shall transform our government in an every day plebiscite before dignity and decadence. We shall break all the taboos. We are not here to just sit on a chair. We have taken over to be at the service of our people. To give, not to receive. As Eva Perón used to say: "To love is to serve".

We shall not give in to temptations, we shall face the false apostles of disillusion.

I expect my people to thank me during a century instead of having tradition applauding me during a year.

I do not expect to be surrounded by friends who only praise democracy. I expect them to defend it.

I expect millions of people to work in harmony and face together difficulties and afflictions.

In each area of our government we are ready to behave likewise.

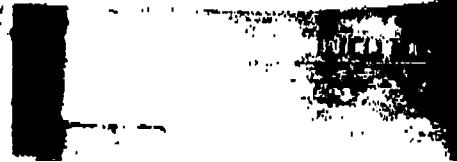
We shall be strong enough not to pause, not to delay our march, not to spare solutions, not to hesitate.

We shall also be intelligent enough NOT to walk in circles, not to isolate ourselves in the cold and impersonal task of exercising power.

This will be an administration

... will be an administration opened to people, together

07.19.89 11:51 AM 710





Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto

With their needs and hopes, aware of their requests and expectations of the whole Nation.

In this first message as president of the Argentini~~ans~~ I do not want to give a technical recipe, a long list of instrumental measures, a bunch of abstract ideas to overcome this crisis. I thought of depicting the essence and soul of the task that is to come.

In the next days and subsequently, every minister responsible of the different areas of the government shall give a complete account of the state in which he receives his post and explain each of the programmes that will be carried out to make the change come true. This grave national emergency needs a direct contact with the whole population, an exchange of opinions, a fertile discussion to put into practice the most adequate policies.

Each Argentinian shall have from this moment on the right and responsibility of knowing the progress of his government. Each Argentinian shall have the obligation and the right to request from the representatives of the government, transparency, honesty and ability in every act and deed.

Argentine people;

People that has waited for so long. People of every day heroism. People of unyielding illusion. People of this new time.

I made of my political campaign a song of hope. I want my government to be an act of faith.

I call all of you to walk together this new...

... way. long way.

I know the path is full of obstacles, doubts and problems.
The beginning will be very hard.

But I also know that when our people decide to work it is

07.10.89 11:51 AM P20



Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto

unsuperable. We shall demonstrate that we do not deserve marginalization. We shall demonstrate that together we are capable of building a Nation based on brotherhood. As Jorge Luis Borges said I also say that at this moment we cannot commit the worst of sins: the sin of being unhappy. And even though the sky is still cloudy, and painful days are to come, it is worth while quoting Leopoldo Marechal: "People always pick up the bottles thrown into the sea containing messages of a shipreck".

Thus, in this inaugural day I pray God Our Lord:

I ask Him to let me dream, without being a slave of my dreams.

I ask Him for love, because only with love a new Argentina will be born.

I ask Him for patience, not to be upset in my hope.

I ask Him for wisdom, so as not to believe myself either too wise or to slow.

I ask Him for prudence, so as not to walk without caring for the poor.

I ask Him for humility, so as not to believe myself either too powerful or too weak.

I ask Him for strength, so as to understand the true power, which is the power of Faith.

I ask him for peace, so as to hear the voice of my people, which is always the voice of God.

A voice that today is raised as a prayer, as a request, as a pathetic cry.

Argentina, arise and walk.

Argentina, arise and walk.

Argentina, arise and walk.



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**To: Carol Aarhus
White House
FAX 456-6218**

Date: October 18, 1991

**From: E. Larson
Head, Ref. Section, Hispanic Division**

Message: In the seven following pages you will find an article on Sarmiento from Latin American Writers, ed. Carlos A. Solé (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989) vol. 1, pp. 159-166. In addition, we have found and translated a few quotations that you may find useful. Let us know if we can be of further help.

QUOTES FROM DOMINGO FAUSTINO SARMIENTO

"But modern liberty is an instrument, and [at the same time] it is an art [which] can be learned and it is being learned by all modern nations."

(Bernardo Movsichoff, comp., Ideario de Sarmiento. Buenos Aires: Torres Agüero Editor SRL, 1988. p.32)

"Let us admire the French Revolution, because it is the proclamation of justice among nations, of equality among men. LIBERTY, the principle of civil law. EQUALITY, the principle of association. FRATERNITY, the principle of the rule of law [among] nations."

(Ideario, p.39)

"Freedom of thought is not simply the cornerstone of our constitution, but also one of the greatest achievements of the human species."

(Ideario, p.71)

QUOTE FROM PRESIDENT MENEM

"The creation of a new academic curricula must not be the responsibility of the university community alone, but also that of the rest of the educational community and of society as a whole."

[Speech on the 25th anniversary of the founding of the University of Belgrano, 9-12-89 in Carlos Menem, La esperanza y la acción. Buenos Aires: Emecé editores, 1990, p.245]

{Translation: Juan Manuel Pérez}

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento

(1811–1888)

Peter G. Earle

In *Recuerdos de provincia* (Provincial Recollections, 1850) Sarmiento remarked that his country and he were born within nine months of each other. He could have added that they grew up together; in the process he became Argentina's leading writer, educator, and politician of the nineteenth century. Between the first proclamation of independence on 25 May 1810 (formal independence was not gained until 1816) and Sarmiento's death in Asunción, Paraguay, on 11 September 1888, the viceroyalty of the River Plate—Spain's most isolated colony in the New World—developed into an economically flourishing republic. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento was the witness and embodiment of his country's growing pains. Of the New World's great leaders, only Thomas Jefferson is comparable to him in civic, educational, and political enthusiasms—and in romantic personal attachments. John Quincy Adams' impression of Jefferson could as appropriately be applied to Sarmiento: "He was a mixture of profound and sagacious observation, with strong prejudices and irritated passions."

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento was born in the small city of San Juan, in the western province of the same name, on 15 February 1811, the fifth child and only son among José Clemente Sarmiento Funes' and Paula Albarracín y Oro's six surviving offspring. Nine

others died. His father fought with valor in General José de San Martín's battles against the Spanish loyalists in Chile. A good soldier and political organizer, José Clemente was for most of his life a restless and impractical man. During Domingo's childhood, he was often away from home and contributed little to the family's subsistence. By contrast his mother was a diligent and determined homemaker; she kept a vegetable garden, wove all the family's clothes, and maintained their humble brick house in livable condition.

José Clemente Sarmiento's shortcomings as a provider did not prevent him from encouraging his son to read or from seeking out scholarship opportunities for him later on. José Clemente and an uncle of Domingo's, José Eufrasio de Quiroga Sarmiento, taught the boy to read when he was four. From that point on, Domingo was always eager to learn. Concerned by his sometimes unruly behavior, his teachers were also impressed by his intellectual curiosity. From the beginning he sensed that life, for him at least, was an educative process. He was a pupil in the *Escuela de la Patria* (School of the Fatherland) in San Juan from its first year (1816) until its closing in 1825. Ignacio Fermín and José Jenaro Rodríguez had been sent by the Unitarian (liberal) governor of Buenos Aires to set up and direct the school. The two

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brothers were progressive educators in the best sense and cultivated an awareness of personal dignity in their students, each of whom by regulation was to be addressed as Señor, irrespective of social position. At an age not specified in his *Recuerdos de provincia* but in one of the earlier grades, Domingo was awarded by his teachers the honorary title of the school's First Citizen.

Of the several positive influences on Sarmiento in his formative years, probably the strongest was that of another uncle and priest, José de Oro. The Escuela de la Patria was forced to close in September 1825 because of local political turmoil. The new provincial government of San Juan banished José de Oro to the neighboring province of San Luis, and Oro proposed to take Domingo with him with a view to broadening his education. The boy's parents agreed, and for a year and a half Oro tutored him in Spanish grammar, Latin, the Bible, and oratory. In *Recuerdos de provincia* Sarmiento recalls, "My mind was shaped under the impression of his, and to him I owe my predilection for public life, my patriotism and love of freedom, and my dedication to the study of my country's culture, from which privation, exile and long years' absence could not distract me."

Sarmiento grew up in a rustic frontier environment during a period of rampant political anarchy. The governorship of San Juan province, for example, changed hands five times in a single year (1819-1820), and rural *caudillos* (chieftains) vied almost continuously for power for the next forty years. One of them was Juan Facundo Quiroga, protagonist of Sarmiento's best-known work, *Civilización i barbarie: La vida de Juan Facundo Quiroga* (Civilization and Barbarism: The Life of Juan Facundo Quiroga; published in English as *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants [Facundo]*, 1845). Another was Friar Félix Aldao, the subject of a biographical essay by the author of *Facundo*, as the longer book is generally called, published three months before the latter. It is an unsubtle portrait of the "butcher priest" (a former priest, womanizer, and heavy drinker) who, like Facundo Quiroga, led an aggregation of *gaucho* (cowboy) soldiers under the banner of Juan Manuel Rosas' Federalist party. Rosas was the cleverest, cruelest, and most powerful of Sarmiento's enemies and the ultimate target of his portrait of Facundo.

Always in the background and often in the foreground of Sarmiento's life was Argentina's *gaucho* culture (vividly symbolized in José Hernández' narrative poem *Martin Fierro*, 1872 and 1879) and the civil unrest that it generated through most of the nineteenth century. Several historians have labeled the two decades dominated by Rosas as a gauchocracy of rural strongmen in continuous conflict among themselves. Together with a small group of liberal intellectuals who organized in 1838 and later identified themselves as the Asociación de Mayo, Sarmiento thought in terms of a broad liberation from the past and of a new nationalism. In the words of the Asociación's ideological leader, Esteban Echeverría, "the spirit of the times now moves all nations to free themselves, to achieve philosophical and literary as well as political independence."

The writings of the French educator and philosopher Victor Cousin were an important source for Sarmiento and his like-minded contemporaries, who were frequently in exile from the Rosas regime. In Cousin's work there was a confluence of G. W. F. Hegel's historical idealism, Thomas Reid's philosophy of common sense, and J. G. von Herder's theory of national cultures. Like Cousin, Sarmiento believed that history could be interpreted in social terms and redirected toward specific social ends. Cousin distinguished between unorganized "populations" and more civilized "peoples" who showed a consciousness of becoming unified in their beliefs and plans for the future. It was a population, wild and menacing, that Sarmiento thought of as he observed the entry into San Juan of Facundo Quiroga and his followers in 1827:

I was standing in the doorway of my store [which belonged to an aunt; young Domingo was managing it], watching the six hundred ride by in a triumphal aura of dust and drunkenness. . . . We saw the thick cloud of dust advancing, filled with hoofbeats, shouts, curses and bursts of laughter; from time to time dirt-laden faces amidst unkempt hair and a suggestion of ragged clothes appeared in an amorphous image. . . . This was my vision on the Road to Damascus in my search for freedom and civilization. All my country's ills were revealed in that moment: Barbarism!

(Discursos populares, in Obras completas, vol. 22, p. 238)

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The experience had shown him, he later recalled, all he should have been fighting against, and two years later, during a brief imprisonment for refusing to continue service in the provincial militia as a second lieutenant, he assumed "political opinions." The opinions were vaguely constitutional (Unitarist), reflecting the recently attempted reforms by Bernardino Rivadavia's short-lived presidency of the United Provinces of La Plata (1826-1827), and concretely antiseparatist (anti-Federalist), anti-Spanish, and anti-*caudillo*. He joined the Unitarist forces as a lieutenant, had brief but intensive experience in battle against General Facundo Quiroga's army, was captured and held under house arrest in San Juan for four months, and, in February 1830, escaped for two months to Chile. Fighting flared anew and Sarmiento returned to San Juan. Once again Facundo Quiroga had the upper hand and in April 1831—this time with his father and a large contingent of Unitarist companions—Sarmiento again crossed the border into Chile.

In the next five years of exile (his mother obtained permission for him to return to San Juan in 1836) he taught reading, by a new syllabic method, in a small school in the town of Los Andes; sired, possibly with María de Jesús del Canto (documentary evidence is lacking), his first child, Emilia Faustina (born 18 July 1832); rented a store; studied English and read "all sixty volumes" of Sir Walter Scott in Valparaiso; and worked in a silver mine in northern Chile. Early in 1836 he contracted a severe case of typhoid fever and was allowed by the new Federalist governor of San Juan to come home, presumably to die.

But the prodigal son recovered and in his convalescence returned to reading and writing. His friend Manuel Quiroga Rosas had a fine library of modern European authors, many of them French romantics and social theorists, including Cousin. Of Sarmiento's studies in that phase of his life, Enrique Anderson Imbert, in chapter 8 of *Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana* (Spanish-American Literature: A History, 1954) has observed that he was more an intuitionist than a theorist, that his philosophy of history lacked systematic coherence, and that his originality is found in the fact that "his romantic philosophy of history was deeply fused with his idea of life itself as historical life. He sensed that his Self and

his Country formed a single being committed to a historic mission in the mainstream of civilization."

In 1839 Sarmiento planned and inaugurated the Colegio de Santa Rosa de América in San Juan (a "School for Young Ladies") and together with Quiroga Rosas got permission to publish a weekly newspaper that, it was understood, would be apolitical. But it turned out that *El Zonda* assimilated and expressed the dangerously democratic ideals of the Asociación de Mayo, and Federalist Governor Nazario Benavidez forced it out of business after its sixth issue by raising the tax on newsprint. Soon after, Sarmiento was imprisoned for conspiracy and almost lynched by a Federalist mob. Governor Benavidez intervened at the last minute to save him and sent him into exile. On 18 November 1840, the date on which he again crossed the Andes—this time for his longest exile—he wrote in French on the wall of a shack he had built in the Zonda Valley, "On ne tue pas les idées" (Ideas cannot be killed). As the Federalist soldiers escorting him to the border did not read French, they let the message remain.

The prolonged exile that he began then marked the stage in Sarmiento's life that would raise him to permanent political and literary prestige. Over the next decade his three most readable works, *Facundo*, *Viajes por Europa, África i América* (1849 and 1851; a portion of this work was published in English as Sarmiento's "Travels in the United States in 1847"), and *Recuerdos de provincia* were written. Though composed in the relative powerlessness of exile, the three books exude hopefulness; Sarmiento had not returned to Chile in the spirit of defeat but with his mind set on overthrowing Rosas' coercive regime. Like Uruguay, Chile was then a refugee haven for Argentine liberals. Rosas' power had grown steadily since 1829, when he became governor of the province of Buenos Aires. In April 1835, he gained control of all the provinces. Two months earlier, Facundo Quiroga had been ambushed and killed in his covered wagon in the wilds of Barranca Yaco, an event commemorated in a poem by Jorge Luis Borges, "El general Quiroga va en coche al muerte" ("General Quiroga Rides to His Death in a Carriage"). The victim had always been an ally of Rosas, but by this time (Rosas had sent him to Córdoba to mediate a dispute between two local *caudillos*) Facundo Qui-

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roga's political strength was seen as a threat to the strongman in Buenos Aires, and many have suspected that the latter was involved in the assassination plot.

As a historian, Sarmiento viewed peoples and cultures through their representative men. Although he was of the colonial landed aristocracy, Rosas lived and worked among *gaucho* cowboys and learned their ways. He was an expert in the production of leather and salted meat (for the first half of the nineteenth century Argentina's only exports). He was a talented ranch administrator, and as a pathfinder he could tell where he was, day or night, by tasting the pampa grass. Sarmiento thought of him as the gauchocracy personified, the leader who could mold the unruly mass of plainmen into a nation of plainmen.

Essentially, that is what Rosas achieved. But the policies that consolidated his constituency were his ultimate undoing. In 1835 he enacted a sweeping tariff law against foreign imports. Ten years later, in response to a French blockade of the port of Buenos Aires, he ordered the River Plate literally chained off at a point just to the south of where the Paraná River flows into it. His purpose was to stop British and French vessels that had been plying their trade all the way up to Paraguay. The British and French, in turn, reacted with warships, destroying the chain barrier with cannon shot. That was the beginning of the end for the Rosas economy. A country that lived on its livestock and a rigid protectionist policy could not long survive chained off from the rest of the world.

In the early 1830's, Rosas had amassed a formidable following: the uneducated majority, the church hierarchy, the opportunistic, and the dispossessed. As a leader he was a heady mixture of the populist and the tyrant. In *Facundo Quiroga*, Sarmiento found the elements of psychological support that Rosas had been able to incite in virtually all his partisans: courage, cunning, distrust, and the *gaucho's* yen for freedom from civic obligation. In *Facundo*, the title figure appears as the phantasmagorical plainman in the foreground, and Rosas as the calculating demon in the background. Thus, the "Vida de Juan Facundo Quiroga" ("Life of Juan Facundo Quiroga"), which begins in chapter 1 of part 2, is intended to be a vital cross-reference to the larger and further-developed phenomenon of Rosas' oppressive administration. In naturalistic terms,

Rosas' standing had been strengthened by Facundo's energy, and Rosas' propagandistic skill and massive repressions constituted an advance over Facundo's instincts and individualized cruelty. In Sarmiento's words, "what in him [Facundo] was only instinct, initiative, inclination, in Rosas became system, effect and result" (ch. 1, part 2).

Facundo is a work of fifteen chapters preceded by a vigorous introduction. It was written in considerable haste, as is often the case when a writer is moved by political urgency, and on 2 May 1845, it began appearing in serial form in *El Progreso*, a newspaper that Sarmiento had established in Santiago, Chile. Sarmiento's main purpose was to defeat Rosas ideologically (the civilized reformer versus the retrogressive despot) and politically (the pragmatic leader of the opposition who uses anecdote, symbol, and caricature as his principal weapons). To some degree, although he was not a foreign observer, Sarmiento aspired to become the Alexis de Tocqueville of Argentina, even though he was unlikely to achieve de Tocqueville's objectivity. In the introduction, he wrote:

South America in general and especially the Argentine Republic have lacked a de Tocqueville who, forearmed with a knowledge of social theory like the scientific traveler with his barometers, sextants, and compasses, could acquire an insider's view of our political life, which is comparable to a vast, unexplored, and undocumented territory.

Sarmiento presented himself as an unabashed Europeanizer at a time (the 1840's) when "Americanism" in Argentina had a connotation of anarchy, violence, and persecution. One historian, Ricardo Rojas, has labeled the fifteen years that ended with Facundo Quiroga's assassination as the Argentine Middle Ages. The basic criterion for power and control during the Rosas years had little to do with legal principles, as José Luis Romero has shown in *Las ideas políticas en Argentina*; the main thing was the leader's ability to exact obedience, "the obedience he had earned on his own and which he enjoyed due to his innate ability as a commander." It was what at different times and cultural levels Napoleon, Genghis Khan, Rosas, and Pancho Villa

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had in common. "Egoism," Sarmiento wrote (part 2, chapter 2), "is the basis of almost all historical characters; egoism is the mainspring behind all memorable acts." Facundo, Rosas, and Sarmiento himself, as president from 1868 to 1874, seem to have confirmed that judgment.

Early editions of *Facundo* have three parts and are preceded by a ten-page introduction. The introduction and part 1 are a vivid panorama of Argentine culture and society in the first four decades of the nineteenth century. Part 2, the longest, is a biography of Facundo Quiroga that at some points gets entangled with observations of dubious relevance. Part 3, just two chapters, is a diatribe against Rosas and his regime. The book begins with an evocation of Facundo's "terrifying spirit" and ends on the satisfied note—even though Rosas was to remain in office another seven years—that all the groundwork of revolution has been done and that Rosas no longer governs "in the official sense of the word." Isolated in the presidential residence, he wages civil war, organizes intrigues, and directs his infamous secret police, the *Mazorca* (the word means "ear of corn," or corn cob, and sounds like *más horca* [more gallows]). But, insists Sarmiento, the strongman has lost most of his support in Buenos Aires and throughout the provinces.

The most forcefully written sections are the introduction and part 1. In the introduction, the author laments that Argentine exiles in Chile have only "ideas, consolation, and encouragement" to offer their compatriots at home. He stresses that Facundo was a symbol and unknowing embodiment of the revolution and civil strife in Argentina, and that Rosas, far from being an aberration, was his country's natural representative and "a formula for the nation's way of life." Of humble rural origin and a natural creature of colonial life in the hinterland, Facundo was a "mirror" in which the progressive writer saw reflected "in colossal dimensions" the rough vitality of a turbulent historical era. As he reveals in the last paragraph of the introduction, the original (1845) edition was to consist of only two parts: the first the historical and environmental "stage," and the second the leading actor Facundo, "with his clothes, his ideas, and his manipulations." But by the time he had finished the rambling portrait that comprises part 2,

the author had warmed up for his inevitable barrage against the enemy still in control: Rosas.

In part 1 Sarmiento turns the near-empty expanses of Argentina into a symbolic map of barbarity. Its size is its "infirmity"; its landscapes suggest abstraction; jaguars abound on its plains; to the south and west of Buenos Aires fierce Indian tribes wait in ambush. The restless horsemen, lazy landowners (*estancieros*), and wild Indian hordes occupied a territory but did not constitute a nation: "there was no *res publica*." In these surroundings the *gaucho* developed physically but stagnated intellectually. Yet Sarmiento, who would profess until the end his official disdain for *gauchos* (and, by extension, the "Spanish race," which had proved to be "no more energetic" in the South American wilderness than in Spain, and also the *mestizos* and mulattoes of the New World), finds "poetry" in the *gaucho's* way of life and habitat. "Solitude, danger, savages, and death. That is poetry."

Chapter 2 of part 1 describes four representative inhabitants of the pampas: the *rastreador*, the tracker with a detective's instincts; the *baqueano*, the pathfinder, who determines location through his knowledge of topography; the *gaucho malo*, the "outlaw, squatter, and peculiar misanthrope," who is feared but admired by the rest of society for his independent spirit; and the *cantor*, the ballad singer, whose songs about noteworthy events (kidnappings, acts of bravery, betrayals and killings—including Facundo Quiroga's own demise) are the main source of news in remote areas.

Chapter 3 is a perceptive analysis of a pastoral society whose basic elements were the horse, the knife, and leisure time in the *pulperia*, an establishment that combined the services of the general store and the Wild West barroom of the United States in the nineteenth century. The knife is seen as an organic extension of the *gaucho's* personality. It was intended not for defense or attack but for the demonstration of the *gaucho's* superior skill in "marking" an opponent, preferably on the face. "If an accident should occur [the spectators'] sympathies are all with the murderer." According to Sarmiento, Rosas had turned his home into "a sort of asylum for such murderers." Whether a *gaucho* as the result of his feats was to become a common criminal or a full-fledged

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1864, ambassador to the United States from 1865 to 1868, and president of the Argentine Republic from 1868 to 1874.

In 1883 Sarmiento published his last major (though unfinished) work, *Conflictos y armonías de las razas* (Conflict and Harmony in the Races). He had intended it to be a theoretical sequel to *Facundo*, but in it his thinking descends to an openly racist impressionism, including his assertion that primitive peoples "all tend to have the same size cranium and all think the same way; that is, they don't think, they only feel." He maintained that the United States was better off and more advanced than the rest of the Americas because it had not indulged in racial mixing and that Chileans had taken foolish pride in their Araucanian heritage. It is a flawed and disorganized book.

The tireless leader remained active in public life until his last three or four years. All his portraits and photographs until 1884 (a picture taken in Chile in 1884 shows him as sickly and aged) reflect the same intensity in his eyes, the same aura of persistence and will. From the time of his presidency, his political opposition had labeled him Don Yo (Mr. Ego). There is no doubt, if one thinks of his dynamic example, that great egos are likely to make history.

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Many of Sarmiento's more specialized works on pedagogy, political administration, and military campaigns are not included; they can be consulted in his collected works (see *Obras*, below).

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Individual Works

The spelling in several of these titles was Sarmiento's own, in keeping with his strong convictions on the need for orthographical reform.

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ARABIA



Green, long symbolic in Islam as the color of the Fatimid dynasty established by the Prophet's daughter, Fatima, was used by early Muslims as a flag. A green turban belonging to the Prophet supposedly was their first such flag. Abd al-Aziz ibn Saud, leader of the Wahabis (a strict Muslim sect), ex-



tended their rule throughout the heartland of Arabia, renaming the country after himself in 1932. The traditional Wahabi banner is now the official Saudi state flag. It displays the *Shahada* or Word of Unity of Islam: "There is no god but Allah; Muhammad is the Prophet of Allah." The sword, a symbol of Islamic justice and righteousness, is repeated in the coat of arms which also includes a date palm representing patience and endurance.

7 ARGENTINA



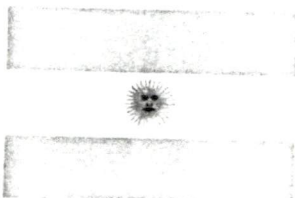
STATE ARMS



A military color hoisted by General Manuel Belgrano on 12 February 1812 in the city of Rosario is hailed by Argentines as their first national flag. Nevertheless the colors of that flag date back two years before that. Cockades of celeste and white were distributed to the crowds which gathered on 25 May 1810 in the Plaza of

Officially adopted
25 July 1816.

旗十
2:3 ≈



旗十
2:3



PRESIDENTIAL FLAG 3:4

Buenos Aires. They successfully demanded from the Spanish viceroy the creation of a popular local government.

The day had been cloudy and the people took it as a favorable omen when the clouds parted and the sun shone down upon them. That "Sun of May" came to be recognized as a national symbol.

It was added to the celeste-white-celeste civil flag in 1818, forming the state flag still in use today.

Over the years there has been disagreement on what the shade of blue in the Argentine flag should be called and what exactly it should look like.

From SA trip 12/90

PREADVANCE NOTES -- ARGENTINA

Good Contact:

Stephen Thompson -- US Embassy

A very friendly man who is a good source of info for both the Embassy Greeting as well as business/trade info for the Joint Session speech. I gave him the heads up that you'd call him.

Michael Canning -- US Embassy, Cultural Officer

Benny Giron -- Very helpful and eager to please. He should be sending you some brochures that we didn't have time to get on the preadvance. Also at the Embassy.

NOTE: Upon arrival at the Aeroparque (municipal airport), POTUS will be presented with a key to the city. No remarks are planned, but check on this again.

Sites of interest in the city:

- "July 9 Boulevard" is claimed to be world's largest; the main thoroughfare of "B.A." (Why is July 9 an important date for Buenos Aires?)
- At one circle of "July 9" stands a monument that is exactly like the Washington monument here in D.C. -- only slightly smaller. It's dedicated to Don Pedro Mendoza. (check him out)
- B.A. is the second city in the formation of the country of Argentina.

- Recoleta Cemetery is their equivalent of Arlington, though the people buried there are not solely servicemembers. Many famous Argentines, writers, artists, political figures, etc, have been laid to rest there.

Wreath laying ceremony at the Plaza of San Martin

--POTUS will lay a wreath at the monument of San Martin, the George Washington of Argentina. No remarks are required, though you will want to use San Martin in your other speeches. He is a very important figure to the Argentines.

San Martin is actually buried in the Main Cathedral of Buenos Aires, which is down the street about 1/2 a block from the Casa Gobierno (joint session speech site). Both the Casa Gobierno and the Cathedral line the Plaza of May 25th (why is this date important?) The Plaza is a big site for rallies and other public gatherings.

Suggested Reading:

"The History of Argentina" by David Rock.

This book covers the history of the country, from its earliest beginnings through the Falklands War. It's supposed to be an extremely easy read and a good source for you. Should be available at the OAS library or the Library of Congress.

Note from LCDR Justice from the Mil Office:

An Argentine Navy sailing vessel and training ship is the sister ship of the Coast Guard training vessel Barque Eagle. Both were war reparations from Germany.

QUOTES FOR SPEECHES

"Sarmiento" is supposedly the most quotable Argentine. He was a civilian President at the time of Lincoln and is known as the "Abraham Lincoln of Argentina".

**Mike Butler at the Embassy is known by his colleagues as "Mr. Quote". Call him.

Address to the Joint Session of the Argentine Congress

- o Wednesday, December 5 @ 3:50 p.m.
- o In the Chamber of Deputies
- o The address is scheduled to the Prompter, however check with Dave on this. The only available space for the Prompter is also where they want to put the press pool. Keller told me that Dave and Marlin will have to work this out.
- o Approximately 500 attendees -- 300 Senators and Deputies; 70 member of diplomatic corps; the Cabinet; Supreme Court justices; etc.
- o Two speakers -- the President of the Senate who will open the session and introduce the President, and POTUS. POTUS introduced by Argentine Vice President Duhalde.

See photos of chamber interior as well as pamphlets. Though they are in Spanish, you can probably figure them out.

The National Seal It is dominant all over the government buildings. In the Chambers in particular, it appears on the front of the podium, above the podium, and in the stained glass ceiling. See the brochure for a picture.

The stripes in it are the blue sky and the white sky of the flag.

The hands are the union of the Argentine people

The staff holding the cup symbolizes Freedom; adapted from symbols of the French Revolution.

The sun symbolizes the birth of a new country.

The laurels mean Glory.

State Dinner

- o Wednesday, December 5 @ 9:00 p.m.
- o Informal, as they will just have viewed a rodeo and cultural demonstration. (Riding, roping, throwing bolos, precision horse drill team of the federal police, traditional costumes)
- o 500 attendees

American Embassy Community Greeting

- o Thursday, December 6 @ 8:50 a.m.
- o The U.S. Ambassador's Residence Ballroom
- o 500 attendees -- embassy personnel, Argentine staff, families

The Residence is the largest in the world -- it's even larger than the WH residence. Vice President Quayle stayed there on his Latin American trips; the Bushes will RON there as well. Check on Bush as VP stays.

Other Presidents who stayed there:

- A plaque at the Main Entrance commemorates the February 26, 1960 visit of Eisenhower (a private visit after his Presidency)
- A plaque at the top of the stairs commemorates the November 30 - December 2, 1936 visit of FDR.

11/8/90

MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL/STADIS~~

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

FROM: S/P - Val Martinez *VLM*

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 4 NARA, Date 26/06/23

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 for Spain at the end of the 15th century.

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.

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. 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 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.

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.

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; 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.

Friends, 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.

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 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.

Biography of

JOEL GREY

Throughout his rich career, Joel Grey has impressed critics and audiences alike with his performances in virtually every medium of entertainment -- stage, screen, nightclub & concert venues and television. The Tony and Academy Award-winning actor continually stretches himself, reaching new creative heights with his limitless talent and energy.

Having recently moved to Los Angeles, Grey starred in the two-hour "Dallas" finale for CBS-TV as J.R.'s alter ego and in a half-hour series pilot for ABC-TV titled "Just Desserts." He will soon be seen in Stephen Soderbergh's feature film "Kafka," a fictional melodrama, starring Jeremy Irons and Alec Guinness. He also recently completed a cameo role as famous Hollywood agent Johnny Hyde in the forthcoming ABC-TV MOW "Marilyn & Me."

Grey made his debut in the role of "Pud" in "On Borrowed Time" at the Cleveland Playhouse at the age of nine. One critic stated, "I can only say that the boy is phenomenal. He is completely at home on stage without being the slightest bit precocious."

His family moved from Cleveland to Los Angeles when Grey was 13. At 16, Grey was appearing in his father's -- the late comedian Mickey Katz -- stage revue on weekends and was spotted in 1950 by Eddie Cantor and presented on his television show, "Colgate Comedy Hour." By the time he was 19, Grey had established himself as an international entertainer, performing in such top supper clubs and theatres as New

8500 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 520, Beverly Hills, CA 90211 • (213) 659-9111 • FAX (213) 450-9709...
250 West 57th Street, Suite 2411, New York, NY 10107 • (212) 247-2320 • FAX (212) 765-6315

Joel Grey Biography-3

York's Copacabana and the London Palladium.

Despite his success in the variety field, Grey felt a need to return to his original commitment, the theatre. He joined the Neighborhood Playhouse to study with Sanford Meisner and later with Wynn Handman. In his quest for the Broadway stage, Grey played diverse roles in a variety of media. He appeared on countless television programs and won national acclaim for his performance in the title role of the NBC special, "Jack and the Beanstalk." During this phase of his career, Grey also appeared in three films: "About Face," "Calypso Heat Wave" and "Come September." Additionally, he was seen off-Broadway in the Phoenix Theatre's "The Littlest Revue," followed by a one-year run in Neil Simon's first comedy hit, "Come Blow Your Horn." Other Broadway shows during that time include "Half a Sixpence" and "Stop the World I Want to Get Off," for which he also did the national tour. Grey was also seen with Dustin Hoffman in the original production of "Harry, Noon and Night" at the American Place Theatre.

Although he has been in the spotlight since starting his career, it was not until Hal Prince offered him the role of the M.C. in "Cabaret" in 1966 that Grey found the one special role that would afford him the opportunity to fully demonstrate all of his unique talents. His performance won him a Tony Award for Best Supporting Actor in a Broadway Musical in 1967 and he was fortunate enough to play the M.C. in the film version, for which he received the Oscar for Best Supporting Actor in 1972. Then, in 1986, Grey reprised the role, once again under Hal Prince's direction, when a 20th anniversary production was mounted with many of the original "Cabaret" creative team. After

Joel Grey Biography-3

800 performances and grossed over \$50 million.

In 1969, he appeared at the Palace Theatre as George M. Cohan in the musical "George M!," a biography of the legendary Yankee Doodle song and dance man. He earned his second Tony nomination and the Variety Critics Award as Best Actor in a Musical for "George M!." After appearing throughout the production's year-long run on Broadway, he traveled with it in a six-month tour of major cities, which culminated in the NBC-TV special, "George M!."

Grey then turned his attention back to films. He spent three months in Munich filming "Cabaret" with Liza Minnelli under the direction of Bob Fosse. He subsequently appeared as Franklin Wills, the clairvoyant, in Paramount Pictures' "Man on a Swing"; and starred with Paul Newman in Robert Altman's "Buffalo Bill and the Indians or Sitting Bull's History Lesson"; and in Herbert Ross' "The Seven Percent Solution."

In 1975, he was seen on Broadway as Charles VII, the Dauphin of France, and in the musical "Goodtime Charley" for which Grey earned his third Tony nomination.

He also appeared off-Broadway in Joseph Papp's New York Shakespeare Festival production of John Guare's "Marco Polo Sings a Solo." During the summer of 1978, he starred in the title role of Chekhov's first play, "Platonov," at the Williamstown Theatre Festival.

Grey returned to Broadway in 1979 as the star of "The Grand Tour," a musical based on the Franz Werfel play, "Jacobowsky and the Colonel." The play had a limited run, but the critics agreed that Grey's work was extraordinary, and his performance earned him his fourth Tony nomination.

(more...)

Joel Grey Biography-4

Grey was praised by critics and the public alike in 1981 when he ventured beyond his traditional arena to star as Olim in the New York City Opera's production of Kurt Weill's "Silverlake" at Lincoln Center under the aegis of Beverly Sills.

In 1982, he reunited with Liza Minnelli for their first national concert tour since 1967. The two had not appeared together since starring in "Cabaret."

During the summer of 1982, Grey had the honor of headlining the last Red Cross Gala hosted by Princess Grace in Monte Carlo. His performance prompted the royal family to throw flowers on the stage during his standing ovation. Prior to his trip abroad, Grey masterfully met the challenge of a one-man show called "Live in L.A.," which was broadcast live for national television.

Also, in 1982, Grey spent a month in London starring alongside the all-British cast in the Mobil Showcase Theatre production of Gilbert & Sullivan's "Yeomen of the Guard," which was broadcast in 1984 on PBS.

Grey devoted the summer of 1983 to touring the country in "Pal Joey." The classic Rodgers & Hart musical comedy role was a part often suggested and one he felt destined to play at some point in time.

On October 9, 1985, Grey was honored by the Hollywood Chamber of Commerce with the unveiling of a star bearing his name on the Hollywood Walk of Fame. Two days later, "Remo Williams: The Adventure Begins," a feature film in which he co-starred with Fred Ward for Orion, opened nationwide. His outstanding performance as a 75-year-old Korean martial arts expert earned him a Golden Globe nomination for Best Supporting Actor.

(more...)

Joel Grey Biography-5

In 1986, Grey restaged the national tour of "Zorba" starring Anthony Quinn, and starred off-Broadway at The Public Theatre in the role of Ned Weeks in Larry Kramer's "The Normal Heart." The play chronicled the social and political impact of the AIDS outbreak in New York City from 1981-84.

During the past several years, Grey has busied himself on television, nightclub and concert stages around the world. By special invitation from the White House, he performed "Wilkommen" at a State Dinner honoring West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and more recently, again performed at the White House for Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

On June 25, 1986, CBS-TV aired "The Kraft All-Star Salute to Ford's Theatre" where Grey marched through a George M. Cohan medley before an audience of invited dignitaries and guests, including President and Mrs. Reagan.

On July 4, 1986, Grey performed with the Boston Pops before a live audience at the "Americana Concert" in Liberty State Park as part of the Statue of Liberty Celebration, televised nationwide on ABC-TV.

Grey was conferred the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters by Cleveland State University and has received the American Guild of Variety Artists' Entertainer of the Year Award, the Georgie. Grey has two children, Jennifer and James.

#

062491tb

Grant/Aarhus
November 6, 1991
A:MENEMARR
Draft One

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL CEREMONY FOR PRESIDENT MENEM
NOVEMBER 14, 1991
10 A.M.**

Thank you all very much. President Menem, it gives me great pleasure to welcome you to the White House. The ties between our two countries have never been stronger, and a great deal of credit goes to you and your administration.

Nearly a year ago, a revolt ensued by renegade soldiers faced you in your nation's capital. You stood firm in defense of freedom and liberty and in defense of your people's right to a government of their choice. In the end, freedom triumphed. It was an honor to join you, just two days later, in beautiful Buenos Aires, the capital of a proud and free Argentina.

In your inaugural address you told the Argentine people, "Only working together we shall become the architects of a deep change and of a positive transformation." You asked Argentina to "arise and walk." And you reassured your people that the sight of their forefathers would guide them: San Martin, Bolivar, Artigas and Peron -- leaders who believed that common frontiers must turn into union bridges. President Menem, in their tradition, you are a leader of courage and common sense, a man of conviction, and a visionary for a people facing common frontiers.

When we met last year in beautiful Buenos Aires, we spoke about the challenges your country faces, and the changes that

have already been set in motion.

Under your leadership, Argentina has become one of this hemisphere's strongest defenders of democracy, both at home and abroad. When Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait, you sent troops from the Argentine navy to join the international coalition that liberated that pillaged nation. When tanks rumbled through the streets of Moscow, threatening the Soviet Union's democratic reconstruction, you were one of the first to speak out in defense of liberty. You have called for democratic reform in Cuba and worked within the Organization of American States to restore democratic government in Haiti.

At home, you have brought down barriers to trade and investment, slashed government spending, privatized state-owned industries, and abolished harmful government regulation of the economy. You have worked hard to meet Argentina's foreign debt commitments. Once-rampant inflation is under control, industrial production is up, your stock market -- the oldest in Latin America -- has risen sharply in recent months. Last year, Argentina had a trade surplus of over \$8 billion; U.S. firms alone invested over \$200 million in Argentina.

You faced many difficult challenges when you took office in 1989, but these measures earned the respect of the international community. More importantly, they set Argentina on the road to a stronger competitive position in the global economy.

In the rapidly evolving relationship among the nations of the Southern Cone, you have taken the lead in achieving regional economic integration and arms control.

For example, by the end of 1994, the Mercosur [pronunciation] common market will eliminate tariffs between Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay -- linking your economies together consistent with GATT -- to form one of the hemisphere's largest open markets. You and your partners are taking a giant step toward the goal I stated last year in announcing the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative: to make the Americas the world's largest partnership of free-trading nations.

We also welcome your efforts -- and the efforts of Brazil - - to bring the Treaty of Tlatelolco [pronunciation] into force by setting in place nuclear safeguards which will increase security in this hemisphere and the rest of the world.

From Rivadavia to Rio Gallegos, from Zapala to Buenos Aires ... your strong, committed leadership is bringing your people hope for positive change -- faith in their countrymen -- and the courage to "arise and walk" together.

On behalf of the people of the United States, it is my great pleasure to welcome you to the White House. May God bless the Argentine Republic.

#

Grant/Aarhus
November 8, 1991
A:MENEMTOA
Draft one

**STATE DINNER TOAST: PRESIDENT MENEM OF ARGENTINA
NOVEMBER 14, 1991**

President Menem, distinguished guests.

I'd like to begin tonight with a short story. In November of 1840, the "Thomas Jefferson of Argentina," Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, began publishing a weekly newspaper, El Zonda, and wrote of the yearning for democracy and the dream of freedom for his people. After six issues, it was forced out of business after the Federalist Governor raised the tax on newsprint. Soon after, Sarmiento was imprisoned for conspiracy and nearly lynched, then sent into exile. Sarmiento, under armed guard while crossing the Andes into exile, wrote a message in French on the wall of a shack he had built in the Zonda Valley. The soldiers escorting him to the border did not read French, and so the message remained. Sarmiento had written: "On ne tue pas les ideas" -- translated, "ideas cannot be killed."

President Menem, you are a man of ideas -- ideas of freedom, opportunity and hope for a better life for your people. These ideas can never be killed.

In your Inaugural address, you said: "I call you to participate in the birth of a new time. Of a new opportunity which may be the last one, which may be the most important, definite and decisive opportunity of our days. The most beautiful country is the one we have not built yet."

I now raise my glass to a man of ideas, Carlos Menem. To the beautiful world that we have not yet built: May it be one of freedom, opportunity and a better life for all people.

#

November 8, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR WAVES

FROM: CAROL AARHUS
ROOM 111.5, EXTENSION x7750

SUBJECT: CLEARANCE

Please clear in the following people to see Katherine Ginzberg
at 1:45 p.m. today:

Ashley Tuttle -- 9/11/71
Meredith Graybors -- 11/23/70
Mark Ladin -- 7/29/70
Ali Ettehadieh -- 9/21/70

Thank you.

NOV 8 11:28

ENTERTAINMENT CARD

Thank you, Joel. As you know, Joel is world-famous for his role in "Cabaret," and Barbara and I are thrilled that this Tony and Academy Award-winner could join us tonight. Joel has been a hit with critics and audiences since his debut at age nine. Today, he is a master of virtually every medium -- stage, screen, nightclub, concert and television specials. Whether he is singing, dancing, or acting, his creative talents and energy are limitless. Joel Grey has joined us for dinner here at the White House before, but this time, we wanted him to come back and sing for his supper.

Joel, thank you again.

#

Proposed Remarks for the President

On Argentine President Menem's Arrival in Washington

Good Afternoon and welcome to the White House.

Mr. President, it is a pleasure and a privilege to meet with you again. The ties between our peoples are stronger than ever, and much of the credit goes to you and your administration. You are an inspiration for the Americas and the world in your commitment to political and economic reform and your willingness to meet the challenges facing Argentina. You have brought your people hope of a better future.

As President you have faced many challenges. During my visit to South America last year, I learned of the revolt by renegade soldiers you faced in your nation's capital -- you stood firmly in defense of liberty and in defense of your people's right to a government of their choice, rather than one imposed at gunpoint -- and freedom triumphed. It was an honor to join you, just two days later, in beautiful Buenos Aires, the capital of a free and democratic Argentina.

When Saddam Hussein sought to snuff out Kuwaiti independence you sent the cream of Argentina's Navy to join the international coalition that liberated Kuwait, boldly serving our common interests in a lawful international order.

When tanks rolled in Moscow and threatened the Soviet Union's democratic revolution you were one of the first to speak out in defense of liberty.

More recently and closer to home, you have called for democratic reform in Cuba and worked within the Organization of American States to restore democratic government in Haiti.

Mr. President, under your leadership Argentina has become one of this hemisphere's strongest defenders of democracy, both at home and abroad. I admire your steadfastness and your commitment to liberty.

Since taking office in 1989 you have brought down barriers to trade and investment, slashed government spending, and abolished harmful government regulation of the economy. You have returned their lawful power to provincial and local governments and privatized state owned industries. We applaud these changes and your efforts to meet Argentina's foreign debt commitments. Together, these measures have earned the respect of the international community and set Argentina on the road to a stronger competitive position in the global economy.

Once-rampant inflation is under control; Argentine industrial production is up, your stock market has risen sharply in recent

months, and last year Argentina had a trade surplus of over \$8 billion. In the last year, U.S. firms have invested over \$200 million in Argentina.

You have also taken the lead in the rapidly evolving relationship among the nations of the Southern Cone, working hard to achieve regional economic integration and arms control.

By the end of 1994 the Mercosur common market will eliminate tariffs between Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay and link your economies together -- consistent with the GATT -- to form one of the hemisphere's largest open markets. You and your partners are taking a giant step towards the goal I stated last year in announcing the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative: To make the Americas the world's largest partnership of free trading nations.

We welcome your efforts, in conjunction with Brazil, to set in place nuclear safeguards, which will increase security in this hemisphere, and the world.

On behalf of the people of the United States, it is my great pleasure to welcome you to the White House.

May God bless the Argentine Republic.