

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

S; 2004-0734-F; 2009-1186-F

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Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13549

Folder ID Number: 13549-021

Folder Title:

Joint Session, Brazilian Congress 12/3/90 [OA 6027] [3]

Stack:

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Row:

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 27, 1990

90 OCT 28 11:18



MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Joint Session, Brazilian Congress

We have reviewed the attached draft and have no suggested changes from a policy standpoint. We approve of the draft remarks in their current form.

cc: James W. Cicconi

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	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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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 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.]

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 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.

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see comments

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Who?
through a
Japanese
microphone?
in my
Pucci shoes
and bombed
on Australian
wine.

What about Pizarro?
or at least
the Girl from Ipanema?

answered the call 3 this is a military bombing term
too, we have heard the rolling thunder of extraordinary political and economic
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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.]

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 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.

#

12/3

Document No.

193576

90 OCT 27 1990 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	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	DELAND	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>Bromley</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

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

RESPONSE:

*Delete the phrase (page 6)
 "in focusing on carbon sequestration"
 It totally undercuts
 our focus on a comprehensive
 approach to greenhouse
 gas!!
 JJ Bromley*

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

November 27, 1990

MEMORANDUM

TO: CHRISS WINSTON
MARK LANGE

FROM: CAROLYN CAWLEY *cc*

RE: BRASILIA -- JOINT SESSION REMARKS

1. Pronunciations are on their way.
2. p.2/para.1:
"...another brilliant achievement in Brazilian democracy."

From Mark Lore, Brazil desk officer @ State:

Round 2 of the gubernatorial elections were held yesterday and "Collor took a bath" -- the candidates who support him did very poorly and the candidates who are unfriendly to him swept the election. The President did not fare well. ✓

Suggest that we do praise the democratic process, but not be effusive about the results.

3. p.4/para.2:
"...and this Congress have driven down inflation..."

From Mark Lore:

While inflation has decreased, it still runs about 15% and the trend is climbing back up. ✓

Suggest saying that Collor and the Congress "have taken strong action against inflation" or "have implemented determined measures", etc.

4. p.5/para.2:
"...world's first hemispheric free trade zone."

We may want to take a more guarded view of this -- deliberate steps were taken in the Enterprise for the Americas to not prescribe what form freer trade will take.

5. p.5/para.2:

"...and the \$10 Billion of U.S. investment already in this country."

US Embassy Brasilia is using the figure of \$11.4 billion in their releases, including press kits for the trip.

6. p.5/para.3:

"Like Brazil's mythical bandeirantes..."

The bandeirantes aren't mythical -- they are the real equivalent of our covered wagon pioneers and cowboys of the West.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM
 90 OCT 28 A 8:58

DATE: 11/26/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00
~~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	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	DELAND	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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

RESPONSE:
See Comments. Thanks.
Holly Williamson
 11-27-90

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, ^{forward-looking} ~~more mature~~ relationship among the Americas.

✓
✓
(Treasury)

President Collor, who represents a new ~~brood~~ 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.

✓ (Treasury)
"breed"
will not
translate well
into Portuguese.
✓ (Commerce)

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 ^{beginnings,} ~~World.~~ ✓ (Treasury) New World sounds too Socialistic.

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.

✓ (Treasury)
Arthur

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.

✓ (CEPA) more accurate.

Now, as we approach the 500th anniversary of Columbus' voyage of the 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,

(Treasury)
an operation from Viet Nam - maybe shouldn't use - defer to NSC maybe use "lightning burst"

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 ^{reaching} ~~toward~~ [✓]
~~for our real potential.~~
~~the real promise of the Americas.~~ (Treasury)

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.~~ [✓] (Treasury)
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 *Insert paragraph 4 from page 4 here. ✓ (COA-EPC)

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. ✓ (COA-EPC)

Insert: The U.S. has proposed the long-term vision of a hemispheric free trade area.

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, ^{maybe} ~~will be~~ painful. But ^(Yeutter) 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 ^{substantially} driven down inflation, and ^(Commerce) ~~initiated an ambitious privatization program to strengthen Brazil's private sector~~ ~~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 ^{approach} ~~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 ^(Treasury) Brazilians, by ^{Argentinians or Venezuelans} ~~Chileans~~, by Peruvians --- by all of the Americas.

That was the spirit of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative ^{proposed} ^(Treasury) we announced last June. It calls for a major hemispheric effort to ^{work together} ^(Treasury) ~~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

^(Commerce)
Brazil is not a good model.

^(Treasury)
Insert -- to page 3.

^(CAR)
OCA suggested deleting this paragraph - doesn't add much.

✓ (OCA + USTR)

Brussels. ^(CUSTR) Agriculture is a key issue in which we must have fundamental reform. A substantial reduction of export subsidies on ag goods...
Geneva. ⁵ ~~Amend to~~ export subsidies ^{on agricultural goods} and new openings for

✓ (AG + ~~USTR~~) Treasury

developing country exports mean new market opportunities -- and a higher standard of living -- for the farmer in Mato Grosso, the ^(AG) textile worker in Parana, and the engineer in Sao Paulo. ^{It's time to put aside policies that have been riding on the backs of developing countries and the environment.}

✓ (OCA + USTR)

~~Subregional economic integration is also an important step forward. 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

✓ (CUSTR)

colleagues in neighboring countries, is a major step toward ^{this objective. Behind the} ~~the~~ ^{long term goal} the EAT lies a vision -- the creation of an ~~world's first hemispheric free trade zone.~~ ^{to realize this we must ensure that trade barriers are brought down among Latin American countries as well as with the US.}

* ~~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 ^{(Treasury) increase opportunities for} ~~lift~~ Latin America's peoples, ~~out of poverty.~~ Brazilians know what

✓ (Commerce)

foreign investment can do -- just witness its role in the dynamism of Sao Paulo, and ^{approximately 15} ~~the \$10~~ billion of U.S. investment already in this country. ^{Mention empowerment initiative in our own country.}

✓ (OCA)

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 ^{(OCA) power means} ~~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.

✓ (Treasury) But individuals ^{and economics} cannot succeed ^{and grow} if government is burdened by

* Rewrite: The initiative offers strong encouragement for investment reform through the Inter-American Development Bank and proposes the creation of a new 1.5 billion multi-lateral investment fund. (Treasury) The importance of a free + prosperous private sector cannot be overemphasized. It is vital to Brazil's long-term growth. (Commerce) We must allow...

✓ (Treasury)

debt. That's why the ^{pillar} ~~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 ^{to help} ~~on~~ countries that are committed to free market reform and that maintain good relations with concessionary terms. ~~These swaps can free up substantial~~ ^{the international financial institutions to shake off this burden of debt.} ~~resources for use in environmental projects.~~

✓ (Treasury)

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 ^{unbattered by artificial barriers} will be vital to your development -- ^{and this will require an openness to compromise + flexibility by all parties.} ~~and we are ready to assist wherever possible.~~

✓ (Treasury)

Treasury offered insert below, but OCA thought you could just delete the first 2 sentences w/out a replacement.

~~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 ^{seeks to support} ~~links~~ ^{all = (Treasury)} ~~bilateral debt relief with environmental protection~~ ^{as an element of debt} ~~reduction measures, and~~ ^{not as a} ~~challenge to national sovereignty, but as an affirmation of shared international interests~~ ^{in promoting sustainable growth.} ~~Here in Brazil, a consortium of organizations has presented a proposal to the government for such~~

we've gained authority from our Congress to implement a portion of our debt proposals and we'll be working ~~with~~ next year to gain remaining needed authority.

✓ (CEA)

(News)

~~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. ^{see EPA's insert but note OCA felt this was controversial & maybe unnecessary in this forum. It will be raised in some other forum for discussion why raise this controversy in this speech?} ~~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.]~~

attached - next page.

(EPA)

The wise management of the ~~Americas'~~ ^{throughout the Americas} rich endowment of forests and wildlife ^{The Memorandum of understanding signed last month by Brazil & the US reflects our shared commitment.} will be an important test. ^(EPA) 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.

Scourge

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

EPA

P7 substitute language -
Keep 1st sentence, then:
[change]

Such an agreement we believe should recognize the many benefits forests provide for this planet -- wildlife habitat, soil and water conservation, carbon sequestration, and, of course, a livelihood for the people who depend for their well-being on forest resources.

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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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 ^{commit ourselves} ~~together enact the~~ ^{to the ideals of free enterprise} ~~unwritten equivalent of an economic bill of rights~~ -- so that any man or woman who wants to launch a new enterprise views the state

✓
(COCA)

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.

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Please note: Justice wanted Robin Ross to review this speech, but he is traveling w/ the Ab today. They may phone in some comments from Robin this evening or first thing ~~on~~ ^{wednesday} morning.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 28, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: HOLLY WILLIAMSON *HW*

SUBJECT: Brazilian speech

Please also make note of the following 2 additional items:

--The major gist of the speech should focus on the Enterprise of Americas Initiative. That is not actually mentioned until the middle of the speech. Maybe it could be moved towards the opening of the speech -- it provides the umbrella for all else mentioned.

--Agriculture wanted you to be aware (not to mention, but be aware) that Brazil has the world's worst intellectual property rights. They opposed inclusion in the Uruguay Round and Collor signed into law the continuation of the anti-intellectual property rights recently.

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 RONAN TITO; DEPUTY RICARDO FIUZA; MR. ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME COURT [ALDIR PASSARINHO]; ESTEEMED PAPAL NUNCIO, AND MEMBERS OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS; MR. ARCHBISHOP [DOM FREIRE FALCAO]; HONORABLE MINISTERS OF STATE; GOVERNOR OF THE FEDERAL DISTRICT [GOVERNOR WANDERLY VALLIM]; HONORABLE DEPUTIES AND SENATORS. IT IS A PRIVILEGE TO JOIN YOU IN THIS GREAT HALL OF DEMOCRACY.

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 -- ESPECIALLY HERE IN BRAZIL.

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.

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 THE FIRST WORLD AND THE 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, DEMOCRACY, AND PROSPERITY. WE HAVE ALL WITNESSED IN WONDER THE DAWN OF DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE -- BUT IN THE AMERICAS, WE TOO HAVE SEEN EXTRAORDINARY POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE THAT IS TRANSFORMING THE FACE OF THIS HEMISPHERE -- NOWHERE MORE SO THAN IN THIS GREAT NATION OF BRAZIL. 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. I BELIEVE WE ARE APPROACHING A NEW DAWN IN THE NEW WORLD.

OUR THINKING MUST BE BOLD -- 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 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 DEVOTED TO THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL -- TO UNLEASH THE POWER OF FREE PEOPLES, 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. EVERY NATION THAT JOINS THIS COMMONWEALTH OF FREEDOM ADVANCES US ONE STEP CLOSER TO A NEW WORLD ORDER. WE MUST PERSIST 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 TIP OF CAPE HORN, WE SEE A FUTURE WHERE GROWING OPPORTUNITY, THE POWER OF TECHNOLOGY AND THE BENEFITS OF PROSPERITY ARE DEVELOPED AND SHARED BY ALL.

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 IN 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 PARA [PA-RAH], THE TEXTILE WORKER IN SANTA CATARINA, 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. SO, AS WE CHART A COURSE FOR THE FUTURE OF THE NEW WORLD, LET US HOLD FIRMLY IN OUR MINDS AN UNSHAKABLE CONVICTION IN THE IMPORTANCE AND BENEFIT OF FREE ENTERPRISE. LET US WORK TOGETHER SO THAT ANY MAN OR WOMAN WHO WANTS TO LAUNCH A NEW ENTERPRISE VIEWS THE STATE AS AN ALLY, NOT AS 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.

INDIVIDUALS CANNOT SUCCEED IF GOVERNMENT IS BURDENED BY DEBT. SO 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. 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 COLLABORATIVE COMMITMENT IS SHARED TO PROTECT OUR ENVIRONMENTAL LEGACY. THERE CAN BE NO SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH WITHOUT RESPECT FOR THE ENVIRONMENT.

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 IN 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.

WE ALSO HOPE THAT A FRAMEWORK CONVENTION ON CLIMATE CHANGE WILL BE READY FOR SIGNING IN BRAZIL IN 1992. BUT A FOREST CONVENTION WILL BE MORE REALISTIC AND COMMAND MORE SUPPORT IF ALL THE BENEFITS OF SUSTAINABLE FOREST MANAGEMENT AND CONSERVATION ARE RECOGNIZED -- NOT JUST THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO CLIMATE, BUT ALSO FACTORS LIKE BIODIVERSITY, SOIL EROSION, CLEAN AIR AND CLEAN WATER. FOR THAT REASON, WE SUPPORT A FREESTANDING CONVENTION RECOGNIZING FORESTS' MANY BENEFITS, NEGOTIATED SEPARATELY.

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 I KNOW FULL WELL IT IS A DEMAND PROBLEM AS WELL AS A SUPPLY PROBLEM FOR MY COUNTRY -- 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] INTO FORCE. 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. WE APPLAUD YOUR DECISION TO MOVE FORWARD ON FULL-SCOPE NUCLEAR SAFEGUARDS.

EQUALLY, 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 SALUTE YOUR ROLE IN THE WORLD COMMUNITY'S ALMOST UNIVERSAL CONDEMNATION OF IRAQ'S AGGRESSION.

THE MESSAGE I BRING YOU TODAY IS A HOPEFUL ONE -- A VISION OF A FREE, DEMOCRATIC, AND PROSPEROUS HEMISPHERE, NOW WITHIN OUR REACH. OUR NATIONS 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.

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 MILLENNIUM WE HAVE HAD IN THIS HEMISPHERE TO FORM OUR NATIONS AND FIND OUR WAY, LET THE NATIONS OF THE AMERICAS NOW FULFILL THEIR COMMON POTENTIAL.

STANDING ON THIS CENTRAL PLATEAU, SOON TO BE THE SEAT OF GREAT DECISIONS, PRESIDENT JUSCELINO KUBITSCHK 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.**

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