

November 27, 1936

Address to Brazilian Congress - Rio de Janeiro

1021

Brazilian Government
ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE BRAZILIAN CONGRESS AT RIO DE JANEIRO
November 27, 1936, 2.30 P.M.

Your Excellency, Gentlemen of the Congress and
of the Supreme Court of Brazil:

Nearly half a century ago a little boy was walking with his father and mother in a park of a city in southern France. Toward them came a distinguished looking elderly couple -- Dom Pedro II and his Empress. That occasion was my first introduction to Brazil. In the years that have passed since that day -- years measured by the splendid history of the Republic of Brazil -- I have had the pleasure of meeting many of your statesmen, and of becoming increasingly familiar with the problems which mutually affect our two nations. My visit to Rio de Janeiro today is therefore the realization of a growing desire to see Brazil with my own eyes. Every student has been told of the majestic beauty in which your great city is cradled. But Rio is unique in that the reality far exceeds our expectations. A visit -- even of a single day -- is one of the outstanding experiences of my life. The loveliness of nature would have been enough to bring me here -- but my visit has another purpose. I was unwilling to come so

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This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.

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far abroad without rendering my respects to the Government of Brazil -- that sister nation with which for more than a century we have maintained a tradition of good understanding, a mutual regard and cooperation which is rare in history.

I have had the honor of greeting your great President; and this personal friendship between the chief executives of our two nations seems to me not only of practical benefit, but also of profound significance. You, gentlemen of the Congress, now afford me the courtesy of this agreeable opportunity of meeting in person the legislative branch of your Government and of exchanging thoughts directly with its members. I could not be but deeply sensible of the unique honor offered by the presence in this Chamber of your Supreme Court, a tribunal whose high traditions are known throughout the juridical world. Thus, the executive, legislative and judicial powers of the Government of Brazil have united in this demonstration of friendship toward the nation which I have the honor to represent.

Let me now return thanks for this renewed proof of that brotherhood which has ever united Brazil and the United States, a fraternity not limited to the relations

between our Governments, but a fraternity which I have reason to know is made evident in every group in both countries, whenever and wherever they meet. The fine record of our relations is the best answer to those pessimists who scoff at the idea of true friendship between nations. In the present state of the world it is heartening that the two largest countries in this hemisphere have been able, by the exercise of good will, good temper and good sense to conduct the whole course of their relations without clash or conflict or ill-feeling.

Not only that. The confidence in each other's aims and motives enables us to work together for the common good. We have a record of which we can be proud -- a record of joint endeavor in the cause of peace in this New World. My country has derived strength and confidence from the far-sighted, irreproachable attitude of Brazil in its devolution, arbitration, conciliation and other methods for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Your first concern, like ours, is peace -- for we know that war destroys, not only human lives and human happiness, but destroys as well the ideals of individual liberty and of the democratic form of representative government which is the goal of all the American Republics.

I think I can say that if in the generation to come we can live without war, democratic government throughout the Americas will prove its complete ability to raise the standards of life for those millions who cry for opportunity today. The motto of war is, "let the strong survive; let the weak die". The motto of peace is, "let the strong help the weak to survive".

There is room for all of us, without treading on one another's toes. There are resources of nature adequate for our present and our future. We are happily free from ancient antagonisms which have brought so much misery to other parts of the world. There are, it is true, conflicts of interest between the American States -- but they cannot be called serious or difficult of solution, when compared with the deeply rooted hates of other continents. There is no American conflict -- and I weigh my words when I say this -- there is no American conflict that cannot be settled by orderly and peaceful means. And, it is in our common interest imperative that they be settled always by agreement and not by bloodshed. We serve not ourselves alone. The friendly nations of the Americas can render no greater service to civilization itself than by maintaining both domestic and international peace and by freeing themselves forever from conflict.

We are about to gather in a great American Conference, called by President Justo in furtherance of the Good Neighbor policy in which we all share. In this Conference we have the opportunity to banish war from the New World and dedicate it to peace. It is unthinkable to me that in this time of worldwide apprehension we should fail to seize the opportunity to meet what is a heavy responsibility, this is no time to hesitate. We must be guided by a serene and generous view of our common needs. World horizons may be dark, but the time is auspicious for our task in America. The rest of the world presents a grim picture of armed camps and threats of conflict.

But in our own Continent armed clashes which in recent years have divided American countries have been happily brought to an end.

It is gratifying to be able to pay well-deserved tribute to the very outstanding part played by your able and distinguished Foreign Minister Macedo Soares in the mediatory efforts of the representatives of six American Republics. And the Leticia question was settled here in Rio through the patient assistance and masterly diplomacy of Dr. Afranio Mello Franco. The progress we have made

must not be allowed to serve as pretext for resting on our laurels; it should, on the contrary, stimulate us to new and increased effort. It is not enough that peace prevails from the Arctic to the Antarctic, from the Atlantic to the Pacific; it is essential that this condition be made permanent, that we provide effectively against the recurrence of the horrors of war and assure peace to ourselves and our posterity. All instrumentalities for the maintenance of peace must be consolidated and reinforced. We cannot countenance aggression -- from wheresoever it may come.

The people of each and every one of the American Republics -- and, I am confident, the people of the Dominion of Canada as well -- wish to lead their own lives free from desire for conquest and free from fear of conquest -- free at the same time to expand their cultural and intellectual relationships and to take council together to encourage the peaceful progress of modern civilization. Our aims will best be served by agreements which bring peace, security and friendship among us and all our neighbors.

Solidarity among the American States in the cause of peace constitutes no threats to other regions or races. The honorable adherence to solemn agreements among us will harm no other Continent. On the contrary -- the more firmly

peace is established in this Hemisphere, the more closely we live up to the spirit as well as the letter of our agreements, the better it will be for all the rest of the world. Let us present a record which our hemisphere may give to the world as convincing proof that peace lies always at hand when nations, serene in their sovereign security, meet their current problems with understanding good-will. All of us have learned that no real, no lasting prosperity can exist where it is secured at the expense of our neighbors -- that among nations, as in our domestic relations, the principle of interdependence is paramount.

No nation can live entirely to itself. Each one of us has learned the glories of independence. Let each one of us learn the glories of interdependence. Economically, we supply each other's needs; intellectually we maintain a constant, a growing exchange of culture, of science and of thought; spiritually, the life of each can well enrich the life of all. We are showing in international relations what we have long known in private relations -- that good neighbors make a good community.

In that knowledge we meet today as neighbors. We can discard the dangerous language of rivalry; we can put aside the empty phrases of "diplomatic triumphs" or

"shrewd bargains". We can forget all thought of domination, of selfish coalitions or of balances of power. Those false gods have no place among American neighbors.

Happily, the relations between Brazil and the United States have transcended those lesser conceptions. Secure in unbroken respect and friendship we meet with full respect, each for the other; with every hope that our mutual regard may prove useful to others as well. There has never been a time when this confidence between Brazil and the United States was more precious or more needed. I know from my enlightening conversation with President Vargas that we are entering the coming Conference, deeply mindful of our responsibilities and the need to work in fullest understanding with all of the republics of this hemisphere. If we are guided by wisdom, such comprehension will banish conflict from this part of the world. We are entitled to hope that we may thus contribute to the universal ideal that nations throughout the entire world, laying weapons aside, may at last fulfill the greatest ambition which any nation, large or small, can have -- that of contributing steadily and, above all, generously to the advance of well-being, culture and civilization throughout the changing years.

PS

PLAIN

Rio de Janeiro

Dated November 27, 1936

Rec'd 9:30 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

WISH

258, November 27, 10 a. m.

Following is text of President Roosevelt's speech
to the Brazilian Congress to be published in papers not
appearing on the street before four thirty p. m. Rio
de Janeiro time:

"Your Excellency, Gentlemen of the Congress and
of the Supreme Court of Brazil:

Nearly half a century ago a little boy was walking
with his father and mother in a park of a city in
southern France, toward them came a distinguished
looking elderly couple--Don Pedro II and his Empress.
That occasion was my first introduction to Brazil.
In the years that have passed since that day--years
measured by the splendid history of the Republic of
Brazil--I have had the pleasure of meeting many of your
statesmen, and of becoming increasingly familiar with
the problems which mutually affect our two nations.

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PS 2-7o. 233, November 27, 10 a. m. from Rio de Janeiro

Visit to Rio de Janeiro today is therefore the realization of a growing desire to see Brazil with my own eyes. Every student has been told of the majestic beauty in which your great city is cradled. But Rio is unique in that the reality far exceeds our expectations. A visit--even of a single day--is one of the outstanding experiences of my life. The loveliness of nature would have been enough to bring me here--but my visit has another purpose. I was unwilling to come so far abroad without rendering my respects to the Government of Brazil--that sister nation with which for more than a century we have maintained a tradition of good understanding, mutual regard and cooperation which is rare in history.

(END SECTION ONE)

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PS

PLAIN

Rio de Janeiro

Dated November 27, 1936

Rec'd 9:50 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

233, November 27, 12 a. m. (SECTION TWO)

I have had the honor of greeting your great President; and this personal friendship between the chief executives of our two nations stems to me not only of practical benefit, but also of profound significance. You, gentleman of the Congress, now afford me the courtesy of this agreeable opportunity of meeting in person the legislative branch of your Government and of exchanging thoughts directly with its members. I could not be but deeply sensible of the unique honor offered by the presence in this Chamber of your Supreme Court, a tribunal whose high traditions are known throughout the juridical world. Thus, the executive, legislative and judicial powers of the Government of Brazil have united in this demonstration of friendship toward the nation which I have the honor to represent.

Let me now return thanks for this renewed proof of that brotherhood which has ever united Brazil and

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PS 2-No. 233, Section Two from Rio, November 27

the United States, a fraternity not limited to the relations between our Governments, but a fraternity which I have reason to know is made evident in every group in both countries, whenever and wherever they meet. The fine record of our relations is the best answer to those pessimists who scoff at the idea of true friendship between nations. In the present state of the world it is heartening that the two largest countries in this hemisphere (END SECTION TWO)

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PS

PLAIN

Rio de Janeiro

Dated November 27, 1936

Rec'd 10 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

250, November 27, 11 a. m. (SECTION THREE)
have been able, by the exercise of good will, good
temper and good sense to conduct the whole course of
their relations without clash or conflict or ill-
feeling.

Not only that. The confidence in each other's
aims and motives enables us to work together for the
common good. We have a record of which we can be proud--
a record of joint endeavor in the cause of peace in this
New World. My country has derived strength and confi-
dence from the far-sighted, irreproachable attitude of
Brazil in its deviation, arbitration, conciliation and
other methods for the peaceful settlement of international
disputes. Your first concern, like ours, is peace--for
we know that war destroys, not only human lives and human
hapiness, but destroys as well the ideals of individual
liberty and of the democratic form of representative
government which is the goal of all the American Republics.

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FS 2-No. 233, Section Three from Rio, November 27

I think I can say that if in the generation to come we can live without war, democratic government throughout the Americas will prove its complete ability to raise the standards of life for those millions who cry for opportunity today. The motto of war is, "let the strong survive; let the weak die". The motto of peace is, "let the strong help the weak to survive".

(END SECTION THREE)

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PS

PLAIN

Rio de Janeiro

Dated November 27, 1936

Rec'd 10:10 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

233, November 27, 11 a. m. (SECTION FOUR)

There is room for all of us, without treading
on one another's toes. There are resources of nature
adequate for our present and our future. We are
happily free from ancient antagonisms which have
brought so much misery to other parts of the world.
There are, it is true, conflicts of interest between
the American States - but they cannot be called serious
or difficult of solution, when compared with the deeply
rooted hates of other continents. There is no American
conflict - and I weigh my words when I say this - there
is no American conflict that cannot be settled by
orderly and peaceful means. And, it is in our common
interest imperative that they be settled always by agree-
ment and not by bloodshed. Preserve not ourselves alone.
The friendly nations of the Americas can render no greater
service to civilization itself than by maintaining both
domestic and international peace and by freeing themselves
forever from conflict.

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PLWIN

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PS 2- No. 233, Section Four from Rio, November 27

We are about to gather in a great American Conference, called by President Justo in furtherance of the Good Neighbor policy in which we all share. In this Conference we have the opportunity to banish war from the New World and dedicate it to peace. It is unthinkable to me that in this time of world-wide apprehension we should fail to seize the opportunity to meet what is a heavy (END SECTION FOUR)

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PS

PLAIN

Rio de Janeiro

Dated November 27, 1936

Rec'd 10:25 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

233, November 27, 11 a. m. (SECTION FIVE)
responsibility, this is no time to hesitate. We must
be guided by a serene and generous view of our common
needs. World horizons may be dark, but the time is
auspicious for our task in America. The rest of the
world presents a grim picture of armed camps and threats
of conflict. But in our own Continent armed clashes which
in recent years have divided American countries have
been happily brought to an end.

It is gratifying to be able to pay well-deserved
tribute to the very outstanding part played by your
able and distinguished Foreign Minister Macedo Soares
in the mediatory efforts of the representatives of six
American Republics. And the Icticia question was
settled here in Rio through the patient assistance and
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progress we have made must not be allowed to serve as
excuse for resting on our laurels; it should, on the
contrary, stimulate us to new and increased effort. It

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PS 2-No. 235, Section five from Rio, November 27

is not enough that peace prevails from the Arctic to the Antarctic, from the Atlantic to the Pacific; it is essential that this condition be made permanent, that we provide effectively against the recurrence of the horrors of war and assure peace to ourselves and our posterity. All instrumentalities for the maintenance of peace must be consolidated and reinforced. We cannot countenance aggression -

(END SECTION FIVE)

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PLAIN

Rio de Janeiro

Dated November 27, 1936

Rec'd 10:35 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

235, November 27, 11 a. m. (SECTION SIX)
From wheresoever it may come.

The people of each and every one of the American Republics - and, I am confident, the people of the Dominion of Canada as well - wish to lead their own lives free from desire for conquest and free from fear of conquest - free at the same time to expand their cultural and intellectual relationships and to take council together to encourage the peaceful progress of modern civilization. Our aims will best be served by agreements which bring peace, security and friendship among us and all our neighbors.

Solidarity among the American States in the cause of peace constitutes no threats to other regions or races. The honorable adherence to solemn agreements among us will harm no other Continent. On the contrary - the more firmly peace is established in this Hemisphere, the more closely we live up to the spirit as well as the letter of our agreements, the better it will be for all the rest of

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PS 2-No. 233, Section Six from Rio, November 27

the world. Let us present a record which our hemisphere may give to the world as convincing proof that peace is always at hand when nations, secure in their sovereign security, meet their current problems with understanding good-will. All of us have learned that no real, no lasting prosperity can exist where it is secured at the expense of our neighbors - that among nations, as in our domestic relations, (END SECTION SIX)

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PLAIN

Rio de Janeiro

Dated November 27, 1936

Rec'd 10:55 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

203, November 27, 11 a. m. (SECTION SEVEN)

the principle of interdependence is paramount.

No nation can live entirely to itself. Each one of us has learned the glories of independence. Let each one of us learn the glories of interdependence. Economically, we supply each other's needs; intellectually we maintain a constant, a growing exchange of culture, of science and of thought; spiritually, the life of each can well enrich the life of all. We are showing in international relations what we have long known in private relations - that good neighbors make a good community.

In that knowledge we meet today as neighbors, we dispense the dangerous language of rivalry; we can put aside the empty phrases of "diplomatic triumphs" or "shred bargains". We can forget all thoughts of domination, of selfish coalitions or of balances of power. Those false gods have no place among men and neighbors.

Especially, the relations between Brazil and the

United

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PS. 2-No. 235, Section seven from Rio November 27

United States have transcended those lesser
concerns. Secure in unbroken respect and friend-
ship we meet with full respect ~~each~~ for the other;
with every hope that our mutual regard may prove
useful to others as well. There has never been a
time when this confidence between Brazil and the
United States was more precious or more (END SECTION
SEVEN)

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PLAIN

Rio de Janeiro

Dated November 27, 1936

Rec'd 11 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

233, November 27, 11 a. m. (SECTION EIGHT)
needed. I know from my enlightening conversation
with President Vargas that we are entering the coming
Conference, deeply mindful of our responsibilities and
the need to work in fullest understanding with all of
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changing years." (END MESSAGE)

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In reply refer to Telefile
and No.

From THE FILES OF JAMES ROOSEVELT
Original Retired for Preservation

NAVY DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS
WASHINGTON

22 December, 1936.

Dear Colonel:

I believe you have the "rough copy"
of the B. A. and Montevideo speeches. Here's the
Rio "rough draft"- which I believe you wanted too.
N'est-ce pas?

Faithfully,

Glenn

Speech of
President Franklin D.Roosevelt --
Before the
Joint Session of the Brazilian Congress at Rio de Janeiro, 27 November, 1936.

Nearly half a century ago a little boy was walking with
in a park
his father and mother ~~on a~~ ^{through} the ~~outskirts~~ ^{streets} of a city in Southern France.

Toward them came a distinguished looking elderly couple - Dom Pedro II
and his Empress. That occasion was my first introduction to Brazil.

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You, gentlemen of the Congress, now afford me the courtesy of this agreeable opportunity of meeting in person the legislative branch of your Government and of exchanging thoughts directly with its members.

I could not be but deeply sensible of the unique honor offered by the ~~present~~ ^{present} in ~~possession~~ ^{of} this Chamber and ~~by~~ ⁱⁿ your Supreme Court, a tribunal ~~whose~~ ^{whose} ~~high~~ ^{Thus} traditions are known throughout the juridical world. It was the Executive, Legislative and Judicial powers of the Government of Brazil ~~thus~~ ^{demonstrating} which united in this representation of friendship toward the nation which I have the honor to represent. Let me now return thanks for ~~the~~ ^{this} renewed proof of that brotherhood which has ever united Brazil and the United States - a fraternity not limited to the relations between our Governments but a fraternity which I have reason to know ~~has been~~ ^{is} made evident in every group in both countries whenever and wherever they meet. The ~~greatest~~ ^{first} record of our relations is the best answer to those pessimists who scoff at the idea of true friendship between nations. In the present state of the world it is heartening that the two largest countries in this hemisphere ^{exist} have been able, by the ~~existence~~ ^{existence} of good will, good temper and good sense to conduct the whole course of their relations without clash or conflict or ill-feeling.

Not only that. The confidence in each others aims and motives enables us to work together for the common good. We have a record of which we can be proud - a record of joint endeavor in the cause of peace in this

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I think I can say that if in the generations to come we can live without war, a democratic government throughout the Americas will prove its ^{comparative} ability to raise the standards of life for those millions who cry for opportunity today. The motto of war is "let the most fit survive; let the less fit die!" The motto of peace is "let the more fit help the less fit to ~~a~~ a better life.

New World. My country has derived strength and confidence from the far-sighted, irreproachable attitude of Brazil in its devotion to arbitration, conciliation and other methods for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

Your first concern, like ours, is peace - for we know that war destroys not only human lives and human happiness, but destroys as well the ideals of individual liberty and of the democratic form of representative government which is the goal of all the American Republics.

A. L. GALT

There is room for all of us, without treading on one another's toes. There are resources of nature adequate for our present and our future. We are happily free from the ancient antagonisms which have brought so much misery to other parts of the world.

There are, it is true, conflicts of interest between the American States - but they cannot be called serious or difficult of solution when compared with the deeply rooted hates of other continents. There is no American conflict - and I weigh my words when I say this - there is no American conflict that cannot be settled by orderly and peaceful means. And, it is in our common interest imperative that they be settled always by agreement and not by bloodshed.

We serve not ourselves alone. The friendly nations of
the Americas can render no greater service to civilization than by
freeing themselves forever from conflict and by maintaining both domestic
and international peace.

We are about to ~~gather~~ ^{Afri} gather in a great American conference
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which we all share. In this conference we have the opportunity to banish
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seize the opportunity to meet what is a ~~heavy~~ ^{Afrony} responsibility. This is
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our common needs.

World horizons may be dark but the time is auspicious
for our task in America. The rest of the world presents a grim picture
of armed camps and threats of conflict. But in our own continent ~~there~~
^{in Brazil} armed clashes which within the last few years have divided American countries
have been happily brought to an end. It is gratifying to be able to pay
well-deserved tribute to the very outstanding part played by your able
and distinguished Foreign Minister Macedo Soares in the mediatory efforts
of the representatives of six American republics. The Leticia question
was settled here in Rio through the patient assistance and masterly
diplomacy of Dr. Afranio Mello Franco.

The progress we have made must not be allowed to serve as
a ~~forerunner~~^{for} for resting on our laurels; it should, on the contrary,
stimulate us to new and increased effort. It is not enough that peace
prevails from the Arctic to the Antarctic, from the Atlantic to the
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we provide effectively against the recurrence ~~of~~^{against} the horrors
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~~ourselves~~^{ourselves} cannot countenance aggression, ~~whether from within or without this~~
hemisphere. The people of each and everyone of the American republics -
and I am confident, ~~now~~ the people of the Dominion of Canada as well -
wish to lead their own lives free from desire for conquest and free from
fear of conquest - free at the same time to expand their cultural and
intellectual relationships and to take council together to encourage
the peaceful progress of modern civilization.

Our aims will best be served by agreements which bring
peace, security and friendship among us and all our neighbors. Solidarity
among the American states in the cause of peace constitutes no threat
to other regions or races. The honorable adherence to solemn agreements
among us will harm no other continent. On the contrary - the more firmly
peace is established in this hemisphere, the more closely we live up to
~~as well as the letter~~^{as well as the letter}
the spirit of our agreements, the better it will be for all the rest of
the world. Let us present a record which our ~~contemporaries~~^{descendants} may offer to the

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world ^{as} convincing proof that peace lies always at hand when nations, serene in their sovereign security, meet their current problems with understanding and good-will. All of us have learned that no real, ~~or~~ and lasting prosperity can exist where it is secured at the expense of our neighbors. ^{116 Days} That among neighbors, as in our domestic relations, the principle of ~~our~~ interdependence is paramount. No nation can live entirely to itself. Each one of us has learned the glories of independence. Let each one of us learn the glories of interdependence. Economically we supply each others needs; intellectually we maintain a constant, a growing exchange of ^{cultures, of sciences} ideas and of thought; spiritually the life of each ~~one~~ reaches ^{the} life of all.

We are showing in international relations what we have long known in private relations - that good neighbors make a good community.

In that knowledge we meet to-day as neighbors. We can discard the dangerous language of rivalry; we can put aside the empty phrases of "diplomatic triumphs" or "~~successes-of-policy~~". We can forget all thought of domination, of selfish coalitions or of balances of power. *Those false Gods have no place among Americas neighbors.* ~~among-neighbors, those conceptions do not exist.~~

Happily the relations between Brazil and the United States have transcended those lesser conceptions. Secure in unbroken respect and friendship we meet ~~as neighbors~~ with full respect each for the other; with every hope that our mutual regard may prove useful to others as well.

There has never been a time when this relationship and confidence between Brazil and the United States was more precious or more needed.

I know from my enlightening ^{CONFERENCE} conference with President Vargas that we are entering the coming conference ^{already} ~~fully~~ ^{mindful} of our responsibilities and the need to work in the fullest understanding with all of the Republics of this hemisphere. If we are guided by ^{such comprehension} ~~wise~~, ^{thus} understanding will banish conflict from this part of the world. We are entitled to hope that we may contribute to the universal ideal that nations throughout the entire world, ^{laying} ~~may~~ weapons aside, may at last fulfill the greatest ambition which any nation, large or small, can have - that of contributing steadily and above all generously to the advance of well-being, culture and civilization throughout the changing years.

Address of President Roosevelt
Before a Joint Session of the Brazilian Congress, November 27, 1936
At Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Your Excellency, Gentlemen of the Congress and of the Supreme Court of Brazil:

Nearly half a century ago a little boy was walking with his father and mother in a park of a city in Southern France. Toward them came a distinguished looking elderly couple - Dom Pedro II and his Empress. That occasion was my first introduction to Brazil.

In the years that have passed since that day - years measured by the splendid history of the Republic of Brazil - I have had the pleasure of meeting many of your statesmen, and of becoming increasingly familiar with the problems which mutually affect our two nations.

My visit to Rio de Janeiro today is therefore the realization of a growing desire to see Brazil with my own eyes. Every student has been told of the majestic beauty in which your great city is cradled. But Rio is unique in that the reality far exceeds our expectations. A visit - even of a single day - is one of the outstanding experiences of my life.

The loveliness of nature would have been enough to bring me here - but my visit has another purpose. I was unwilling to come so far abroad without rendering my respects to the Government of Brazil - that sister nation with which for more than a century we have maintained a tradition of good understanding, mutual regard and cooperation which is rare in history.

I have had the honor of greeting your great President; and this personal friendship between the Chief Executives of our two nations seems to me not only of practical benefit but also of profound significance.

You, gentlemen of the Congress, now afford me the courtesy of this agreeable opportunity of meeting in person the legislative branch of your Government and of exchanging thoughts directly with its members.

I could not be but deeply sensible of the unique honor offered by the presence in this Chamber of your Supreme Court, a tribunal whose high traditions are known throughout the juridical world.

Thus, the Executive, Legislative and Judicial powers of the Government of Brazil have united in this demonstration of friendship toward the nation which I have the honor to represent.

Let me now return thanks for this renewed proof of that brotherhood which has ever united Brazil and the United States - a fraternity not limited to the relations between our Governments, but a fraternity which I have reason to know is made evident in every group in both countries whenever and wherever they meet. The fine record of our relations is the best answer to those pessimists who scoff at the idea of true friendship between nations. In the present state of the world it is heartening that the two largest countries in this hemisphere have been able, by the exercise of good will, good temper and good sense to conduct the whole course of their relations without clash or conflict or ill-feeling.

Not only that. The confidence in each others aims and motives enables us to work together for the common good. We have a record of which we can be proud - a record of joint endeavor in the cause of peace in this New World. My country has derived strength and confidence from the far-sighted, irreproachable attitude of Brazil in its devotion to arbitration, conciliation and other methods for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

Your first concern, like ours, is peace - for we know that war destroys not only human lives and human happiness, but destroys as well the ideals of individual liberty and of the democratic form of representative government which is the goal of all the American Republics.

I think I can say that if in the generations to come we can

live without war, democratic government throughout the Americas will prove its complete ability to raise the standards of life for those millions who cry for opportunity today. The motto of war is, "Let the strong survive; let the weak die". The motto of peace is: "Let the strong help the weak to survive".

There is room for all of us, without treading on one another's toes. There are resources of nature adequate for our present and our future. We are happily free from ancient antagonisms which have brought so much misery to other parts of the world.

There are, it is true, conflicts of interest between the American States - but they cannot be called serious or difficult of solution when compared with the deeply rooted hates of other continents. There is no American conflict - and I weigh my words when I say this - there is no American conflict that cannot be settled by orderly and peaceful means. And, it is in our common interest imperative that they be settled always by agreement and not by bloodshed.

We serve not ourselves alone. The friendly nations of the Americas can render no greater service to civilization itself than by maintaining both domestic and international peace and by freeing themselves forever from conflict.

We are about to gather in a great American conference called by President Justo in furtherance of the good neighbor policy in which we all share. In this conference we have the opportunity to banish war from the new world and dedicate it to peace. It is unthinkable to me that in this time of world-wide apprehension we should fail to seize the opportunity to meet what is a heavy responsibility. This is no time to hesitate. We must be guided by a serene and generous view of our common needs.

World horizons may be dark but the time is auspicious for our task in America. The rest of the world presents a grim picture of armed coups and threats of conflict. But in our own continent armed

clashes which in recent years have divided American countries have been happily brought to an end. It is gratifying to be able to pay well-deserved tribute to the very outstanding part played by your able and distinguished Foreign Minister Macedo Soares in the mediatory efforts of the representatives of six American republics. And the Leticin question was settled here in Rio through the patient assistance and masterly diplomacy of Dr. Afranio Helio Franco.

The progress we have made must not be allowed to serve as a pretext for resting on our laurels: it should, on the contrary, stimulate us to new and increased effort. It is not enough that peace prevails from the Arctic to the Antarctic, from the Atlantic to the Pacific: it is essential that this condition be made permanent, that we provide effectively against the recurrence of the horrors of war and assure peace to ourselves and our posterity.

All instrumentalities for the maintenance of peace must be consolidated and reinforced. We cannot countenance aggression - from wheresoever it may come. The people of each and everyone of the American Republics - and, I am confident, the people of the Dominion of Canada as well - wish to lead their own lives free from desire for conquest and free from fear of conquest - free at the same time to expand their cultural and intellectual relationships and to take council together to encourage the peaceful progress of modern civilization.

Our aims will best be served by agreements which bring peace, security and friendship among us and all our neighbors. Solidarity among the American States in the cause of peace constitutes no threats to other regions or races. The honorable adherence to solemn agreements among us will harm no other continent. On the contrary - the more firmly peace is established in this hemisphere, the more closely we live up to the spirit as well as the letter of our agreements, the better it will be for all the rest of the world. Let us

present a record which our hemisphere may give to the world as convincing proof that peace lies always at hand when nations, secure in their sovereign security, meet their current problems with understanding and good-will.

All of us have learned that no real, no lasting prosperity can exist where it is secured at the expense of our neighbors - that among nations, as in our domestic relations, the principle of interdependence is paramount. No nation can live entirely to itself.

Each one of us has learned the glories of independence. Let each one of us learn the glories of interdependence. Economically we supply each other's needs; intellectually we maintain a constant, a growing exchange of culture, of science and of thought; spiritually the life of each can well enrich the life of all.

We are showing in international relations what we have long known in private relations - that good neighbors make a good community.

In that knowledge we meet today as neighbors. We can discard the dangerous language of rivalry; we can put aside the empty phrases of, "diplomatic triumphs" or "shrewd bargains". We can forget all thought of domination, of selfish coalitions or of balances of power. Those false Gods have no place among American neighbors.

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I know from my enlightening conversation with President Vargas that we are entering the coming conference deeply mindful of our responsibilities and the need to work in fullest understanding with all of the Republics of this Hemisphere. If we are guided by wisdom, such comprehension will banish conflict from this part of the world.

We are entitled to hope that we may thus contribute to the universal ideal that nations throughout the entire world, laying weapons aside, may at last fulfill the greatest ambition which any nation, large or small, can have - that of contributing steadily and above all generously to the advance of well-being, culture and civilization throughout the changing years.

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Not only that. The confidence in each others aims and motives enables us to work together for the common good. We have a record of which we can be proud - a record of joint endeavor in the cause of peace in this New World. My country has derived strength and confidence from the far-sighted, irreproachable attitude of Brazil in its devotion to arbitration, conciliation and other methods for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

Your first concern, like our's, is peace - for we know that war destroys not only human lives and human happiness, but destroys as well the ideals of individual liberty and of the democratic form of representative government which is the goal of all the American Republics.

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There are, it is true, conflicts of interest between the American States - but they cannot be called serious or difficult of solution when compared with the deeply rooted hates of other continents. There is no American conflict - and I weigh my words when I say this - there is no American conflict that cannot be settled by orderly and peaceful means. And, it is in our common interest imperative that they be settled always by agreement and not by bloodshed.

We serve not ourselves alone. The friendly nations of the Americas can render no greater service to civilization itself than by maintaining both domestic and international peace and by freeing themselves forever from conflict.

We are about to gather in a great American conference called by President Justo in furtherance of the good neighbor policy in which we all share. In this conference we have the opportunity to banish war from the new world and dedicate it to peace. It is unthinkable to me that in this time of world-wide apprehension we should fail to seize the opportunity to meet what is a heavy responsibility. This is no time to hesitate. We must be guided by a serene and generous view of our common needs.

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The progress we have made must not be allowed to serve as a pretext for resting on our laurels: it should, on the contrary, stimulate us to new and increased effort. It is not enough that peace prevails from the Arctic to the Antarctic, from the Atlantic to the Pacific: it is essential that this condition be made permanent, that we provide effectively against the recurrence of the horrors of war and assure peace to ourselves and our posterity.

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I know from my enlightening conversation with President Vargas that we are entering the coming conference deeply mindful of our responsibilities and the need to work in fullest understanding with all of the Republics of this Hemisphere. If we are guided by wisdom, such comprehension will banish conflict from this part of the world.

We are entitled to hope that we may thus contribute to the universal ideal that nations throughout the entire world, laying weapons aside, may at last fulfill the greatest ambition which any nation, large or small, can have - that of contributing steadily and above all generously to the advance of well-being, culture and civilization throughout the changing years.

From
OF 200 - II.

[11-29-26]

Wells suggestion

Suggestion for Rio de Janeiro speech.

My visit to Rio today is the realization of a long-cherished dream. We have all been brought up on descriptions of the beauty of Rio and its setting. We are led to expect a great deal and high expectations usually pave the way for disappointment. But Rio is unique in that the reality far exceeds our expectations. A visit -- even of a single day -- is one of the outstanding experiences of a lifetime.

The beauties of nature would have been enough to bring me here -- but my visit has another purpose. I was unwilling to come so far abroad without paying my respects to the Government of Brazil, with which for more than a century we have maintained a tradition of good understanding, mutual respect and cooperation which is rare in history. The clear record of our relations is the best answer to those pessimists who scoff at the idea of real friendship between nations. In the present state of the world there is something really heartening in the knowledge that the two largest countries in this Hemisphere have, by the exercise of good will, good temper and good sense, been able to conduct the whole course of their relations without clash or conflict or bad feeling. Not only that. The confidence that has grown up as to each other's aims

and

and motives enables us to join forces and work together for the common good. We have a record of which we can be proud of joint endeavor in the cause of peace in this New World.

No country has a finer tradition than Brazil of devotion to arbitration, conciliation and all other methods for the pacific settlement of international disputes. My country has derived strength and confidence from the farsighted and irreproachable attitude of Brazil in American problems.

Your first concern, like ours, is peace -- peace upon the secure foundation of confidence and good will among the countries of America. This is no vain aspiration. It is a goal we can achieve if we will. There is room for all of us. There are adequate resources for our present and our future. We are happily free from antagonisms of race and religion which have brought so much misery to the world. There are, it is true, conflicts of interest between American States -- but they seem almost trivial when compared with the deeply rooted hates and antagonisms of other parts of the world. There is no American conflict -- I weigh my words as I say this -- there is no American conflict that cannot be settled by orderly

and

and peaceful means. And in the common interest it is imperative that they be settled by agreement and not by bloodshed.

The free countries of America can render no greater service to civilization than by freeing themselves from conflict and by maintaining both domestic and international peace. We are about to foregather in a great American conference called by President Justo in furtherance of the good neighbor policy which we share. In this conference we have a great opportunity to banish war from the New World and dedicate our Hemisphere to peace. It is unthinkable to me that at this time of world-wide apprehension we should fail to seize this opportunity, to meet this responsibility. This is no time to haggle or hesitate. We must be guided by a serene and generous view of our common needs. We must find courage in the knowledge that if we are equal to our responsibilities this part of the world can be made happy and secure beyond all others.

The world horizons may be dark but the time is auspicious for our task in America. The rest of the world presents a grim picture of armed camps and threats of conflict. In our own continent we have a more hopeful situation. Those armed clashes which within the last

few years have divided American countries have been happily brought to an end. The Leticia question was settled and well settled here in Rio thanks to the patient and masterly diplomacy of Dr. Afranio Mello Franco. The Chaco war between two of our sister republics was stopped with the signature of the Buenos Aires Protocol of June 12, 1935, as a result of the mediatory efforts of six American nations under the chairmanship of His Excellency Dr. Carlos Saavedra Lamas, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic, to whose wise guidance we are entrusting the conduct of the new conference. In the Chaco Conference your own illustrious Foreign Minister played a distinguished and decisive role which commanded our respect and admiration. We may well be gratified by this picture of improved relations among the countries of America. However, the progress we have made must not be allowed to serve as a pretext for resting upon our oars. It should, on the contrary, stimulate us to new and increased effort. It is not enough that peace prevails from the Arctic to the Antarctic, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It is essential that this state be made permanent, that we provide effectively against the recurrence of the horrors of war and assure

peace

peace to our ~~civilization~~^{survival} and our posterity. There is much to be done. We must consolidate and reenforce all instrumentalities for the maintenance of peace. We must make clear that we will not countenance aggression whether from within or without. We must provide for expanding our cultural and ~~agricultural~~^{intellectual} relationships and take counsel together to place our political, commercial and social relations upon a secure basis of confidence by making clear and clearer the justification for mutual confidence.

There has never been a time when this confident relationship between Brazil and the United States was more precious or more needed. Our aims will best be served by agreements which bring peace, security and friendship to our neighbors. Solidarity among the American states in the cause of peace constitutes no threat to other regions or races. On the contrary, the more firmly peace is established in this Hemisphere, the better it will be for all the world.

We have spent long months of patient work in preparation for this conference and I know from the discussions with the Brazilian representatives that we are entering it fully mindful of our joint responsibility and of the need to work in fullest understanding

with

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with the countries of this Hemisphere which if we are guided by wisdom will banish armed conflict from this part of the world.

HG:LCM:SS

From
OF 200-11

11-27-36

Beth
Rio de Janeiro Speech

~~John~~ F. J. Tamm & F. M.

It is perhaps a commonplace to you who live in Rio de Janeiro to hear the excited praise of those who for the first time enjoy the majestic beauty of the natural setting in which your great city is cradled. Often, glowing descriptions of scenic marvels tend by their slight extravagance to cause disappointment, but the bay and surroundings of Rio de Janeiro were fashioned by such a lavish hand that exaggeration of their loveliness is all but impossible. I now fully understand the justness of Rio's world renown.

Three years ago the twenty-one American Republics convened at Montevideo. That conference adjourned with inter-American relations on a plane of more thorough understanding than had prevailed in at least two generations. The same republics are now about to meet at Buenos Aires in the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace. They are faced by an opportunity to banish forever, so far as it is within their power, the possibility of the recurrence of war in the Western Hemisphere. The occasion is propitious. Our peoples from experience know the horrors of war and its terrible effects. They realize that war and its aftermath are ruinous not only to those engaged in it, but to the innocent and the bystanders. Their chief aim is the maintenance

maintenance of peace against whatever odds may come.

Within our two continents we now have complete tranquility, with no stormy cloud of war darkening the horizon. This is in marked contrast to great sections of the remainder of the world, organized into literal armed camps, using all resources to prepare for the possible warfare which many of their misguided leaders seem not so much to fear as to welcome. Fortunately, militarism and the desire to profit at the expense of neighbors are nowhere to be witnessed in the Americas. We are in truth good neighbors. Our nations all respect the total independence and political integrity of one another and resolutely oppose any thought or suggestion of aggression.

Armed conflicts between states of this hemisphere have been rare. The last deplorable hostilities on this continent, between two of our sister republics, were brought to a close by the Buenos Aires Protocol of June 12, 1935, as the result of the mediatory efforts of the representatives of six American nations, including Brazil and the United States. It is gratifying to be able to pay well deserved tribute to the very outstanding part played by your able and distinguished Foreign Minister, Dr. José Carlos de Macedo Soares, in securing agreement on the terms of that Protocol.

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We cannot, however, rest on our laurels merely because our nations now are all blessed with peace. We must rid this hemisphere of the possibility of war. How can this be accomplished? By consolidating and reinforcing instrumentalities for the maintenance of peace; by evidencing once and for all that aggression on the American continents will not be countenanced; by strengthening our cultural and intellectual ties; by placing our political, commercial and social relationships on a basis of mutual understanding and confidence even more impressive than that which now exists; by making our common interests, purposes and objectives still clearer.

Let it not be thought that we selfishly wish the benefits of peace only for the Americas. Peace is the prime aspiration for which humanity has striven since civilization first appeared on this earth. Unfortunately, under the conditions in which a stricken Old World today finds itself that great objective is often lost from sight. It is threatened by inordinate militarism and feverish preparations for war. The New World can set an example which cannot but serve to promote the cause of universal, not merely continental, peace, in showing with the utmost clarity that we of the Americas will under no circumstances

become

become embroiled in any catastrophe which may be brewing for our brethren overseas; in strengthening our support of the principles of freedom and justice as applied between states as well as within them; and in evolving at the forthcoming Conference measures which will insure to our Governments and peoples the continuance of the blessings of peaceful development with its concomitants of progress and prosperity.

For success to crown our efforts at Buenos Aires close collaboration, patience and an intelligent application to the problems facing us are necessary. Those essentials will all be present. The delegations of our sister republics will be composed of some of their most eminent statesmen. The atmosphere could not be better. My confidence in the results is absolute.

In the march forward, shoulder-to-shoulder and arm-in-arm, I am certain that Brazil will have a most prominent place. Your country's traditional adherence to the cause of peace is well known. No nation has a record superior to that of Brazil in settling its international disputes amicably and in supporting the principles of arbitration, mediation and conciliation. Dr. Maceio Soares' great predecessor, Baron do Rio Branco, made an indelible mark on the pages of history by the settlement with honor, justice and peace of each and every one of the many

problems

problems affecting the far-flung frontiers of your vast country. The memory is still fresh of Brazil's part in the settlement of the Leticia question, as host to the representatives of Colombia and Peru, under the patient, tactful, able and unselfish chairmanship of Dr. Afranio de Mello Franco.

Relations between Brazil and the United States have from the beginning of their independent existences been of the most genuinely friendly character, unmarred by the slightest rift. Cooperation between the two Governments has been extremely close. To give but a recent example, it was with Brazil that the United States last year negotiated one of the first of the reciprocal trade agreements in the program authorized by the Congress of the United States as a first step toward the general lowering of tariff walls and the removal of other barriers to trade, essential for world economic recovery. This trade agreement has, I believe, without question been mutually satisfactory and beneficial.

We will, of course, continue to cooperate fully at the Buenos Aires Conference. But it will not be a solitary cooperation. The representatives of nineteen other American republics, backed strongly by public opinion throughout the hemisphere and wherever else men consider the future with wisdom, will be united with us in working passionately for the maintenance of peace.