

DEPARTMENT OF STATE TRANSMITTAL SLIP		CLASSIFICATION LIMITED OFFICIAL USE	
TO AmEmbassy Brasilia		DATE 3/15/76 For the Attention of The Ambassador	
FROM ARA/BR:REltz			
TO THE FOREIGN SERVICE		TO THE DEPARTMENT	
☐ For Transmittal to Addressee at the Discretion of Post ☐ Post Information Only ☐ Transmit to Foreign Office ☐ Submit Report ☐ Reply to the Individual		☐ Dept. Information Only ☐ CERP Publications ☐ Enclosure to Previous Airgram ☐ Reply to Department Request	
☐ Transmit to: ☐ Inform:		(U. S. Agency)	
REFERENCE STATE 060013 dated 3/12/76.			
ITEMS/REMARKS <i>Pol Reading file</i> AMBASSADOR'S OFFICE MAR 26 1976 BRASILIA, BRAZIL LG TO SECY PR FILE			
IN REPLY REFER TO FILE NUMBER AND DRAFTING OFFICE			
FILE NO.	SIGNATURE R. Eltz <i>R. Eltz</i>		
CLASSIFICATION LIMITED OFFICIAL USE	OFFICE ARA/BR		

FORM 12-64 DS-4

THE WORLD

TO FRANCISCO AZEREDO
LATIONS OF BRAZIL, AT
IAL TIMES", IN RIO
976.

ed to me by the organizers
in the World" - is, in many
ange to the perception and
icity to interpret that
ich perception, grasp and
ge apprehended in the proc-
deep sense of responsibility,
tue of my ministerial office,
ne question which I am now

ent of the theme, I must
tion which any country has
historical and cultural
pect that there be a

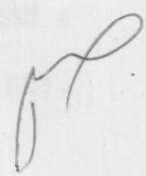
cal self-appraisals by any

such country throughout succeeding generations. Secondly, it is difficult to isolate the present from the future, restricting the country's view of itself to the static configuration of international relations at some particular moment. In trying, therefore, to answer the question proposed to me, I am conditioned on one hand by Brazil's particular situation today, in today's world, and on the other by the teleological view which President Ernesto Geisel's Government has of Brazil.

DECLASSIFIED
Authority *NND 7201*

BRAZIL'S VIEW OF ITS PLACE IN THE WORLD

SPEECH DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR ANTONIO FRANCISCO AZEREDO DA SILVEIRA, MINISTER OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF BRAZIL, AT THE SEMINAR SPONSORED BY THE "FINANCIAL TIMES", IN RIO DE JANEIRO, ON MARCH 9, 1976.



The theme which has been proposed to me by the organizers of this Seminar - "Brazil's view of its place in the World" - is, in many aspects, a towering challenge. It is a challenge to the perception and grasp of the Brazilian phenomenon, to the capacity to interpret that phenomenon and to the ability to synthesize such perception, grasp and interpretation without deforming the real image apprehended in the process. I approach it with humility and with a deep sense of responsibility, for, after all, both by profession and by virtue of my ministerial office, it is my task to pose continually to myself the question which I am now invited to answer.

Before attempting any development of the theme, I must make two qualifications. Firstly, the perception which any country has of its position in the world is, in itself, a historical and cultural phenomenon. It is not fair, therefore, to expect that there be a coherence in time between the various historical self-appraisals by any such country throughout succeeding generations. Secondly, it is difficult to isolate the present from the future, restricting the country's view of itself to the static configuration of international relations at some particular moment. In trying, therefore, to answer the question proposed to me, I am conditioned on one hand by Brazil's particular situation today, in today's world, and on the other by the teleological view which President Ernesto Geisel's Government has of Brazil.

On an objective plane, there are obvious characteristics fully quantifiable that place Brazil in relation to other countries. We have one of the largest geographical expanses among the nations of the World, a territory richly endowed with varied natural resources, and a very large population. Here are some ingredients of prime importance, although not sufficient, for a country's projection on an universal scale. Still on the objective plane, but already within the realm of social reality, Brazil has reached such a level of development in its economy that it is now possible for it to maintain its growth at a rhythm compatible with the national aspirations, not only in absolute terms but also in relative terms to other nations. To say that Brazil is the largest country, territorially speaking, on our sub-continent, or the one with the largest total volume of foreign trade in the area, or to make any other statement of like nature, would not imply a political judgment of value.

It is on the psychological plane that comparisons of physical or social dimensions acquire emotional contents presented as being of an ethical or political nature. Physical largeness is associated with the idea of power, and the latter, with the ambition of hegemony. Such associations frequently reveal the fears of one party rather than the ambitions of the other, and in any event, they are founded on conceptions of History that appear to be in process of revocation by the conditions which govern international relations today, at least those on the American continent.

Having fought against political colonialism since very early in its History, with a record of unceasing concern over economic independence, Brazil has transformed in principles of universal action

the rules of behavior which it always expected to see observed by other countries in relation to itself. Coherently, it has practiced and will always practice these principles in regard to its neighbors and to all countries with which it maintains contacts in the international scene.

Perhaps the peculiarities of our History may have helped to give us this peaceful and pacifistic view of our international role. Contrary to other nations possessing large territorial expanses, Brazil has not known what would have been major modifications in its frontiers, by whatever means, and it has a unique History of harmonious relations with its neighbors. This is all the more noteworthy as, with ten neighbors, Brazil is, after the People's Republic of China with thirteen and the Soviet Union with twelve, the country with the greatest number of bordering States.

Neither has Brazil known internal separatisms, or cysts of regionalism having racial, political, linguistic or religious foundations. The extraordinary sense of national identity, which permeates the entire population of the country, permits, therefore, a more relaxed attitude in relation to international intercourse. We fear nothing from our neighbors because we know that they have nothing to fear from us. Here lies the root of our perennial understanding - at least on our part totally sincere - and the reason why extemporaneous fears that Brazil will transform itself, by force of its relative economic greatness, into a country with pretensions to status or ambitions of hegemony, have failed to thrive.

A few days ago, during the visit of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to Brasilia, I had the opportunity to mention the fact that Brazil considers itself a member of a varied number of communities of nations.

We feel we are part of the community of nations constituting the Western World, and we share with it the belief in certain basic human values as well as the concern with the respect due them. We believe, however, that this community is an open and dynamic community. A community not restricted to a group of nations which might have erected themselves as the only authentic interpreters of what are the values of humanistic culture that characterize the Western World.

We feel that we are part of the community of developing nations, with which we share our most genuine aspirations. This is another objective reality that must not be obstructed by the rhetoric clatter of those who frighten themselves hastily with false alarms. Like all the other developing countries, we desire to attain, as swiftly as possible, increasing levels of economic development that will reduce and eventually eliminate the distance which separates us from the more developed countries. This is an aspiration that is common to all developing countries and is not peculiar to Brazil alone. We believe, on the other hand, that the gamut of differentiations between the developing countries is such that any attempt to harden categories inevitably conduces to errors of political evaluation. We repudiate, above all, the tendency to categorize all the developing countries within a uniform bloc of contestation of the legitimate interests of other communities of nations, as we repudiate the oppositions which they would build among the developing countries, and between the latter and the countries of the Western World. We believe that the great majority of the developing countries feel themselves, like us, part of the Western World, whose humanistic values they share and wish to promote responsibly.

We feel that we are, still further, part of the Inter - American System, which we helped to build and to whose defense we have indefatigably contributed. No one can accuse us of having failed in vigilance for the defense of the continent, whether with the blood of Brazilians shed in the fight against expansionist ideologies of the right, whether by impeding inroads within our bounds of expansionist ideologies of the left. Recently still, when procedures leading to the reform of the Inter-American Treaty of Mutual Assistance were set in motion no country on the continent, more than Brazil, sounded the alert to the perils of a relaxation of the vigilance against the ever latent threats to the security of the continent, springing from abroad and from within the continent itself. We had then as still have, the clear awareness that no system can fulfill the national reality of the countries that compose it, - not even indeed the reality of the group itself. For this reason, we could hardly accept that the Inter-American System should behave as if it were immune to the influences of other systems and of realities transcending the continental system.

We feel that we are part of the community of Latin American countries and in particular of the community of South American countries, that either are our neighbors or so close to us that we sense we have with them ties as if they were so. This sentiment of belonging to a Latin American community and to a South American community is deeply rooted in us and leads us to act instinctively, in all international fora, in constant and prioritary coordination with the other countries forming those communities. This led us, further, to support wholeheartedly the creation of the Latin American Economic System - SELA - and to cooperate actively towards its perfection. This participation, however, does not

fulfill our national personality nor that of any other Latin American or South American country. Like Brazil, none of them acts in the international scene exclusively as a member of the Latin American community. Other Latin American nations, as expressive as Brazil and possessing considerable capacity to act on the international plane, have acted on certain occasions, and in defense of legitimate national interests, in accordance with interests which are not representative of Latin America. This is natural and valid for all within any community of free nations.

We could continue to enumerate communities to which we belong, none of which fulfills the personality of the country. This exercise is, however, unnecessary, since what we wanted to prove seems already demonstrated, in other words, that the communities serve particular purposes, and that on the day it were considered that community membership suppresses the individual, the principle of sovereignty would have been disposed of, which is something no Latin American country can or should accept.

Brazil's view of the international scene leads us, then, to consider that countries are set in a continuum of situations of diverse nature, in opposition to the concept that reality is discreet. Nor, historically, can it be said that there is, in any part of the world, an exact correspondence between political evolution, the stage of economic development, the degree of cultural maturity and social equilibrium. The communities that gather countries around common objectives cannot presuppose that individual differences between them, in each one of these sectors, be eliminated by the simple fact of the association. Brazil has been insistently calling for this objectivity in international relations, It practices it in relation to other countries, and expects

it to be practiced toward itself, hence the multidimensional character which it imparts to its foreign policy.

Within the past two years, Brazilian foreign policy has been reflecting this sharp awareness of the irreducibility of the fact to aprioristic intellectual schemes. We perceive more and more the inconsistency of rigid categorizations and how they breed contestation and render dialogue and understanding difficult. At the same time, while recognizing this historical validity of the thesis that national interests are projected in concentric geographic circles, we tend ever more to realize that the globalization of international relations has rendered less deterministic the limitative factor of the regional condition. To use a geometric simile, I would prefer to say at this time that the interests of Brazilian foreign policy are projected, today, in vectors in the most varied directions, each one of them adjusted carefully to the bilateral realities of power and of reciprocal interests with individual countries or to community realities of common interests with certain groups of countries.

Practically, there is no area, community or country towards which we have not sought to reevaluate our relations, with a view to activating them in the direction of broadening cooperation for the achievement of national objectives, which is always possible on the plane of coincidences.

In Latin America, this is a predominant preoccupation. We believe in a fundamental solidarity with our neighbors. With them we have sought to develop, to the fullest, programs of mutual interest. We wish for each one of them the same destiny of prosperity which we desire for Brazil. We believe that, for all of us, this destiny will be all the more

attainable as we learn to direct our efforts towards cooperation and coordination. We shall continue to seek and to give the fraternal understanding that has permitted us to act jointly for the benefit of our peoples, without sterile complexes that can only serve those that want to see us divided.

With Africa, we are striving to institute the direct dialogue and the operative solidarity which has been always part of our destiny by reason of deep historical, ethnic and cultural affinities between our peoples. The distortion that isolated us from the African people, that is the source of a considerable part of our population, was an unpardonable legacy of colonialism. As it is its sad consequence that the newly liberated countries should have become States at the cost of so much suffering. The practice of self-determination, the right to be respected in sovereignty, seem to be conquests as hard-won as independence itself. To the Portuguese-speaking African peoples we have extended our understanding and solidarity, as we are disposed to extend our cooperation and uninterested assistance so that they may rapidly enjoy, with full autonomy, their rights as States.

We have given and will continue to give attentive consideration to our relationships with the Arab countries. We believe that broad opportunities can be detected in the way of economic and technological cooperation with those countries. On the political level, it has been our preoccupation that justice prevail in the conflicts involving those countries and peoples so that peace may be achieved and preserved.

With the developed countries, we have sought to institute a constructive dialogue, addressed to the search for concrete

solutions to the problems existing in our relations and to the identification of areas of cooperation which, while serving our common interests, will contribute towards the objective of bringing our levels of development closer. While I have tried to avoid citing names of countries until now, I cannot omit mentioning the importance of the agreement between Brazil and the Federal Republic of Germany for cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, which constituted the first example of massive transfer of sophisticated technology from a developed to a developing country. I cannot omit mentioning also, the signature of the Memorandum of Understanding with the United Kingdom, which introduced a mechanism of consultations between the two governments without parallel in the relations between developed and developing countries. Thanks to the climate of understanding created by the Memorandum, there are already under study innumerable projects of cooperation, which are imparting enormous vitality to the economic relations between the two countries. This Seminar itself is being conducted in the same spirit that presided over the making of the Memorandum. The visit which President Ernesto Geisel is to make to the United Kingdom at the invitation of Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II, - the first visit by a Brazilian Head of State to England, is an expressive confirmation of this rapprochement between our two countries. I wish, also, to mention, the creation of the "Grande Commission" with France, a type of cooperation arrangement which France maintains only with a very small number of countries. Both President Giscard d'Estaing and President Geisel are convinced of the growing importance of the cooperation between the two countries, and the invitation that France's Head of State has extended to the Brazilian Chief Executive to visit Paris in the coming month of April, also sprang from the same spirit. The Memorandum of Understanding with the United States of America signed during the recent

visit by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to Brasilia, is another important link in the chain of special relationships which Brazil is building up with other great countries of the Western World. The Memorandum is so unprecedented in the relations of the United States with developing countries as were unprecedented the forms of cooperation or understanding concluded with the Federal Republic of Germany, or with the United Kingdom, or with France or Italy. Its greatest repercussion may have resulted, perhaps, from misunderstandings concerning its scope. There has been an excessive amount of speculation around it, while the documents signed with the European countries received a lesser degree of attention. All serve, however, the same purpose, which is that of broadening the bilateral cooperation with the countries of the Western World, in an imaginative and dynamic form. We are seeking to activate our contacts with other developed countries of Europe and Asia, always with the same objective of dynamically rendering explicit the areas of coincidence and convergence of interests. In this context, a great effort is being made towards broadening cooperation with Japan.

With the centrally planned economy countries of Europe we have, equally, sought to broaden our economic relations, with results that seem promising. In this respect, we believe that the increase in trade with those countries not only serves the national interests of expansion and diversification of commercial relations but is also in line with global interests of international understanding, which are conducive to peace.

Gentlemen,

I believe I have answered the question that is implicit in the theme proposed to me. Brazil views itself, in the concert of

nations, as a country in flux, with a destiny of great expression by virtue of natural conditioning factors and basically oriented towards the fulfilment of national values, centered upon internal economic and social development. Brazil considers itself part of the Western World, whose dominating characteristic it deems to be the preeminence which is given in it to humanistic values. It views itself as a developing country and, as such, desirous of a more equitable international economic order. Brazil is a country with a peaceful vocation, immune to ambitions of expansionism or hegemony. It believes in cooperation and favors dialogue. Brazil feels itself, finally, bound by intimate ties with its neighbors on the continent and overseas, a sentiment to which President Ernesto Geisel gave particular emphasis since the very first moment of his government.

This, Gentlemen, is Brazil's view of its position in the World.

* * *