

We need them both, in full effectiveness, for as many years ahead as any of us can see.

The Atlantic peoples have a magnificent history, but they have known too much war. It is the splendor of this great alliance that, in keeping peace with its opponents, it has kept

the road clear for a worldwide upward march toward the good life for free people. Proven in danger, strengthened in freedom, and resolute in purpose, we will go on, with God's help, to serve not only our own people but to serve the bright future of all mankind.

### Secretary Rusk's News Conference of April 3

Press release 143 dated April 3

*Secretary Rusk:* This—what is for me an early morning press conference—was not a conspiracy against those of you who attended the White House photographers' dinner last night, but I was asked to vary as between morning and afternoon for the benefit of the afternoon papers and some of our European friends. So I will have some in the morning and some in the afternoon.

I am ready for your questions.

#### Change of Government in Brazil

*Q. Mr. Secretary, do you see any improvement in relations and any expansion of United States aid to Brazil as a result of the change in government there?*

A. Well, I think that we are ready, as we have been before, to work very closely with Brazil to enable them to get on with their great problems of economic and social development. We, as a matter of fact, thought we had an agreement about a year and a half—2 years—ago by which we under the Alliance for Progress program would provide very important assistance for Brazil in relation to steps which we hoped that they would be taking in their own behalf. Unfortunately that plan did not work out because the agreements we had worked out with Finance Minister [San Tiago] Dantes did not prove acceptable in Brazil. They did not proceed with them.

But, of course, we are deeply interested in the economic vitality of that great country. It is a

great sister Republic in this hemisphere, as large as the United States, with 75 or 80 million people, and we should be in closest touch with them about how we might be able to assist them in their necessities in this situation.

*Q. Mr. Secretary, would you anticipate that the establishment of a new government or the succession of a new leader would improve Brazil's cooperation with the other nations of the hemisphere on problems such as Castro Cuba?*

A. Well, I am sure you understand my reticence in commenting in detail about what has happened internally in Brazil—again, that great sister Republic. We have had the impression that in the past several weeks considerable concern developed within the Congress and among the Governors of the principal States, in the Armed Forces, and among large segments of the people, that the basic constitutional structure of Brazil was under threat and that Congress, the Governors, the Armed Forces, moved to insure the continuity of constitutional government in that country.

Now, part of the concern is expressed by leading Brazilians, and a concern, which we shared, was that extremist elements were having more and more influence in the administration of President [João] Goulart. One does not have to say that independently. One can quote the concern about that expressed by many moderate and forward-looking Brazilians.

I would suppose that the new administration would, I think, mark time for the moment until the election of a new President by the Congress

within this 30-day period provided under their constitution. But I would also suppose that the deep commitment of all those who have been working on this problem in Brazil to constitutional government and to representative democracy would mean that Brazil would take a leading part in the hemisphere and in the OAS on this issue of totalitarian regimes and particularly this threat from the extreme left.

*Q. Mr. Secretary, since Brazil is so large a country and so important a country in the Latin American scene, do you feel that the method of this change of government, since it was forced largely by the military, could conceivably have an adverse effect on the democratic movements in the hemisphere?*

*A. I would not think so. I think that in the first place it has been demonstrated over the last several years that the Armed Forces of Brazil basically are committed to constitutional government in that country and that this action did not occur until there were many signs that President Goulart seemed to be moving to change the constitutional arrangements and to move toward some sort of authoritarian regime.*

*This is a matter of controversy in Brazil and outside, but this was the fear that the basic, the moderate, democratic elements in that country had in their mind. I think this is also a matter on which millions of the people have testified in the streets in the last day or two in their demonstrations in support of what has been done there.*

*But I want to emphasize that what has happened has not resolved all of the problems by any means. Brazil has been in the process of dynamic development for as long as I can remember—since childhood—a country with great resources, a country which has been moving with great vitality in its economic development. But in that process there are problems. There have been problems of inflation, problems of investment, problems of external debt, some of the problems that we ourselves have known at a certain point of our history when we were in that process of almost dramatic development in respect to national resources.*

*So that I would not suppose that what has happened in Brazil would suggest to people in other parts of Latin America that the tradi-*

### **President Sends Good Wishes to New President of Brazil**

*Following is the text of a message of April 2 from President Johnson to Ranieri Mazzilli, President of the United States of Brazil.*

White House press release dated April 2

Please accept my warmest good wishes on your installation as President of the United States of Brazil. The American people have watched with anxiety the political and economic difficulties through which your great nation has been passing, and have admired the resolute will of the Brazilian community to resolve these difficulties within a framework of constitutional democracy and without civil strife.

The relations of friendship and cooperation between our two governments and peoples are a great historical legacy for us both and a precious asset in the interests of peace and prosperity and liberty in this hemisphere and in the whole world. I look forward to the continued strengthening of those relations and to our intensified cooperation in the interests of economic progress and social justice for all and of hemispheric and world peace.

tional kind of *golpe* is any solution, because this is not that kind of situation in Brazil. This is a matter of where a much broader spectrum of the political, economic, social life of the country expressed itself in support of constitutional government.

### **U.S. Commitment to Constitutional Process**

*Q. Mr. Secretary, while you are on that theme, I don't think you have ever addressed yourself to the controversy that flared around Washington a few weeks ago about the alleged remarks of Mr. Mann [Assistant Secretary of State Thomas C. Mann] on this subject. Could you from your point of view suggest whether there has been even a subtle change of attitude here, not connected necessarily with the change of Presidents but whether we felt that Peru, Dominican Republic, and so on, should not be a rule of thumb any more?*

*A. Well, that controversy, if there was one, flared outside the Department of State and not inside. We have committed ourselves in this hemisphere to the strong and vigorous support of democratic and constitutional institutions.*



As a matter of fact, the inner purpose of the Alliance for Progress was to make it possible for the necessary changes to occur within the structure of democratic and constitutional process, and we have affirmed very strongly with other countries of this hemisphere in places like Punta del Este a little more than 2 years ago<sup>1</sup> that commitment of the hemisphere to democratic and constitutional process.

Now, if unhappily in a particular situation, in a particular country, there is a disturbance—there might be a military takeover—this does not present us with a situation which we can simply walk away from because we and other members of this hemisphere necessarily have an interest in what happens in that situation. Therefore we have to continue to live with it, work with it, try to assist a particular country in coming back to constitutional process. This happened in Peru; it has happened in other countries. So that we stop short of saying that we simply lost interest in a country the moment it might depart from the constitutional path because our interest is in assisting that country in getting back to the constitutional path, finding its way back to the commitments of the hemisphere.

So I don't know of any difference in the Department of State on this matter. There was, I think, a fragmentary report out of context of the particular discussion which alleged some speculation on this matter, but I think this was entirely beside the point and missed the main issues involved.

*Q. Mr. Secretary, on that point, how would you describe the policy of this Government on the matter of recognition? This has been—the United States has had different attitudes on this over the years. Do we recognize governments simply because they control the country, or do we take some other standard?*

A. Well, I don't believe that there is a single rule, a single formula, by which you can answer this question in relation to some 114 countries with which we have relations. In many situations we consult others who are directly and immediately concerned with the problem, to

see whether we ought to move with them in concert with regard to a particular situation. When it is in Africa, it is with African countries; when it is in Latin America, it is with Latin American countries.

I would think that recognition is basically a political act which normally, in the usual circumstance, applies where a government is in control of the country and accepts its international responsibilities, but this will vary from time to time because as a political act it needs to be taken alongside of the other interests of the United States in a particular situation, including our interest in moving jointly with others whenever possible in a concert of policy.

Now, in the case of Brazil, of course, this matter does not arise because the succession there occurred as foreseen by the constitution and we would assume that recognition is not involved in that particular issue or point.

*Q. Well, in fact, you are saying we still do use some of Woodrow Wilson's touchstone on this, that there is something beyond the actual control of the country by the government of that country?*

A. I think so, I think so.

*Q. Mr. Secretary, what is going to happen now to those Brazilian external debt negotiations that I believe began a couple of months ago?*

A. Well, I think that those conversations will of course be resumed, perhaps in a new framework. There are some important problems for the Government of Brazil to deal with, such as external debt, problems of inflation, problems of investments, but we would hope that the new government would turn its attention to these matters promptly and that we should go ahead in an effort to deal with these critical problems that any government of Brazil will have before it in the next several months.

#### Castro and Cuba

*Q. Mr. Secretary, the debate that Senator [J. W.] Fulbright set off in foreign policy seems to be continuing and the latest yesterday was a speech by Senator [Thomas J.] Dodd in which he predicted that eventually there would be a revolution in Cuba which would sweep out Cas-*

<sup>1</sup> For background, see BULLETIN of Feb. 19, 1962, p. 270.