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Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13549
Folder ID Number: 13549-020

Folder Title:
Joint Session, Brazilian Congress 12/3/90 [OA 6027] [2]

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/26/90

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 Tuesday 11/27

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: JOINT SESSION, BRAZILIAN CONGRESS

(11/26 5:15 p.m. draft)

ACTION FYI		ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐ ☒	MCCLURE	☒ ☐
SUNUNU	☐ ☐	NEWMAN	☐ ☐
SCOWCROFT	☒ ☐	PORTER	☒ ☐
DARMAN	☒ ☐	ROGICH	☒ ☐
CARD	☐ ☒	UNTERMEYER	☐ ☐
CICCONI	☐ ☒	ROGERS	☒ ☐
DEMAREST	☒ ☐	PINKERTON	☒ ☐
FITZWATER	☐ ☒	WINSTON	☐ ☒
GRAY	☐ ☐	DELAND	☒ ☐
HAGIN	☐ ☐	BOSKIN	☒ ☐
HOLIDAY	☒ ☐		☐ ☐

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 5:00 Tuesday, 11/27, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

November 27, 1990

TO: CHRISS WINSTON

The NSC Staff concurs with changes annotated in text. Note, however, the section on international debt (pages 5-7) and debt/environment does not accurately reflect USG policy on forgiveness of official debt. We understand, however, that Treasury has not reviewed this section and suggested a number of changes to the speechwriters.

Wm

R. Gates for
Brent Scowcroft

cc: James Cicconi

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

90 NOV 26 PM 6:41

(Lange/Cawley)
November 26, 1990
5:15 p.m.
[BRAZIL.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: JOINT SESSION, BRAZILIAN CONGRESS
BRASILIA
MONDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1990
11:15 A.M.

[[Obrigado [oh-bree-GAH-tho]. Mr. President of the National Congress [Senator Nelson Carneiro]; Mr. President of the Chamber of Deputies [Deputy Paes de Andrade]; Senator [welcome speech]; Deputy [welcome speech]; Mr. President of the Supreme Court [Dr. Neri da Silveira]; esteemed Papal Nuncio, and members of the diplomatic corps; Mr. Archbishop [Dom Freire Falcao]; Honorable Ministers of State; Honorable Deputies and Senators.]] It is a privilege to join you in this great hall of democracy -- and an honor that so many members could be here today. I deeply appreciate your presence.

My thoughts today could have no better forum -- my words, no better audience -- than here, in Brasilia. A city that so aptly symbolizes the energy and aspirations of a great people -- the bold and expansive spirit of a great nation -- and the promise of a bright future for all of the Americas.

We meet at an extraordinary moment in our shared history. A time of serious challenges and important choices, that calls for mutual respect, candor, and collective will.

I have met with many Latin and Caribbean leaders. And throughout the range of issues we've discussed, all of us, I think, have been seeking for a way to express what we see as a ^{OUR VISION FOR} ~~new, more mature relationship among the Americas.~~
^{THIS HEMISPHERE'S NEXT 500 YEARS.}

President Collor, who represents a new breed of leadership now sweeping across Latin America, is Brazil's first popularly-elected President in almost three decades. Your gubernatorial and legislative elections are another ^{STRONG DEMONSTRATION OF} ~~brilliant achievement in~~ Brazilian democracy -- and I congratulate you and all Brazilians.

President Collor has spoken eloquently of Brazil's rightful place at the table of the First World -- and I agree.

I believe it is time, in fact, to end the false distinctions between First World and Third World that have too long compromised political and economic relations in the Americas.

Let us instead speak of the New World, ^{AND MAKE THIS THE CENTRAL} ~~AND MAKE THIS THE CENTRAL~~ ^{IDEA OF OUR COMMON HUMANITY.} ~~IDEA OF OUR COMMON HUMANITY.~~

This hemisphere has always found strength in diversity. After all, here I stand, addressing Portuguese-speakers in English, because of an Italian sailing on behalf of Spain, guided by the theories of theologian in France, five centuries ago.

What we hold in common transcends borders and translates into any language. The nations of America all struggled and gained independence from the old ways of the Old World -- ended the injustice of slavery -- and built republics of promise and renewal around the dignity and power of the individual, ^{AND} ~~the rule of law, and the rights of man.~~

Now, as we approach the 500th anniversary of Columbus' discovery of the Americas -- and the arrival of Cabral's Portuguese fleet in Brazil -- ^{OUR MOMENT TO CHART OUR COURSE} ~~this is a moment to look to the~~ ^{FOR THE} ~~future of the New World.~~ For while we have all witnessed in wonder the dawn of democracy in Eastern Europe, ^{BUT} in the Americas,

A COURSE FOR FREEDOM, FOR
DEMOCRACY, AND PROSPERITY.

* INSERT:

Two weeks ago in Prague, I spoke about this very subject to a people that has paid dearly for its freedoms. I talked about a new commonwealth of freedom, based on four key principles. This hemisphere already shares these convictions: an unshakable belief in the dignity and rights of man; the conviction that just government derives its power from the people; the belief that men and women everywhere must be free to enjoy the fruits of their labor; and that the rule of law must govern the conduct of nations. But every new nation that joins this commonwealth of freedom advances us one step closer to a new world order, a world in which the use of force gives way to a shared respect for the rule of law. We must not rest until this victory for freedom and democracy is won completely.

too, we have heard the ^{RISING CHORUS} ~~rolling thunder~~ of political and economic ^{CHANGE} ~~revolution~~. And while some may claim our frontiers have all been explored, I contend we have just begun to press forward, ^{EXPLORING} ~~toward~~ the real promise of the Americas.

~~Ideals endure.~~ Territories may end at borders, continents may end at the water's edge, but human potential knows only those limits set by human imagination. The Americas' role in the world is not defined by geography. ^{IT IS DEFINED BY ITS PEOPLE AND ITS IDEALS.} ~~The sun is not setting in the West.~~ ^{POISED TO EXPLORE MANY NEW PERSPECTIVES OF OUR COMMON DESTINY.} I believe we are approaching a new dawn in the New World.

~~To be true to our forefather's legacy -- to be worthy of these continents' cost in sweat, blood and courage -- our thinking must be as bold -- our dreams, as brave -- our will, as resolute. Our challenge now, is to hew out of a wilderness of competing interests a new kind of opportunity in the Americas.~~

To truly fulfill the New World's ^{DESTINY} ~~freedoms~~, all of the Americas and the Caribbean must ~~now~~ embark on a venture for the coming century: to create the first fully free, fully democratic hemisphere in the history of mankind. The first hemisphere wholly devoted to freedom -- to free speech, free trade, free elections, and free markets unfettered by the state. * INSERT PMLA

It is ^{also} ~~is~~ within our power to make this hemisphere the largest trading center of sovereign nations in the world. From the northernmost reaches of Canada to the tip of Argentina, we see a future where growing opportunity, the power of technology and the benefits of prosperity are developed and shared by all.

Such a vision will often mean redefining institutions -- rethinking their relationship with the people they exist to serve. In many cases, change will not come easily. Economies now dependent on protection and state regulation must open to competition. The transition, for a time, will be painful. But the results -- growing economies and sound currencies -- will bring unprecedented prosperity and stability.

Latin America's economic adjustment is already in motion. Exports are rising. Fiscal reform is underway. In eight months, President Collor and this Congress have driven down inflation, started to free the private sector from government control and subsidy, and begun to open the economy to greater competition and vitality -- ^{TO THE} the unparalleled prosperity of the open market.

This new model of Latin American development presents a challenge to traditional political culture. Many of the Americas will have to make serious adjustments to compete with Southeast Asia, and to take advantage of the European Market after 1992. But we're confident that solutions will be found -- by ^{Uruguayans} Brazilians, by Chileans, by Peruvians --- by all of the Americas.

That was the spirit of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative we announced last June. It calls for a major hemispheric effort to unify the New World in the three key areas of trade, investment, and debt.

In trade, our first priority should be to promote long-term growth -- and the most effective first step is the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round, now in its final stages in

Geneva. An end to export subsidies, and new openings for developing country exports mean new market opportunities -- and a higher standard of living -- for the farmer in Mato Grosso, the textile worker in Parana, and the engineer in Sao Paulo.

But the Uruguay Round and Bilateral Trade Agreements are only first steps. The Southern Cone Common Market, now developing under the leadership of President Collor and his colleagues in neighboring countries, is ^{ANOTHER} a major step toward the world's first hemispheric free trade zone.

For investment in the Americas, the dead hand of state control must be lifted. We must allow entrepreneurs the flexibility to adapt, create, and produce -- to provide meaningful and well-paying jobs for your workers -- and to lift Latin America's peoples ^{TO TOWARD PROSPERITY} ~~out of poverty~~. Brazilians know what foreign investment can do -- just witness its role in the dynamism of Sao Paulo, and the \$10 billion of U.S. investment already in this country.

Free markets work. ~~They create widespread prosperity.~~ And the reason is as simple as it is profound. Every man and woman is capable of success. By promoting the potential of the individual ~~over the power of government~~ -- by giving people the means to chart their own destiny -- the frontiers of the Americas ^{CONTINUE TO BE REDISCOVERED} ~~will stretch on forever~~. Like Brazil's mythical bandeirantes, who opened "new paths never trod, never known," we, too must be willing to move in new directions.

But individuals cannot succeed if government is burdened by

debt. That's why the third leg of our Enterprise for the Americas is a comprehensive commitment to work with Brazil and others in Latin America to restructure U.S. official debts on ^{WE HAVE PROPOSED A FORMULA WHICH WILL ~~USE~~ HELP PROTECT THE} concessionary terms. ^{CONCESSIONARY TERMS. THESE SWAPS CAN FREE UP SUBSTANTIAL ENVIRONMENT AND REDUCE DEBT AT THE SAME TIME.} These swaps can free up substantial resources for use in environmental projects.

Our new approach to official debt will complement commercial debt restructuring through the Brady plan. I understand the importance to Brazil, and to the international financial community, of reaching a new and effective agreement on commercial debt. Global capital flows will be vital to your development -- and we are ready to assist wherever possible.

We've submitted a request to our Congress for the authority to implement our proposals. But we know that real solutions must ^{INVOLVE ALL OF US IN THE AMERICAS.} be collective. That's why, for every shared concern, we envision a permanent partnership between all the nations of the Americas, to confront challenges that know no borders.

We envision a hemisphere where a genuinely collaborative commitment is shared to protect our environmental legacy. There can be no sustained economic growth without respect for the environment -- ^{PROSPERITY REQUIRES US TO LINK OUR ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES TO THE PLANET WHICH IS OUR HOME.} and there may be no greater impediment to protecting the environment than poverty. The linkage is crucial.

That's why the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative links ^{CONTAINS THE ENVIRONMENTAL ~~ASPECT~~ PROPOSAL} bilateral debt relief with environmental protection -- not as a challenge to national sovereignty, but as an affirmation of shared international interests. Here in Brazil, a consortium of organizations has presented a proposal to the government for such

~~a debt-for-nature swap.~~ ^{BRAZIL AND} I encourage other creditor nations to convert debt into funds for the environment.

~~The Declaration of Brasilia in 1989 reflected the wisdom and dedication of this region to wise stewardship of your unique natural resources.~~ And your hosting of the United Nations

Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 places Brazil in a position of true global leadership. ^(WE HOPE AN AGREEMENT TO PROTECT THE WORLD'S FORESTS WILL BE READY TO SIGN AT THAT CONFERENCE.)

[We hope an agreement to protect the world's forests will be ready for signing at that Conference. We believe more progress will be made if the forest agreement is negotiated apart from the Climate Change convention -- which, in focusing on carbon sequestration, only relates to one of the many benefits forests have for the planet.]

The wise management of the Americas' rich endowment of forests and wildlife will be an important test. For the sake of present and future generations, we have an opportunity to make the Western hemisphere a model for sustainable development.

We also are challenged to make ours a hemisphere where sovereign nations are joined in collective determination to eradicate the disease of drugs. The time for blame is long over. We in the U.S. recognize we must do more to reduce demand. And you understand that the spreading tentacles of the drug trade threaten democratic society.

President Collor has taken a strong position against drugs for the sake of youth here in Brazil -- and I pledge the full efforts of my government to continue to dampen demand. There is

only one answer to the drug problem in this hemisphere. It is
^{SMALL - DRUGS ARE AN EVIL WHICH DESTROY AND CORRUPT.}
the answer we reach together.

And finally, in this era of great challenges around the world, we want the Western hemisphere to be a model to the world for security and stability -- in regional arms control, in nuclear, ^{MISSILE} and chemical non-proliferation, and in collective commitment to facing down aggression. ^(*) Just as Brazil made valiant contributions to the cause of freedom in World War II, you were among the first to implement sanctions against Iraq. I ^{FEEL ALMOST} applaud your role in the world community's universal condemnation of Iraq's aggression.

But underlying all of the issues we face together is a more fundamental challenge, whose success will affect them all.

~~We must usher in an economic revolution the equal of the political revolutions we've witnessed.~~ We must make ours a hemisphere where ^{POOR} economic competition is embraced -- not as a threat to privilege, but as the key to prosperity.

Where neighbors prosper, neighborhoods flourish. And just as all of the American nations struggled to avoid the interventions of Old World government in their affairs, so should we give that spirit rein in every individual.

Let us hold firmly in our minds an unshakable conviction in the importance and benefit of free enterprise. From Boston to Buenos Aires, from Labrador to Lima, let us ^{UNLEASH THE POWER} together enact the ^{OF INDIVIDUAL ENTERPRISE} ~~unwritten equivalent of an economic Bill of Rights~~ -- so that any man or woman who wants to launch a new enterprise ^{MAY} ~~views~~ the state

(*) WE APPLAUD YOUR DECISION TO MOVE FORWARD ON FULL-SCOPE NUCLEAR SAFEGUARDS, AND CONTINUE TO URGE ALL COUNTRIES IN THIS HEMISPHERE TO BRING THE INTERNATIONAL TREATY OF TATTELCO INTO FORCE.

as an ally, not an obstacle -- and all who pursue the fruits of the free market see other nations not as threats to sovereignty, but as opportunities for mutual prosperity.

We long ago achieved independence from the Old World. Now let us work toward a new declaration of interdependence among the American nations of the New World.

This vision of a ~~completely~~ free, ~~completely~~ democratic, *now PROSPERITY* hemisphere -- the promise of the New World -- is ~~now~~ within our reach. If, as Jose Bonifacio once said, "Brazilians are enthusiasts of a beautiful ideal," let us not limit the New World's potential with old thinking. After the half millenium we have had in this hemisphere to form our nations and find our way, let us now make our relations the world's inspiration.

With our hearts and minds and hands, let us meet a challenge worthy of our heritage -- worthy of this land of boundless frontiers and limitless opportunity.

Standing on this central plateau, soon to be the seat of great decisions, President Juscelino Kubitschek said, "I look once again at the future of my country, and see this dawn with unyielding faith and unlimited confidence in its great destiny."

My friends, my neighbors -- ^{WE LIVE IN THE} ~~let the~~ new dawn come to the New World. Let us fulfill the promise of these great lands.

Thank you very much. And may God bless the Brazilian people.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

90 OCT 27 P4:37

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	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
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DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
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RESPONSE:

See comment - pg ?

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

90 NOV 26 PM 6:41

(Lange/Cawley)
November 26, 1990
5:15 p.m.
[BRAZIL.DOC]

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MONDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1990
11:15 A.M.

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too, we have heard the rolling thunder of political and economic revolution. And while some may claim our frontiers have all been explored, I contend we have just begun to press forward, toward the real promise of the Americas.

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Such a vision will often mean redefining institutions -- rethinking their relationship with the people they exist to serve. In many cases, change will not come easily. Economies now dependent on protection and state regulation must open to competition. The transition, for a time, will be painful. But the results -- growing economies and sound currencies -- will **bring unprecedented prosperity and stability.**

Latin America's economic adjustment is already in motion. Exports are rising. Fiscal reform is underway. In eight months, President Collor and this Congress have driven down inflation, started to free the private sector from government control and subsidy, and begun to open the economy to greater competition and vitality -- the unparalleled prosperity of the open market.

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In **trade**, our first priority should be to promote long-term growth -- and the most effective first step is the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round, now in its final stages in

Geneva. An end to export subsidies and new openings for developing country exports mean new market opportunities -- and a higher standard of living -- for the farmer in Mato Grosso, the textile worker in Parana, and the engineer in Sao Paulo.

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debt. That's why the third leg of our Enterprise for the Americas is a comprehensive commitment to work with Brazil and others in Latin America to restructure U.S. official debts on concessionary terms. These swaps can free up substantial resources for use in environmental projects.

Our new approach to official debt will complement commercial debt restructuring through the Brady plan. I understand the importance to Brazil, and to the international financial community, of reaching a new and effective agreement on commercial debt. Global capital flows will be vital to your development -- and we are ready to assist wherever possible.

We've submitted a request to our Congress for the authority to implement our proposals. But we know that real solutions must be collective. That's why, for every shared concern, we envision a permanent partnership between all the nations of the Americas, to confront challenges that know no borders.

We envision a hemisphere where a genuinely collaborative commitment is shared to protect our environmental legacy. There can be no sustained economic growth without respect for the environment -- and there may be no greater impediment to protecting the environment than poverty. The linkage is crucial.

That's why the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative links bilateral debt relief with environmental protection -- not as a challenge to national sovereignty, but as an affirmation of shared international interests. Here in Brazil, a consortium of organizations has presented a proposal to the government for such

a debt-for-nature swap. I encourage other creditor nations to convert debt into funds for the environment.

The Declaration of Brasilia in 1989 reflected the wisdom and dedication of this region to wise stewardship of your unique natural resources. And your hosting of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 places Brazil in a position of true global leadership.

[We hope an agreement to protect the world's forests will be ready for signing at that Conference. We believe more progress will be made if the forest agreement is negotiated apart from the Climate Change convention -- which, in focusing on carbon sequestration, only relates to one of the many benefits forests have for the planet.]

*See insert
A next
page*

The wise management of the Americas' rich endowment of forests and wildlife will be an important test. For the sake of present and future generations, we have an opportunity to make the Western hemisphere a model for sustainable development.

We also are challenged to make ours a hemisphere where sovereign nations are joined in collective determination to eradicate the disease of drugs. The time for blame is long over. We in the U.S. recognize we must do more to reduce demand. And you understand that the spreading tentacles of the drug trade threaten democratic society.

President Collor has taken a strong position against drugs for the sake of youth here in Brazil -- and I pledge the full efforts of my government to continue to dampen demand. There is

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INSERT TO PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS TO BRAZILIAN CONGRESS

[A]

key change, don't w/ 'all' 'heavily' both

We believe that international cooperation in a number of areas will increase our ability wisely to utilize the world's forests to produce continuing and increasing economic and other benefits for this and future generations.

[We need to stress not only "protection", but "wise utilization" as well. Otherwise, the Brazilians are likely to view our forestry convention proposal as aimed at them and other tropical countries who are "exploiting" their forests. To a substantial degree, they already tend to view it that way. Consequently, they generally have supported keeping forestry issues tied to energy use/CO2 emissions reduction issues.]

*Grady
x4844*

only one answer to the drug problem in this hemisphere. It is the answer we reach together.

And finally, in this era of great challenges around the world, we want the Western hemisphere to be a model to the world for security and stability -- in regional arms control, in nuclear and chemical non-proliferation, and in collective commitment to facing down aggression. Just as Brazil made valiant contributions to the cause of freedom in World War II, you were among the first to implement sanctions against Iraq. I applaud your role in the world community's universal condemnation of Iraq's aggression.

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Where neighbors prosper, neighborhoods flourish. And just as all of the American nations struggled to avoid the interventions of Old World government in their affairs, so should we give that spirit rein in every individual.

Let us hold firmly in our minds an unshakable conviction in the importance and benefit of free enterprise. From Boston to Buenos Aires, from Labrador to Lima, let us together enact the unwritten equivalent of an economic Bill of Rights -- so that any man or woman who wants to launch a new enterprise views the state

as an ally, not an obstacle -- and all who pursue the fruits of the free market see other nations not as threats to sovereignty, but as opportunities for mutual prosperity.

We long ago achieved independence from the Old World. Now let us work toward a new declaration of interdependence among the American nations of the New World.

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Standing on this central plateau, soon to be the seat of great decisions, President Juscelino Kubitschek said, "I look once again at the future of my country, and see this dawn with unyielding faith and unlimited confidence in its great destiny."

My friends, my neighbors -- let the new dawn come to the New World. Let us fulfill the promise of these great lands.

Thank you very much. And may God bless the Brazilian people.

#

(Lange/Cawley)
November 28, 1990
5:00 p.m.
[BRAZIL.DOC]

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BRASILIA
MONDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1990
11:15 A.M.

[[Obrigado [oh-bree-GAH-tho]. Mr. President of the National Congress [Senator Nelson Carneiro]; Mr. President of the Chamber of Deputies [Deputy Paes de Andrade]; Senator [welcome speech]; Deputy [welcome speech]; Mr. President of the Supreme Court [Dr. Neri da Silveira]; esteemed Papal Nuncio, and members of the diplomatic corps; Mr. Archbishop [Dom Freire Falcao]; Honorable Ministers of State; Honorable Deputies and Senators.]] It is a privilege to join you in this great hall of democracy -- and an honor that so many members could be here today. I deeply appreciate your presence.

Brazil today is poised to enter the 21st century as a leader among nations -- pioneering bold new economic reforms, and consolidating its democracy. That is a tribute to your dynamic new President, Fernando Collor de Mello [CALL-er de mellow] -- a leader whose friendship and vision I value and respect -- a man who represents a new generation of democratic leadership now sweeping across Latin America.

My thoughts today could have no better forum than your National Congress -- my words, no better audience than the people of Brazil. We meet at an extraordinary moment in our shared history. A time of serious challenges and important choices, that calls for mutual respect, candor, and collective will.

I have met with many Latin and Caribbean leaders. And beyond any single issue we've discussed, all of us have been galvanized by a new era of hope and opportunity throughout the Americas -- and a new partnership based on mutual respect and shared responsibilities.

President Collor [CALL-er] has spoken eloquently of Brazil's rightful place at the table of the First World -- and I agree. I believe it is time, in fact, to end the false distinctions between First World and Third World that have too long limited political and economic relations in the Americas. **Let us instead speak of the New World.**

This hemisphere has always found strength in diversity. After all, here I stand, addressing Portuguese-speakers in English, because of an Italian sailing on behalf of Spain, guided by the theories of a theologian in France, five centuries ago.

What we hold in common transcends borders and translates into any language. The nations of the Americas all struggled and gained independence from the old ways of the Old World -- ended the injustice of slavery and colonialism -- and built republics of promise and renewal around the dignity and power of the individual, and the rule of law.

Now, as we approach the 500th anniversary of Columbus' discovery of the Americas -- and the arrival of Cabral's Portuguese fleet in Brazil -- this is our moment to chart the course for the New World -- a course of freedom, ~~of~~ democracy, and prosperity. We have all witnessed in wonder the dawn of

democracy in Eastern Europe, but in the Americas, we too have been involved in extraordinary political and economic change. And while some may claim our frontiers have all been explored, I say to you today: We have just begun to press forward, toward the real promise of the Americas.

Territories may end at borders, but mankind's capacity for progress knows no bounds. Continents may end at the water's edge, but human potential knows only those limits set by human imagination. The Americas' role in the world is not defined by geography. It is defined by its peoples and its ideals. ~~ideals~~ that endure. I believe we are approaching a new dawn in the New World.

Our thinking must be bold -- our dreams, big -- our will, resolute. Our challenge now, is to hew out of a wilderness of competing interests a new kind of opportunity in the Americas. To truly fulfill the New World's destiny, all of the Americas and the Caribbean must embark on a venture for the coming century: to create the first fully democratic hemisphere in the history of mankind. The first hemisphere wholly devoted to the democratic ideal -- to unleash the power of free people, free elections, and free markets.

Two weeks ago in Prague, I spoke to a people that has paid dearly for its freedoms. I talked about a new commonwealth of freedom, based on four key principles. This hemisphere already shares these convictions: an unshakable belief in the dignity and rights of man; the conviction that just government derives

its power from the people; the belief that men and women everywhere must be free to enjoy the fruits of their labor; and that the rule of law must govern the conduct of nations.

But every new nation that joins this commonwealth of freedom advances us one step closer to a new world order, a world in which the use of force gives way to a shared respect for the rule of law. We must not rest until this victory for freedom and democracy is won completely.

It is also within our power to make this hemisphere the largest free-trading partnership of sovereign nations in the world. From the northern-most reaches of Canada to the Strait of Magellan, we see a future where growing opportunity, the power of technology and the benefits of prosperity are developed and shared by all.

Such a vision will often mean redefining institutions -- rethinking their relationship with the people they exist to serve. In many cases, change will not come easily. Economies now dependent on protection and state regulation must open to competition. The transition, for a time, will be painful. Many of the Americas will have to make serious adjustments to compete with Southeast Asia, and to take advantage of the European Market after 1992. But we're confident that solutions will be found -- by Brazilians, by Chileans, by Venezuelans -- by all of the Americas. And the results -- growing economies and sound currencies -- will bring unprecedented prosperity and growth for all our citizens to share.

That was the vision of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative we announced last June. It calls for a major hemispheric effort to unify the New World in the three key areas of trade, investment, and debt.

In **trade**, our first priority should be to promote long-term growth -- and the most effective first step is the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round, now in its final stages in Brussels. An end to export subsidies on agricultural goods and new openings for developing country exports mean new market opportunities -- and a higher standard of living -- for the farmer in Mato Grosso, the textile worker in Parana, and the engineer in Sao Paulo.

But the Uruguay Round and Bilateral Trade Agreements are only first steps. The Southern Cone Common Market, now developing under the leadership of President Collor [CALL-er] and his colleagues in neighboring countries, is another major step toward the world's first hemispheric free trade zone.

To promote new **investment in the Americas**, the dead hand of state control must be lifted. We must allow entrepreneurs the flexibility to adapt, create, and produce -- to provide meaningful and well-paying jobs for your workers -- and to lift Latin America's peoples toward prosperity. Brazilians know what foreign investment can do -- just witness its role in the dynamism of Sao Paulo, and the more than \$11 billion of U.S. investment already in this country.

Free markets work. And the reason is as simple as it is profound. Every man and woman is capable of success. By promoting the potential of the individual -- by giving people the means to chart their own destiny -- the frontiers of the New World will be constantly rediscovered.

But individuals cannot succeed if government is burdened by debt. That's why **the third leg of our Enterprise for the Americas** initiative is a comprehensive commitment to work with Brazil and others in Latin America to restructure U.S. official debt. These swaps can free up substantial resources for use in environmental projects.

Our new approach to official debt will complement commercial debt restructuring through the Brady plan. I understand the importance to Brazil, and to the international financial community, of reaching a new and effective agreement on commercial debt. Global capital flows will be vital to your development -- and we are ready to assist wherever possible.

We've submitted a request to our Congress for the authority to implement our proposals. But we know that **real solutions must involve all of us in the Americas.** That's why we envision a permanent partnership between all the nations of the Americas, to confront challenges that know no borders.

We envision a hemisphere where a genuinely collaborative commitment is shared to protect our environmental legacy. There can be no sustained economic growth without respect for the environment.

GRAD 4 11/28 6:45 AM
(after Ireland)

7

That's why the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative joins environmental protection with bilateral debt relief -- not as a challenge to national sovereignty, but as an affirmation of shared international interests. I encourage Brazil and other creditor nations to convert debt into funds for the environment.

The entire world stands in awe of Brazil's unique endowment of wildlife, trees, and plants of the Amazon and the Atlantic rain forests. No nation on earth is as rich in flora and fauna, with all of their potential to provide future medicines and foods, crops and fibers.

Your hosting of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 places Brazil in a position of true global leadership. We hope that Conference will mark the culmination of a number of initiatives to protect and wisely utilize the world's resources -- particularly all of the world's forests.

We also hope that a Framework Convention on Climate Change will be ready for signing in Brazil in 1992. But a forest ~~convention~~ ^{agreement} will be more realistic and command more support if all the benefits of sustainable forest management and conservation are recognized, and not just their contribution to climate. For that reason, we ~~believe~~ ^{support a free standing convention that recognizes} that a forest agreement should be ~~as a free standing~~ ^{many faces -} negotiated separately, and should stand alone. ^{the A, forest biodiversity}

The wise management of the Americas' rich natural endowment is an important challenge, one which all nations of the Americas, North, South and Central, must meet. For the sake of present and ^{soil erosion, control to C.A. clean water.} future.

future generations, we have an opportunity to make the Western hemisphere a model for sustainable development.

We also are challenged to make ours a hemisphere where sovereign nations are joined in collective determination to eradicate the disease of drugs. The time for blame is long over. We in the U.S. recognize we must do more to reduce demand. And you understand that the spreading tentacles of the drug trade threaten democratic society.

President Collor [CALL-er] has taken a strong position against drugs for the sake of youth here in Brazil -- and I pledge the full efforts of my government to continue to dampen demand. There is only one answer to the drug problem in this hemisphere -- that is to defeat these narco-traffickers who prey on our children -- once and for all.

And finally, in this era of great challenges around the world, we want the Western hemisphere to be a model to the world for security, stability, and peace. Together, let us ensure that this hemisphere stands united to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons or new, more dangerous ballistic missiles anywhere in the world. We continue to urge all countries in this hemisphere to bring the non-proliferation treaty of Tlatelolco [tuh-la-te-loco]. I want to applaud, as many other nations have done, the recent announcement by Brazil and Argentina that together they will ensure that no nuclear program in their countries is used for anything but peaceful purposes.

Just as Brazil made valiant contributions to the cause of freedom in World War II, you were among the first to implement sanctions against Iraq. I applaud your role in the world community's virtually universal condemnation of Iraq's aggression.

Let us hold firmly in our minds an unshakable conviction in the importance and benefit of free enterprise. From Boston to Buenos Aires, from Saskatchewan to Sao Paulo, **let us together enact the unwritten equivalent of an economic Bill of Rights --** so that any man or woman who wants to launch a new enterprise views the state as an ally, not an obstacle -- and all who pursue the fruits of the free market see other nations not as threats to sovereignty, but as opportunities for mutual prosperity.

We long ago achieved independence from the Old World. Now let us work toward a new declaration of interdependence among the American nations of the New World.

This vision of a free, democratic, and prosperous hemisphere -- the promise of the New World -- is now within our reach. If, as Jose Bonifacio once said, "Brazilians are enthusiasts of a beautiful ideal," let us not limit the New World's potential with old thinking. After the half millenium we have had in this hemisphere to form our nations and find our way, let the nations of the Americas serve as a model for the world.

Standing on this central plateau, soon to be the seat of great decisions, President Juscelino Kubitschek said, "I look

once again at the future of my country, and see this dawn with unyielding faith and unlimited confidence in its great destiny."

My friends, my neighbors -- let the new dawn come to Brazil and to the New World. Let us fulfill the promise of these great lands.

Thank you very much. And may God bless the Brazilian people.

#

EPA Reilly
Comments

90 OCT 28 18:52

Unclas

CLASSIFICATION

CIRCLE ONE BELOW

MODE

PAGES

11

IMMEDIATE

SECURE FAX #

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27 / 1807 NOV 90

PRIORITY

ADMIN FAX #

RELEASER

JD

ROUTINE

FROM/LOCATION

1. W HSR

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. Wendy Gray / Mexico

2.

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INFORMATION ADDRESSEES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1.

2.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

Unclas

CLASSIFICATION

TIME STAMP

ED

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

NOV 27 09.10

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 9315

ACTION OFFICER: JOHNSON

DUE: 2:00PM, 27 NOV

☐ Prepare Memo For Scowcroft/Gates☐ Appropriate Action☐ Prepare Memo For Cicconi☐ Prepare Memo for Sittmann☒ Prepare Memo SCOWCFORT

to WINSTON W/ INFO CICCONI

URGENT

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS*

PHONE* to action officer at ext.

4592

Concur FYI

☐ ☐ Barth
☐ ☐ Basora
☐ ☐ Beers
☐ ☐ Broome
☐ ☐ Burns
☒ ☐ Canas
☐ ☐ Charles
☐ ☐ Coulson
☐ ☐ Davis
☐ ☐ Deal
☒ ☐ Dorminey
☐ ☐ Dyke
☐ ☐ Frasure
☐ ☐ Fry
☐ ☐ Gordon
☐ ☐ Gompert
☐ ☐ Haass
☐ ☐ Hayden

Concur FYI

☐ ☐ Hutchings
☐ ☐ Jackson
☐ ☐ Johnson
☐ ☐ Kanter
☐ ☐ Kitchen
☐ ☐ Kuehne
☐ ☐ Lampley
☒ ☐ Lundsager
☐ ☐ Melby
☐ ☐ Menan
☐ ☐ Merchant
☐ ☐ Miller
☐ ☐ Needles
☐ ☐ O'Leary
☐ ☐ Paal
☐ ☐ Pacelli
☐ ☐ Pavitt
☐ ☐ Pilling

Concur FYI

☐ ☐ Poneman
☐ ☒ Popadiuk
☐ ☐ Pryce
☐ ☐ Rademaker
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INFORMATION

☒ Sittmann☒ Scowcroft (advance)☒ Hill☒ Gates (advance)☒ Exec Sec. Desk☒ Secretariat

COMMENTS

Logged By


 Return to Secretariat
 379 OEOB

Bill Pryce

Document No. 193576

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/26/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 Tuesday 11/27

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: JOINT SESSION, BRAZILIAN CONGRESS
(11/26 5:15 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
CARD	☐	☒	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
CICCONI	☐	☒	ROGERS	☒	☐
DEMAREST	☒	☐	PINKERTON	☒	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☒	WINSTON	☐	☒
GRAY	☐	☐	DELAND	☒	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐	BOSKIN	☒	☐
HOLIDAY	☒	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:
Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 5:00 Tuesday, 11/27, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

90 NOV 26 PM 6:41

(Lange/Cawley)
November 26, 1990
5:15 p.m.
[BRAZIL.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: JOINT SESSION, BRAZILIAN CONGRESS
BRASILIA
MONDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1990
11:15 A.M.

[[Obrigado [oh-bree-GAH-tho]. Mr. President of the National Congress [Senator Nelson Carneiro]; Mr. President of the Chamber of Deputies [Deputy Paes de Andrade]; Senator [welcome speech]; Deputy [welcome speech]; Mr. President of the Supreme Court [Dr. Neri da Silveira]; esteemed Papal Nuncio, and members of the diplomatic corps; Mr. Archbishop [Dom Freire Falcao]; Honorable Ministers of State; Honorable Deputies and Senators.]] It is a privilege to join you in this great hall of democracy -- and an honor that so many members could be here today. I deeply appreciate your presence.

My thoughts today could have no better forum -- my words, no better audience -- than here, in Brasilia. A city that so aptly symbolizes the energy and aspirations of a great people -- the bold and expansive spirit of a great nation -- and the promise of a bright future for all of the Americas.

We meet at an extraordinary moment in our shared history. A time of serious challenges and important choices, that calls for mutual respect, candor, and collective will.

I have met with many Latin and Caribbean leaders. And throughout the range of issues we've discussed, all of us, I think, have been seeking for a way to express what we see as a new, more mature relationship among the Americas.

President Collor, who represents a new breed of leadership now sweeping across Latin America, is Brazil's first popularly-elected President in almost three decades. Your gubernatorial and legislative elections are another brilliant achievement in Brazilian democracy -- and I congratulate you and all Brazilians.

President Collor has spoken eloquently of Brazil's rightful place at the table of the First World -- and I agree.

I believe it is time, in fact, to end the false distinctions between First World and Third World that have too long compromised political and economic relations in the Americas. Let us instead speak of the New World.

This hemisphere has always found strength in diversity. After all, here I stand, addressing Portuguese-speakers in English, because of an Italian sailing on behalf of Spain, guided by the theories of theologian in France, five centuries ago.

What we hold in common transcends borders and translates into any language. The nations of America all struggled and gained independence from the old ways of the Old World -- ended the injustice of slavery -- and built republics of promise and renewal around the dignity and power of the individual, the rule of law, and the rights of man.

Now, as we approach the 500th anniversary of Columbus' discovery of the Americas -- and the arrival of Cabral's Portuguese fleet in Brazil -- this is a moment to look to the future of the New World. For while we have all witnessed in wonder the dawn of democracy in Eastern Europe, in the Americas,

too, we have heard the rolling thunder of political and economic revolution. And while some may claim our frontiers have all been explored, I contend we have just begun to press forward, toward the real promise of the Americas.

Ideals endure. Territories may end at borders, continents may end at the water's edge, but human potential knows only those limits set by human imagination. The Americas' role in the world is not defined by geography. The sun is not setting in the West. I believe we are approaching a new dawn in the New World.

To be true to our forefather's legacy -- to be worthy of these continents' cost in sweat, blood and courage -- our thinking must be as bold -- our dreams, as brave -- our will, as resolute. Our challenge now, is to hew out of a wilderness of competing interests a new kind of opportunity in the Americas.

To truly fulfill the New World's freedoms, all of the Americas and the Caribbean must now embark on a venture for the coming century: to create the first fully free, fully democratic hemisphere in the history of mankind. The first hemisphere wholly devoted to freedom -- to free speech, free trade, free elections, and free markets unfettered by the state.

It is within our power to make this hemisphere the largest trading center of sovereign nations in the world. From the northernmost reaches of Canada to the tip of Argentina, we see a future where growing opportunity, the power of technology and the benefits of prosperity are developed and shared by all.

Such a vision will often mean redefining institutions -- rethinking their relationship with the people they exist to serve. In many cases, change will not come easily. Economies now dependent on protection and state regulation must open to competition. The transition, for a time, will be painful. But the results -- growing economies and sound currencies -- will bring unprecedented prosperity and stability.

Latin America's economic adjustment is already in motion. Exports are rising. Fiscal reform is underway. In eight months, President Collor and this Congress have driven down inflation, started to free the private sector from government control and subsidy, and begun to open the economy to greater competition and vitality -- the unparalleled prosperity of the open market.

This new model of Latin American development presents a challenge to traditional political culture. Many of the Americas will have to make serious adjustments to compete with Southeast Asia, and to take advantage of the European Market after 1992. But we're confident that solutions will be found -- by Brazilians, by Chileans, by Peruvians --- by all of the Americas.

That was the spirit of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative we announced last June. It calls for a major hemispheric effort to unify the New World in the three key areas of trade, investment, and debt.

In trade, our first priority should be to promote long-term growth -- and the most effective first step is the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round, now in its final stages in

Geneva. An end to export subsidies and new openings for developing country exports mean new market opportunities -- and a higher standard of living -- for the farmer in Mato Grosso, the textile worker in Parana, and the engineer in Sao Paulo.

But the Uruguay Round and Bilateral Trade Agreements are only first steps. The Southern Cone Common Market, now developing under the leadership of President Collor and his colleagues in neighboring countries, is a major step toward the world's first hemispheric free trade zone.

For investment in the Americas, the dead hand of state control must be lifted. We must allow entrepreneurs the flexibility to adapt, create, and produce -- to provide meaningful and well-paying jobs for your workers -- and to lift Latin America's peoples out of poverty. Brazilians know what foreign investment can do -- just witness its role in the dynamism of Sao Paulo, and the \$10 billion of U.S. investment already in this country.

Free markets work. They create widespread prosperity. And the reason is as simple as it is profound. Every man and woman is capable of success. By promoting the potential of the individual over the power of government -- by giving people the means to chart their own destiny -- the frontiers of the Americas will stretch on forever. Like Brazil's mythical bandeirantes, who opened "new paths never trod, never known," we, too must be willing to move in new directions.

But individuals cannot succeed if government is burdened by

debt. That's why the third leg of our Enterprise for the Americas is a comprehensive commitment to work with Brazil and others in Latin America to restructure U.S. official debts on concessionary terms. These swaps can free up substantial resources for use in environmental projects.

Our new approach to official debt will complement commercial debt restructuring through the Brady plan. I understand the importance to Brazil, and to the international financial community, of reaching a new and effective agreement on commercial debt. Global capital flows will be vital to your development -- and we are ready to assist wherever possible.

We've submitted a request to our Congress for the authority to implement our proposals. But we know that real solutions must be collective. That's why, for every shared concern, we envision a permanent partnership between all the nations of the Americas, to confront challenges that know no borders.

We envision a hemisphere where a genuinely collaborative commitment is shared to protect our environmental legacy. There can be no sustained economic growth without respect for the environment -- and there may be no greater impediment to protecting the environment than poverty. The linkage is crucial.

That's why the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative links bilateral debt relief with environmental protection -- not as a challenge to national sovereignty, but as an affirmation of shared international interests. Here in Brazil, a consortium of organizations has presented a proposal to the government for such

From EPO Daily
The entire world stands in awe of Brazil's unique endowment of wildlife, trees and plants, of the Amazon and the Atlantic rain forests. ~~where~~
No nation on earth is as rich in flora and fauna with all of their potential to provide future medicines and foods, crops and fibers. The genetic revolution will a debt-for-nature swap. I encourage other creditor nations to convert debt into funds for the environment. *depend upon the resources in your forests, the Liberia*

The Declaration of Brasilia in 1989 reflected the wisdom and dedication of this region to wise stewardship of your unique natural resources. And your hosting of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 places Brazil in a position of true global leadership.

[We hope an agreement to protect the world's forests will be ready for signing at that Conference. We believe more progress will be made if the forest agreement is negotiated apart from the Climate Change convention -- which, in focusing on carbon sequestration, only relates to one of the many benefits forests have for the planet.]

The wise management of the Americas' rich endowment of forests and wildlife will be an important test. For the sake of present and future generations, we have an opportunity to make the Western hemisphere a model for sustainable development.

We also are challenged to make ours a hemisphere where sovereign nations are joined in collective determination to eradicate the disease of drugs. The time for blame is long over. We in the U.S. recognize we must do more to reduce demand. And you understand that the spreading tentacles of the drug trade threaten democratic society.

President Collor has taken a strong position against drugs for the sake of youth here in Brazil -- and I pledge the full efforts of my government to continue to dampen demand. There is

we also hope that a Framework Convention on Climate Change will be ready for signing in Brazil in 1992. But a forest agreement will be more realistic and command more support if all the benefits of sustainable forest management and conservation are recognized, and not just their contribution to climate. For that reason, we believe that a forest agreement should be negotiated separately and should stand alone.

only one answer to the drug problem in this hemisphere. It is the answer we reach together.

And finally, in this era of great challenges around the world, we want the Western hemisphere to be a model to the world for security and stability -- in regional arms control, in nuclear and chemical non-proliferation, and in collective commitment to facing down aggression. Just as Brazil made valiant contributions to the cause of freedom in World War II, you were among the first to implement sanctions against Iraq. I applaud your role in the world community's universal condemnation of Iraq's aggression.

But underlying all of the issues we face together is a more fundamental challenge, whose success will affect them all.

We must usher in an economic revolution the equal of the political revolutions we've witnessed. We must make ours a hemisphere where economic competition is embraced -- not as a threat to privilege, but as the key to prosperity.

Where neighbors prosper, neighborhoods flourish. And just as all of the American nations struggled to avoid the interventions of Old World government in their affairs, so should we give that spirit rein in every individual.

Let us hold firmly in our minds an unshakable conviction in the importance and benefit of free enterprise. From Boston to Buenos Aires, from Labrador to Lima, let us together enact the unwritten equivalent of an economic Bill of Rights -- so that any man or woman who wants to launch a new enterprise views the state

9

as an ally, not an obstacle -- and all who pursue the fruits of the free market see other nations not as threats to sovereignty, but as opportunities for mutual prosperity.

We long ago achieved independence from the Old World. Now let us work toward a new declaration of interdependence among the American nations of the New World.

This vision of a completely free, completely democratic hemisphere -- the promise of the New World -- is now within our reach. If, as Jose Bonifacio once said, "Brazilians are enthusiasts of a beautiful ideal," let us not limit the New World's potential with old thinking. After the half millenium we have had in this hemisphere to form our nations and find our way, let us now make our relations the world's inspiration.

With our hearts and minds and hands, let us meet a challenge worthy of our heritage -- worthy of this land of boundless frontiers and limitless opportunity.

Standing on this central plateau, soon to be the seat of great decisions, President Juscelino Kubitschek said, "I look once again at the future of my country, and see this dawn with unyielding faith and unlimited confidence in its great destiny."

My friends, my neighbors -- let the new dawn come to the New World. Let us fulfill the promise of these great lands.

Thank you very much. And may God bless the Brazilian people.

#



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

Michael R. Deland
Chairman

90 OCT 27 P2:06

(202) 395-5080

November 27, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: MICHAEL R. DELAND

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT BUSH'S SPEECH TO BRAZILIAN CONGRESS

We would propose replacing the second and third full paragraphs on page seven with language along these lines:

We hope the Conference will mark the culmination of a number of international initiatives to protect the world's resources. One issue of particular concern to our two nations is the health of all our forests. In our efforts to protect and manage them, we must recognize that forests throughout the world serve many and diverse functions.

The wise management of the Americas' rich natural endowment is an important challenge, one which all nations of the Americas, North and South alike, must meet. For the sake of present and future generations, we have an opportunity to make the Western hemisphere a model of sustainable development.

We make these suggestions to respond to Brazilian concerns that forestry protection is a global responsibility and is not focussed merely on the Amazon.

In addition, I trust you are aware that Argentina and Chile differ over which lands are the southern most part of South America (see page 3).

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/26/90

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 Tuesday 11/27

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: JOINT SESSION, BRAZILIAN CONGRESS

(11/26 5:15 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
CARD	☐	☒	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
CICCONI	☐	☒	ROGERS	☒	☐
DEMAREST	☒	☐	PINKERTON	☒	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☒	WINSTON	☐	☒
GRAY	☐	☐	DELAND	☒	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐	BOSKIN	☒	☐
HOLIDAY	☒	☐	Bromley	☒	☐

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 5:00 Tuesday, 11/27, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

90 OCT 27 P 5: 19
Delete the phrase (page 6)
"focusing on carbon sequestration"
It totally undercuts
our focus on a comprehensive
approach to greenhouse
gas!!
Bromley.

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

90 NOV 26 PM 6:41

(Lange/Cawley)
November 26, 1990
5:15 p.m.
[BRAZIL.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: JOINT SESSION, BRAZILIAN CONGRESS
BRASILIA
MONDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1990
11:15 A.M.

[[Obrigado [oh-bree-GAH-tho]. Mr. President of the National Congress [Senator Nelson Carneiro]; Mr. President of the Chamber of Deputies [Deputy Paes de Andrade]; Senator [welcome speech]; Deputy [welcome speech]; Mr. President of the Supreme Court [Dr. Neri da Silveira]; esteemed Papal Nuncio, and members of the diplomatic corps; Mr. Archbishop [Dom Freire Falcao]; Honorable Ministers of State; Honorable Deputies and Senators.]] It is a privilege to join you in this great hall of democracy -- and an honor that so many members could be here today. I deeply appreciate your presence.

My thoughts today could have no better forum -- my words, no better audience -- than here, in Brasilia. A city that so aptly symbolizes the energy and aspirations of a great people -- the bold and expansive spirit of a great nation -- and the promise of a bright future for all of the Americas.

We meet at an extraordinary moment in our shared history. A time of serious challenges and important choices, that calls for mutual respect, candor, and collective will.

I have met with many Latin and Caribbean leaders. And throughout the range of issues we've discussed, all of us, I think, have been seeking for a way to express what we see as a new, more mature relationship among the Americas.

President Collor, who represents a new breed of leadership now sweeping across Latin America, is Brazil's first popularly-elected President in almost three decades. Your gubernatorial and legislative elections are another brilliant achievement in Brazilian democracy -- and I congratulate you and all Brazilians.

President Collor has spoken eloquently of Brazil's rightful place at the table of the First World -- and I agree.

I believe it is time, in fact, to end the false distinctions between First World and Third World that have too long compromised political and economic relations in the Americas. Let us instead speak of the New World.

This hemisphere has always found strength in diversity. After all, here I stand, addressing Portuguese-speakers in English, because of an Italian sailing on behalf of Spain, guided by the theories of theologian in France, five centuries ago.

What we hold in common transcends borders and translates into any language. The nations of America all struggled and gained independence from the old ways of the Old World -- ended the injustice of slavery -- and built republics of promise and renewal around the dignity and power of the individual, the rule of law, and the rights of man.

Now, as we approach the 500th anniversary of Columbus' discovery of the Americas -- and the arrival of Cabral's Portuguese fleet in Brazil -- this is a moment to look to the future of the New World. For while we have all witnessed in wonder the dawn of democracy in Eastern Europe, in the Americas,

too, we have heard the rolling thunder of political and economic revolution. And while some may claim our frontiers have all been explored, I contend we have just begun to press forward, toward the real promise of the Americas.

Ideals endure. Territories may end at borders, continents may end at the water's edge, but human potential knows only those limits set by human imagination. The Americas' role in the world is not defined by geography. The sun is not setting in the West. I believe we are approaching a new dawn in the New World.

To be true to our forefather's legacy -- to be worthy of these continents' cost in sweat, blood and courage -- our thinking must be as bold -- our dreams, as brave -- our will, as resolute. Our challenge now, is to hew out of a wilderness of competing interests a new kind of opportunity in the Americas.

To truly fulfill the New World's freedoms, all of the Americas and the Caribbean must now embark on a venture for the coming century: to create the first fully free, fully democratic hemisphere in the history of mankind. The first hemisphere wholly devoted to freedom -- to free speech, free trade, free elections, and free markets unfettered by the state.

It is within our power to make this hemisphere the largest trading center of sovereign nations in the world. From the northern-most reaches of Canada to the tip of Argentina, we see a future where growing opportunity, the power of technology and the benefits of prosperity are developed and shared by all.

Such a vision will often mean redefining institutions -- rethinking their relationship with the people they exist to serve. In many cases, change will not come easily. Economies now dependent on protection and state regulation must open to competition. The transition, for a time, will be painful. But the results -- growing economies and sound currencies -- will **bring unprecedented prosperity and stability.**

Latin America's economic adjustment is already in motion. Exports are rising. Fiscal reform is underway. In eight months, President Collor and this Congress have driven down inflation, started to free the private sector from government control and subsidy, and begun to open the economy to greater competition and vitality -- the unparalleled prosperity of the open market.

This new model of Latin American development presents a challenge to traditional political culture. Many of the Americas will have to make serious adjustments to compete with Southeast Asia, and to take advantage of the European Market after 1992. But we're confident that solutions will be found -- by Brazilians, by Chileans, by Peruvians --- by all of the Americas.

That was the spirit of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative we announced last June. It calls for a major hemispheric effort to unify the New World in the three key areas of trade, investment, and debt.

In trade, our first priority should be to promote long-term growth -- and the most effective first step is the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round, now in its final stages in

Geneva. An end to export subsidies and new openings for developing country exports mean new market opportunities -- and a higher standard of living -- for the farmer in Mato Grosso, the textile worker in Parana, and the engineer in Sao Paulo.

But the Uruguay Round and Bilateral Trade Agreements are only first steps. The Southern Cone Common Market, now developing under the leadership of President Collor and his colleagues in neighboring countries, is a major step toward the world's first hemispheric free trade zone.

For investment in the Americas, the dead hand of state control must be lifted. We must allow entrepreneurs the flexibility to adapt, create, and produce -- to provide meaningful and well-paying jobs for your workers -- and to lift Latin America's peoples out of poverty. Brazilians know what foreign investment can do -- just witness its role in the dynamism of Sao Paulo, and the \$10 billion of U.S. investment already in this country.

Free markets work. They create widespread prosperity. And the reason is as simple as it is profound. Every man and woman is capable of success. By promoting the potential of the individual over the power of government -- by giving people the means to chart their own destiny -- the frontiers of the Americas will stretch on forever. Like Brazil's mythical bandeirantes, who opened "new paths never trod, never known," we, too must be willing to move in new directions.

But individuals cannot succeed if government is burdened by

debt. That's why the third leg of our Enterprise for the Americas is a comprehensive commitment to work with Brazil and others in Latin America to restructure U.S. official debts on concessionary terms. These swaps can free up substantial resources for use in environmental projects.

Our new approach to official debt will complement commercial debt restructuring through the Brady plan. I understand the importance to Brazil, and to the international financial community, of reaching a new and effective agreement on commercial debt. Global capital flows will be vital to your development -- and we are ready to assist wherever possible.

We've submitted a request to our Congress for the authority to implement our proposals. But we know that real solutions must be collective. That's why, for every shared concern, we envision a permanent partnership between all the nations of the Americas, to confront challenges that know no borders.

We envision a hemisphere where a genuinely collaborative commitment is shared to protect our environmental legacy. There can be no sustained economic growth without respect for the environment -- and there may be no greater impediment to protecting the environment than poverty. The linkage is crucial.

That's why the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative links bilateral debt relief with environmental protection -- not as a challenge to national sovereignty, but as an affirmation of shared international interests. Here in Brazil, a consortium of organizations has presented a proposal to the government for such

a debt-for-nature swap. I encourage other creditor nations to convert debt into funds for the environment.

The Declaration of Brasilia in 1989 reflected the wisdom and dedication of this region to wise stewardship of your unique natural resources. And your hosting of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 places Brazil in a position of true global leadership.

[We hope an agreement to protect the world's forests will be ready for signing at that Conference. We believe more progress will be made if the forest agreement is negotiated apart from the Climate Change convention -- which, ~~in focusing on carbon-sequestration,~~ only relates to one of the many benefits forests have for the planet.]

Delete
Insert A The wise management of the Americas' rich endowment of forests and wildlife will be an important test. For the sake of present and future generations, we have an opportunity to make the Western hemisphere a model for sustainable development.

We also are challenged to make ours a hemisphere where sovereign nations are joined in collective determination to eradicate the disease of drugs. The time for blame is long over. We in the U.S. recognize we must do more to reduce demand. And you understand that the spreading tentacles of the drug trade threaten democratic society.

(in reply)
A President Collor has taken a strong position against drugs for the sake of youth here in Brazil -- and I pledge the full efforts of my government to continue to dampen demand. There is

so that the many other benefits of trees and forests -- in addition to the climate benefits -- are included in a special forest agreement.

Drugs are only one of the diseases we are fighting together. Brazil & the US have supported research in biomedical fields including malaria, infectious diseases, & vaccine development. This cooperation in fighting debilitating diseases affecting millions of people improves the environment for sustainable development in the region. only one answer to the drug problem in this hemisphere. It is the answer we reach together.

And finally, in this era of great challenges around the world, we want the Western hemisphere to be a model to the world for security and stability -- in regional arms control, in nuclear and chemical non-proliferation, and in collective commitment to facing down aggression. Just as Brazil made valiant contributions to the cause of freedom in World War II, you were among the first to implement sanctions against Iraq. I applaud your role in the world community's universal condemnation of Iraq's aggression.

But underlying all of the issues we face together is a more fundamental challenge, whose success will affect them all.

We must usher in an economic revolution the equal of the political revolutions we've witnessed. We must make ours a hemisphere where economic competition is embraced -- not as a threat to privilege, but as the key to prosperity.

Where neighbors prosper, neighborhoods flourish. And just as all of the American nations struggled to avoid the interventions of Old World government in their affairs, so should we give that spirit rein in every individual.

Let us hold firmly in our minds an unshakable conviction in the importance and benefit of free enterprise. From Boston to Buenos Aires, from Labrador to Lima, let us together enact the unwritten equivalent of an economic Bill of Rights -- so that any man or woman who wants to launch a new enterprise views the state

as an ally, not an obstacle -- and all who pursue the fruits of the free market see other nations not as threats to sovereignty, but as opportunities for mutual prosperity.

We long ago achieved independence from the Old World. Now let us work toward a new declaration of interdependence among the American nations of the New World.

This vision of a completely free, completely democratic hemisphere -- the promise of the New World -- is now within our reach. If, as Jose Bonifacio once said, "Brazilians are enthusiasts of a beautiful ideal," let us not limit the New World's potential with old thinking. After the half millenium we have had in this hemisphere to form our nations and find our way, let us now make our relations the world's inspiration.

With our hearts and minds and hands, let us meet a challenge worthy of our heritage -- worthy of this land of boundless frontiers and limitless opportunity.

Standing on this central plateau, soon to be the seat of great decisions, President Juscelino Kubitschek said, "I look once again at the future of my country, and see this dawn with unyielding faith and unlimited confidence in its great destiny."

My friends, my neighbors -- let the new dawn come to the New World. Let us fulfill the promise of these great lands.

Thank you very much. And may God bless the Brazilian people.

#

This is a boring speech.

8.

Document No.

193576

MEMORANDUM

5:00 Tuesday 11/27

ON, BRAZILIAN CONGRESS
(p.m. draft)

90 OCT 27 167:46

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
CARD	☐	☒	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CICCONI	☐	☒	ROGERS	☒	☐
DEMAREST	☒	☐	PINKERTON	☒	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☒	WINSTON	☐	☒
GRAY	☐	☐	DELAND	☒	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐	BOSKIN	☒	☐
HOLIDAY	☒	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 5:00 Tuesday, 11/27, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

November 27, 1990

TO: CHRISS WINSTON

The NSC Staff concurs with changes annotated in text. Note, however, the section on international debt (pages 5-7) and debt/environment does not accurately reflect USG policy on forgiveness of official debt. We understand, however, that Treasury has not reviewed this section and suggested a number of changes to the speechwriters.

win

R. Gates for
Brent Scowcroft

cc: James Cicconi

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

RECEIVED

90 NOV 27 A 9: 10



04: 59 18700

90 NOV 26 PM 6:41

(Lange/Cawley)
November 26, 1990
5:15 p.m.
[BRAZIL.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: JOINT SESSION, BRAZILIAN CONGRESS
BRASILIA
MONDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1990
11:15 A.M.

[[Obrigado [oh-bree-GAH-tho]. Mr. President of the National Congress [Senator Nelson Carneiro]; Mr. President of the Chamber of Deputies [Deputy Paes de Andrade]; Senator [welcome speech]; Deputy [welcome speech]; Mr. President of the Supreme Court [Dr. Neri da Silveira]; esteemed Papal Nuncio, and members of the diplomatic corps; Mr. Archbishop [Dom Freire Falcao]; Honorable Ministers of State; Honorable Deputies and Senators.]] It is a privilege to join you in this great hall of democracy -- and an honor that so many members could be here today. I deeply appreciate your presence.

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We meet at an extraordinary moment in our shared history. A time of serious challenges and important choices, that calls for mutual respect, candor, and collective will.

I have met with many Latin and Caribbean leaders. And throughout the range of issues we've discussed, all of us, I think, have been seeking for a way to express what we see as ^{OUR VISION FOR} ~~a~~ ^{THIS HEMISPHERE} ~~new, more mature relationship among the Americas.~~ ^{NEXT 500 YEARS.}

President Collor, who represents a new breed of leadership now sweeping across Latin America, is Brazil's first popularly-elected President in almost three decades. Your gubernatorial and legislative elections are another brilliant achievement in Brazilian democracy -- and I **congratulate you and all Brazilians.**

President Collor has spoken eloquently of Brazil's rightful place at the table of the First World -- and I agree.

I believe it is time, in fact, to end the false distinctions between First World and Third World that have too long compromised political and economic relations in the Americas.

Let us instead speak of the New World, *AND MAKE THIS THE CENTRAL 1862 ~~OF OUR HISTORY~~ FOR THIS*

This hemisphere has always found strength in diversity. *OUR COMMON HUMANITY.*

After all, here I stand, addressing Portuguese-speakers in English, because of an Italian sailing on behalf of Spain, guided by the theories of theologian in France, five centuries ago.

What we hold in common transcends borders and translates into any language. The nations of America all struggled and gained independence from the old ways of the Old World -- ended the injustice of slavery -- and built republics of promise and renewal around the dignity and power of the individual, *AND* the rule of law, ~~and the rights of man.~~

Now, as we approach the 500th anniversary of Columbus' discovery of the Americas -- and the arrival of Cabral's Portuguese fleet in Brazil -- *OUR MOMENT TO CHART OUR COURSE* ~~this is a moment to look to the~~ *FOR THE* ~~future of the New World.~~ ~~For while~~ we have all witnessed in wonder the dawn of democracy in Eastern Europe, *BUT* in the Americas,

A COURSE FOR FREEDOM, FOR DEMOCRACY, AND PROSPERITY.

too, we have heard the ^{RIISING CLOUDS} ~~rolling thunder~~ of political and economic ^{CHANGE} ~~revolution~~. And while some may claim our frontiers have all been explored, I contend we have just begun to press forward, ^{EXPLORING} ~~toward~~ the real promise of the Americas.

~~Ideals endure.~~ Territories may end at borders, continents may end at the water's edge, but human potential knows only those limits set by human imagination. The Americas' role in the world is not defined by geography. ^{IT IS DEFINED BY ITS PEOPLE AND ITS IDEALS.} ~~The sun is not setting in the West.~~ ^{POISED TO EXPLORE MANY NEW MEANS OF OUR COMMON DESTINY.} I believe we are approaching a new dawn in the New World. ✓

~~To be true to our forefather's legacy -- to be worthy of these continents' cost in sweat, blood and courage -- our thinking must be as bold -- our dreams, as brave -- our will, as resolute. Our challenge now, is to hew out of a wilderness of competing interests a new kind of opportunity in the Americas.~~

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In **trade**, our first priority should be to promote long-term growth -- and the most effective first step is the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round, now in its final stages in

Geneva. An end to export subsidies and new openings for developing country exports mean new market opportunities -- and a higher standard of living -- for the farmer in Mato Grosso, the textile worker in Parana, and the engineer in Sao Paulo.

But the Uruguay Round and Bilateral Trade Agreements are only first steps. The Southern Cone Common Market, now developing under the leadership of President Collor and his colleagues in neighboring countries, is ^{ANOTHER} a major step toward the world's first hemispheric free trade zone.

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But individuals cannot succeed if government is burdened by

debt. That's why the third leg of our Enterprise for the Americas is a comprehensive commitment to work with Brazil and others in Latin America to restructure U.S. official debts ^{on} ~~concessionary terms~~. ^{WE HAVE PROPOSED A FORMULA WHICH WILL ~~USE~~ HELP PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT AND REDUCE DEBT AT THE SAME TIME.} These swaps can free up substantial resources for use in environmental projects. ?

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We envision a hemisphere where a genuinely collaborative commitment is shared to protect our environmental legacy. There can be no sustained economic growth without respect for the environment -- ^{PROSPERITY REQUIRES US TO LINK OUR ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES TO THE PLANET WHICH IS OUR HOME.} ~~and there may be no greater impediment to protecting the environment than poverty.~~ The linkage is crucial.

That's why the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative ~~links~~ ^{CONTAINS THE ENVIRONMENTAL ~~ASPECT~~ PROPOSAL} ~~bilateral debt relief with environmental protection~~ -- not as a challenge to national sovereignty, but as an affirmation of shared international interests. Here in Brazil, a consortium of organizations has presented a proposal to the government for such

a debt-for-nature swap. I encourage other creditor nations to convert debt into funds for the environment.

The Declaration of Brasilia in 1989 reflected the wisdom and dedication of this region to wise stewardship of your unique natural resources. And your hosting of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 places Brazil

in a position of true global leadership. *(WE HOPE AN AGREEMENT TO PROTECT THE WORLD'S FORESTS WILL BE READY TO SIGN AT THAT CONFERENCE.)*

[We hope an agreement to protect the world's forests will be ready for signing at that Conference. We believe more progress will be made if the forest agreement is negotiated apart from the Climate Change convention -- which, in focusing on carbon sequestration, only relates to one of the many benefits forests have for the planet.]

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We also are challenged to make ours a hemisphere where sovereign nations are joined in collective determination to **eradicate the disease of drugs**. The time for blame is long over. We in the U.S. recognize we must do more to reduce demand. And you understand that the spreading tentacles of the drug trade threaten democratic society.

President Collor has taken a strong position against drugs for the sake of youth here in Brazil -- and I pledge the full efforts of my government to continue to dampen demand. There is

only one answer to the drug problem in this hemisphere. It is
^{STRONG - DRUGS ARE AN EVIL WHICH DESTROY AND CORRUPT.}
the answer we reach together.

And finally, in this era of great challenges around the world, we want the Western hemisphere to be a model to the world for security and stability -- in regional arms control, in nuclear and chemical non-proliferation, and in collective commitment to facing down aggression. ^(*) Just as Brazil made valiant contributions to the cause of freedom in World War II, you were among the first to implement sanctions against Iraq. I ^{NEARLY ALMOST} applaud your role in the world community's universal condemnation of Iraq's aggression.

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~~We must usher in an economic revolution the equal of the political revolutions we've witnessed.~~ We must make ours a hemisphere where ^{PROSPERITY} economic competition is embraced -- not as a threat to privilege, but as the key to prosperity. ✓

Where neighbors prosper, neighborhoods flourish. And just as all of the American nations struggled to avoid the interventions of Old World government in their affairs, so should we give that spirit rein in every individual.

Let us hold firmly in our minds an unshakable conviction in the importance and benefit of free enterprise. From Boston to Buenos Aires, from Labrador to Lima, let us ^{UNLEASH THE POWER} ~~together enact the~~ ^{OF INDIVIDUAL ENTERPRISE} ~~unwritten equivalent of an economic Bill of Rights~~ -- so that any man or woman who wants to launch a new enterprise ^{MAY} ~~views~~ the state

(A) WE APPLAUD YOUR DECISION TO MOVE FORWARD ON FULL-SCOPE NUCLEAR SAFEGUARDS, AND CONTINUE TO URGES ALL COUNTRIES IN THIS HEMISPHERE TO BRING THE TREATY OF TATELOCO INTO FORCE. ✓

as an ally, not an obstacle -- and all who pursue the fruits of the free market see other nations not as threats to sovereignty, but as opportunities for mutual prosperity.

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My friends, my neighbors -- ^{WE LIVE IN THE} ~~let the~~ new dawn come to the New World. **Let us fulfill the promise of these great lands.**

Thank you very much. And may God bless the Brazilian people.

* INSERT:

Two weeks ago in Prague, I spoke [about this very subject] to a people that has paid dearly for its freedoms. I talked about a new commonwealth of freedom, based on four key principles. This hemisphere already shares these convictions: an unshakable belief in the dignity and rights of man; the conviction that just government derives its power from the people; the belief that men and women everywhere must be free to enjoy the fruits of their labor; and that the rule of law must govern the conduct of nations. But every new nation that joins this commonwealth of freedom advances us one step closer to a new world order, a world in which the use of force gives way to a shared respect for the rule of law. We must not rest until this victory for freedom and democracy is won completely.

Bernie Aronson
comments

Document No.

193576

90 OCT 28 8:52 **WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 11/26/90

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 Tuesday 11/27

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: JOINT SESSION, BRAZILIAN CONGRESS

(11/26 5:15 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
CARD	☐	☒	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CICCONI	☐	☒	ROGERS	☒	☐
DEMAREST	☒	☐	PINKERTON	☒	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☒	WINSTON	☐	☒
GRAY	☐	☐	DELAND	☒	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐	BOSKIN	☒	☐
HOLIDAY	☒	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 5:00 Tuesday, 11/27, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

90 NOV 26 PM 6:41

(Lange/Cawley)
November 26, 1990
5:15 p.m.
[BRAZIL.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: JOINT SESSION, BRAZILIAN CONGRESS
BRASILIA
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galvanized by a common vision of ~~a~~ a new era of hope and opportunity ^{throughout the Americas and a new partnership based on mutual respect and shared responsibility between the United States and Latin America}

President Collor, ~~who~~ ^{generates democracy} represents a new ~~breed~~ of leadership now sweeping across Latin America, ~~is Brazil's first popularly-elected President in almost three decades.~~ Your gubernatorial and legislative elections are another ^{new} ~~brilliant~~ achievement in Brazilian democracy -- and I congratulate you and all Brazilians.

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This hemisphere has always found strength in diversity. After all, here I stand, addressing Portuguese-speakers in English, because of an Italian sailing on behalf of Spain, guided by the theories of theologian ^a in France, five centuries ago.

What we hold in common transcends borders and translates into any language. The nations of America all struggled and gained independence from the old ways of the Old World -- ended the injustice of slavery ^{and colonialism} -- and built republics of promise and renewal around the dignity and power of the individual, the rule of law, and the rights of man.

Now, as we approach the 500th anniversary of Columbus' discovery of the Americas -- and the arrival of Cabral's Portuguese fleet in Brazil -- this is a moment to look to the future of the New World. For while we have all witnessed in wonder the dawn of democracy in Eastern Europe, in the Americas,

are witnesses on ³ equally historic ✓
too, we have heard the rolling thunder of political and economic
revolution. ~~And while~~ ^{that is transforming the face of this hemisphere,} some may claim our frontiers have all been
explored, I ~~contend~~ ^{say to you today:} we have just begun to press forward, toward
the real promise of the Americas.

Ideals endure. Territories may end at borders, continents
may end at the water's edge, but human potential knows only those
limits set by human imagination. The Americas' role in the world
is not defined by geography. The sun is not setting in the West.
I believe we are approaching a new dawn in the New World.

To be true to our forefather's legacy -- to be worthy of
these continents' cost in sweat, blood and courage -- our
thinking must be as bold -- our dreams, as brave -- our will, as
resolute. Our challenge now, is to hew out of a wilderness of
competing interests a new kind of opportunity in the Americas.

To truly fulfill the New World's freedoms, all of the
Americas and the Caribbean must now embark on a venture for the
coming century: to create the first fully free, fully democratic
hemisphere in the history of mankind. The first hemisphere
wholly devoted to freedom -- to free speech, free trade, free
elections, and free markets unfettered by the state.

free It is within our power to make this hemisphere the largest
trading ^{partnership} ~~center~~ of sovereign nations in the world. From the
northern-most reaches of Canada to ^{Rio De Janeiro to} the tip of Argentina, we see a
future where growing opportunity, the power of technology and the
benefits of prosperity are developed and shared by all.

Such a vision will often mean redefining institutions -- rethinking their relationship with the people they exist to serve. In many cases, change will not come easily. Economies now dependent on protection and state regulation must open to competition. The transition, for a time, will be painful. But the results -- growing economies and sound currencies -- will ^{growth and in which all of our citizens can share} bring unprecedented prosperity and stability. ^{miracle}

Latin America's economic ~~adjustment~~ is already in motion. Exports are rising. Fiscal reform is underway. In eight months, President Collor and this Congress have driven down inflation, started to free the private sector from government control and subsidy, and begun to open the economy to greater competition and vitality -- the unparalleled prosperity of the open market.

This new model of Latin American development presents a challenge to traditional political culture. Many of the Americas will have to make serious adjustments to compete with Southeast Asia, and to take advantage of the European Market after 1992. But we're confident that solutions will be found -- by Brazilians, by Chileans, by Peruvians --- by all of the Americas.

That was the ^{vision} ~~spirit~~ of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative we announced last June. It calls for a major hemispheric effort to unify the New World in the three key areas of trade, investment, and debt.

In trade, our first priority should be to promote long-term growth -- and the most effective first step is the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round, now in its final stages in

Geneva. An end to export subsidies and new openings for developing country exports mean new market opportunities -- and a higher standard of living -- for the farmer in Mato Grosso, the textile worker in Parana, and the engineer in Sao Paulo.

But the Uruguay Round and Bilateral Trade Agreements are only first steps. The Southern Cone Common Market, now developing under the leadership of President Collor and his colleagues in neighboring countries, is a major step toward the world's first hemispheric free trade zone.

To promote new
~~For~~ investment in the Americas, the dead hand of state control must be lifted. We must allow entrepreneurs the flexibility to adapt, create, and produce -- to provide meaningful and well-paying jobs for your workers -- and to lift Latin America's peoples out of poverty. Brazilians know what foreign investment can do -- just witness its role in the dynamism of Sao Paulo, and the \$10 billion of U.S. investment already in this country.

Free markets work. They create widespread prosperity. And the reason is as simple as it is profound. Every man and woman is capable of success. By promoting the potential of the individual over the power of government -- by giving people the means to chart their own destiny -- the frontiers of the Americas will stretch on forever. Like Brazil's mythical bandeirantes, who opened "new paths never trod, never known," we, too must be willing to move in new directions.

But individuals cannot succeed if government is burdened by

debt. That's why the third leg of our Enterprise for the Americas is a comprehensive commitment to work with Brazil and others in Latin America to restructure U.S. official debts on concessionary terms. These swaps can free up substantial resources for use in environmental projects.

Our new approach to official debt will complement commercial debt restructuring through the Brady plan. I understand the importance to Brazil, and to the international financial community, of reaching a new and effective agreement on commercial debt. Global capital flows will be vital to your development -- and we are ready to assist wherever possible.

We've submitted a request to our Congress for the authority to implement our proposals. But we know that real solutions must be collective. That's why, for every shared concern, we envision a permanent partnership between all the nations of the Americas, to confront challenges that know no borders.

We envision a hemisphere where a genuinely collaborative commitment is shared to protect our environmental legacy. There can be no sustained economic growth without respect for the environment -- and there may be no greater impediment to protecting the environment than poverty. ~~The linkage is crucial.~~

That's why the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative links bilateral debt relief with environmental protection -- not as a challenge to national sovereignty, but as an affirmation of shared international interests. Here in Brazil, a consortium of organizations has presented a proposal to the government for such

a debt-for-nature swap. I encourage other creditor nations to convert debt into funds for the environment.

The Declaration of Brasilia in 1989 reflected the wisdom and dedication of this region to wise stewardship of your unique natural resources. And your hosting of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 places Brazil in a position of true global leadership.

[We hope an agreement to protect the world's forests will be ready for signing at that Conference. ~~We believe more progress will be made if the forest agreement is negotiated apart from the Climate Change convention -- which, in focusing on carbon sequestration, only relates to one of the many benefits forests have for the planet.~~] ^{Too Technical}

The wise management of the Americas' rich endowment of forests and wildlife will be an important test. For the sake of present and future generations, we have an opportunity to make the Western hemisphere a model for sustainable development.

We also are challenged to make ours a hemisphere where sovereign nations are joined in collective determination to eradicate the disease of drugs. The time for blame is long over. We in the U.S. recognize we must do more to reduce demand. And you understand that the spreading tentacles of the drug trade threaten democratic society.

President Collor has taken a strong position against drugs for the sake of youth here in Brazil -- and I pledge the full efforts of my government to continue to dampen demand. There is

that is

only one answer to the drug problem in this hemisphere. It is
~~the answer we reach together.~~ *to defeat these nasty traffickers*
one and for who

And finally, in this era of great challenges around the *prey on*
 world, we want the Western hemisphere to be a model to the world *our children*
and place. Together, let us
for security and stability -- in regional arms control, in
the hemisphere stands united to prevent
~~nuclear and chemical non-proliferation, and in collective~~
~~commitment to facing down aggression.~~ Just as Brazil made
 valiant contributions to the cause of freedom in World War II,
also
 you were among the first to implement sanctions against Iraq. I
applaud your role in the world community's universal condemnation
of Iraq's aggression. *for all*

But underlying all of the issues we face together is a more
 fundamental challenge, whose success will affect them all.

We must usher in an economic revolution the equal of the
 political revolutions we've witnessed. We must make ours a
 hemisphere where economic competition is embraced -- not as a
 threat to privilege, but as the key to prosperity.

Where neighbors prosper, neighborhoods flourish. And just
 as all of the American nations struggled to avoid the
 interventions of Old World government in their affairs, so should
 we give that spirit rein in every individual.

Let us hold firmly in our minds an unshakable conviction in
 the importance and benefit of free enterprise. From Boston to
 Buenos Aires, from Labrador to Lima, let us together enact the
 unwritten equivalent of an economic Bill of Rights -- so that any
 man or woman who wants to launch a new enterprise views the state

within two weeks that together they
will ensure that no nuclear program
in their countries is used for
anything but peaceful purposes.

(A) ensure the spread of nuclear weapons or new more dangerous ballistic missiles anywhere in the world. I want to applaud, a) many other nations have done, the amount by Brazil and Argentina

as an ally, not an obstacle -- and all who pursue the fruits of the free market see other nations not as threats to sovereignty, but as opportunities for mutual prosperity.

We long ago achieved independence from the Old World. Now let us work toward a new declaration of interdependence among the American nations of the New World.

This vision of a completely free, completely democratic hemisphere -- the promise of the New World -- is now within our reach. If, as Jose Bonifacio once said, "Brazilians are enthusiasts of a beautiful ideal," let us not limit the New World's potential with old thinking. After the half millenium we have had in this hemisphere to form our nations and find our way, ~~let us now make our relations the world's inspiration.~~ ^{between the developing and developed nations, here} inspiration.

With our hearts and minds and hands, let us meet a challenge worthy of our heritage -- worthy of this land of boundless frontiers and limitless opportunity.

Standing on this central plateau, soon to be the seat of great decisions, President Juscelino Kubitschek said, "I look once again at the future of my country, and see this dawn with unyielding faith and unlimited confidence in its great destiny."

My friends, my neighbors -- let the new dawn come to the New World. Let us fulfill the promise of these great lands.

Thank you very much. And may God bless the Brazilian people.

consolidating Brazil today is poised to enter the 21st century as a leader ~~at~~ among nations pioneering bold new economic reforms and consolidating its democracy. That is a tribute to your dynamic new President, Fernando Collor de Mello -- a leader whose friendship and vision I value and respect.