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ADDRESS

BY

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The American Society

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It is a great pleasure to meet today with this distinguished group of fellow-citizens to celebrate our Thanksgiving holiday. Because we meet in Rio, it is appropriate to take some inter-American satisfaction in recalling the host of events and projects through the many generations attesting the strong, foundations of the enduring association between Brazil and the United States.

We have had proof within the last few months of how strong and well-laid are those foundations. As recently as August, they have withstood the attacks of the enemies of freedom, who are of course enemies of Brazil as well as of the United States. Not only the open attacks against the visible structure of friendship, but the more dangerous because insidious attempts to undermine the foundations themselves: the disguised propaganda, the indirect lie, the covert act. But Brazilian-United States relationships remain unbroken; in fact, unshaken. The temporary damage to United States government property which was committed at the instigation of the communist propaganda that is our mutual enemy has been repaired. As for the permanent factor of Brazilian-United States friendship, no repairs have been made for none were needed. It was never endangered.

One thing, however, which our people and our Governments had brought home to them--brought home violently--during that tragic week in August, was the fresh realization that we must be eternally on guard against

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international communism. It is always poised and alert to take advantage of every turn in the tide and every shift in the wind. The communists, in other words, are waiting and watching to catch at any advantage which may be offered, by chance as well as by plan. Communism is always ready. We must not, we cannot afford to, be less so.

While communists try to make their ideology attractive by talking in terms of world peace and social reform, we know that their practice has been the contrary. It has been one of enslaving weaker nations and their people and depriving them of their liberty.

As part of their plan of betrayal and deceit, the communists never cease trying to discredit every kind and generous American action. They will continue to minimize the accomplishments of our democratic governments where justice, equality and decency thrive. We prefer to be judged by what we have done, not by what we say we will do.

There is nothing that the United States demands in return for its assistance anywhere except that the people valiantly resist to the last any foreign encroachment on their freedom, dignity and independence.

In this connection I recall President Eisenhower's words recently at the College of William and Mary, at historic Williamsburg, Virginia. "The true way to uproot communism," he pointed out, "is to implant freedom." The knowledge of what freedom means, the President went on to say, "develops an impregnable wall through which communism cannot enter." When another great leader, Elihu Root, addressed the Third Pan American Conference here at Rio de Janeiro almost a half-century ago, on July 31, 1906, he issued a ringing call to the American Republics. "Let us unite,"

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he said, "in creating and maintaining and making effective an all-American public opinion, whose power shall influence international wrong, bring us nearer to the perfection of ordered liberty."

"Ordered Liberty": that phrase seems to me a very satisfying summing-up of what we in the United States and our neighbors here in Brazil have been striving for throughout our history as Republics. It is also what we have cooperated in furthering, both in the regional structure of the Organization of American States and in the global framework of the United Nations.

Brazilian-United States friendship, Brazilian-United States cooperation, of course long antedates both OAS and UN, much though it has helped in bringing both to birth. It is integrated into the very fabric of our national characters.

The Republic established briefly in Pernambuco in 1817 sent its representative to Washington; and five years later, when Brazil's independence became a fact, Brazil's first diplomatic appointment, made at the instance of José Bonifacio, was that of Chargé d'Affaires in the United States.

Of José Bonifacio himself, Patriarch of Independence that he was, we may reaffirm what has been often said: that he was one of the founders of inter-American solidarity. He was among the first to declare that the nations of the New World, brethren by the circumstances of history and geography, must be friends for their mutual welfare. And he pointed out that for one of them to relapse to a colonial status would inevitably

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affect the independence of all the others. Certainly his clear and lofty ideas of government have helped form this hemisphere's environment of freedom.

As you doubtless know, a heroic bronze statue of José Bonifacio, the gift of the Republic of Brazil, soon will be dedicated in Bryant Park, facing the Avenue of the Americas in New York City.

Bonifacio and our own Benjamin Franklin were in many ways alike: in their broad humanity and tolerant humor as well as in balanced judgment and honest, old-fashioned common sense. Men of the middle way, both of them, they placed their wisdom at the service of their peoples in the tensions and excitements of our epochs of Independence; and we and the world are steadier because they did.

The illustrious life of Ruy Barbosa largely bridged the period from Bonifacio's day to ours. One of the most distinguished members of my own profession whom this hemisphere has ever produced, Barbosa was also statesman, man-of-letters, and always, in all capacities, the great advocate of peace for mankind. In the decisive hours of the First World War, Ruy Barbosa uttered a challenging statement that we in the present hour cannot afford to forget: "There is no neutrality between justice and crime," he declared; "just as there is none between victim and victimizer."

Benjamin Franklin and José Bonifacio in the strivings for and adjustments to Independence, Elihu Root and Ruy Barbosa in the mutual enterprise of hemisphere solidarity, were alike in realizing the importance of

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mutual effort toward a mutual goal. In fact, our common history as Republics has been marked by recognition and acceptance of the simple truth that our collective interdependence is one of the surest safeguards of our separate independence.

For generations, the many common causes that our peoples have championed have cemented their unusually felicitous relationship. During the sixty-four years of continuous growth of the Inter-American System, our governments have worked together in amity and confidence at their common purpose of hemisphere unity. All here present are well aware of how much Brazil's continuing contribution has counted in building up and maintaining the cooperation and mutual good faith which make the inter-American system effective. Brazil's dynamic purpose, devoted and resourceful labor, and unquenchable love of freedom, have been forces in upholding the solidarity and therefore the peace of the hemisphere.

Rio Branco, one of its great Ministers, and Joaquim Nabuco, one of its great Ambassadors--both of whose names are written largely into inter-American and international cooperation--were eminent among what in our country we might call the founding fathers of the Pan American Union. Both figuratively and literally, Brazil laid the cornerstone of the House of the Americas: which is the permanent seat of the Secretariat of the Organization of American States.

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The tremendous vitality of this country, its industrial progress and the accelerated strides of its development, make Brazil's steadfast support of solidarity both a promise and a prophecy for the future not only of Brazil but of the continent.

This is my first visit to Brazil. And on every hand I am meeting with the cordiality and cooperation which long ago set its stamp upon Brazilian-United States relationships.

I have learned that in many ways Brazil blazes a trail. The rest of the world has much to learn, for example, from Brazil's treatment of race relations, so troublous a problem today in so many areas. This country's freedom from racial tensions and conflicts, its freedom from the discriminations engendered by prejudice, is an enlightened chapter of man's dealings with man.

The vastness of this country, it is plain to see, is matched by the multiplicity of its activities. Brazil, to every newcomer, in spite of all he has heard and read about its giant size and gigantic possibilities, must always appear as an amazing phenomenon. Just as no artist, not even Brazil's own notable painters, can put all the various beauty of this land on canvas, no chart, however accurate and complete its graphs, can give a real picture of the multitudinous ventures and achievements of its industry. You see in me a visitor, admiring, appreciative -- and overwhelmed.

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Everyone in the United States is, of course, aware that Brazil's great natural resources, dynamic program of development, and democratic faith are constant sources of strength for the free world. It is in keeping with the heroic Brazilian past that it became during World War II a bastion of Freedom, with Brazilian soldiers defending democracy in Italy, and with a series of air bases safeguarding the frontiers of this hemisphere.

Our own aviators, as you know, who visited these bases are among the many witnesses to the hospitality, friendliness, and inter-American solidarity of the Brazilian people.

One of the most impressive features of Brazil for a visitor who comes, as I do, with a desire to observe and understand as much as possible of the national life on a visit all too brief, is the extent and intensity of the program for making wise use of the immense natural resources of the nation. I have seen how dynamically government and private enterprise alike are dedicating their efforts to this end, with national and international agencies cooperating in many projects.

The American, the Hemisphere, approach to the great problem of freedom and security has always been affirmative. Ours is the resolution of a community of free peoples who of their own choice elect to stand together in repulsing every threat to the common security. Compelled not by fear but by faith, we have for one another the mutual respect that comes of

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that mutual knowledge engendered by reason and freedom: the freedom to think, and to speak one's thought. An awareness of human community is the foundation of Hemisphere conscience, the cornerstone of Hemisphere cooperation. The long-established fellowship in ideas and the cooperation for common objectives have made the Americas unique among all regions of the world because they form an area where peace and good will are not only philosophic ideals but the foreign policy practiced by our peoples.

Let such a climate of understanding, trust and observance of human rights spread to all other nations, and we may look forward with confidence to a new code of international ethics which will secure equality, justice and peace for all mankind.