

HELLO AMERICANS: ORSON WELLES, BRAZIL AND THE GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY

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Abstract: The present work is the result of some research on one of the many facets of Orson Welles, famous Hollywood director and actor, whose career is mostly known by his works related to the seventh art. Welles produced and presented various radio programs after several visits to almost all Latin American countries in the early 1940's representing the so-called Good Neighbor Policy. The objective here is to present the analysis of two of his radio programs: one broadcast from Rio de Janeiro, on April 18, 1942, in the occasion of President Getúlio Vargas's birthday celebration, and another, in November of the same year, in the United States, as the pilot one for the *Hello Americans* series. Besides that, the cartoon *Saludos Amigos* by Walt Disney Enterprises, produced in 1943, will be also analyzed as a follow-up to Welles' dismissal from the project. Here, the interpretation of *Saludos Amigos* –after Welles' trips and documentations – is lead to the conclusion that some of his material, probably belonging to the United States government, might have been appropriated by Disney's production in order to maintain the ideological purposes of the Good Neighbor Policy.

Key-words: Orson Welles. Brazil. Good Neighbor Policy.

Resumo: O presente artigo resulta de pesquisa realizada acerca de uma das muitas facetas de Orson Welles, famoso ator e diretor de Hollywood, cuja carreira é mais conhecida por seus trabalhos relacionados à sétima arte. Welles produziu e apresentou vários programas de rádio após diversas visitas a quase todos os países da América Latina no início dos anos 1940, em nome da tal “Política da Boa Vizinhança”. O objetivo é apresentar a análise de dois de seus programas de rádio: um difundido a partir do Rio de Janeiro, no dia 18 de Abril de 1942, por ocasião da celebração do aniversário do Presidente Getúlio Vargas, e outro, em novembro do mesmo ano, dos Estados Unidos, como um programa piloto de sua série de rádio, *Hello Americans*. Além disso, o desenho animado *Saludos Amigos*, da Disney, produzido em 1943, será também analisado, uma vez que foi concluído após a saída de Welles do projeto. Considera-se que o filme da Disney apropriou-se do material resultante das viagens e documentações de Welles, pertencentes ao Governo dos EUA, provavelmente visando à manutenção dos propósitos ideológicos da Política da Boa Vizinhança.

Palavras-chave: Orson Welles. Brasil. Política da Boa Vizinhança.

Introduction

The present work is the result of some research on one of the many facets of Orson Welles, famous Hollywood director and actor, whose career is mostly known by his works related to the seventh art. Welles produced and presented various radio programs after several visits to almost all Latin American countries in the early 1940's, representing the so-called Good Neighbor Policy.

The objective here is to present the analysis of two of his radio programs: one broadcast from Rio de Janeiro, on April 18, 1942, in the occasion of President Getúlio Vargas's birthday celebration, – and another, in November of the same year, in the United States, as the pilot one for the *Hello Americans* series. Besides that, the cartoon *Saludos*

Amigos by Walt Disney Enterprises, produced in 1943, will be also analyzed as a follow-up to Welles' dismissal from the project. Here, the interpretation of *Saludos Amigos* – after Welles' trips and documentations – is lead to the conclusion that some of his material, probably belonging to the United States government, might have been appropriated by Disney's production in order to maintain the ideological purposes of the Good Neighbor Policy.

Detailed descriptions of the two programs and of the cartoon will be presented to encourage the reader to follow our thoughts and have a closer perception of the analysis that we propose. Sit back and enjoy the show!

1. Strategies of good neighbors – a flirtatious behavior

In the field of world policy, I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor – the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others – the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors. (UNITED STATES, 1945).

By this inaugural address, on March 4, 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's ideas of foreign relations would remark his presence and image throughout Latin America. It was an ambitious project, considering the negative repercussions of previous interventionist policies by the United States in Latin America and the bitter feelings it had produced. The North American War Department in 1945 had produced the *GI Roundtable* – a series of pamphlets to “provide material which information-education officers may use in conducting group discussions or forums as part of an off-duty education program” (WELLES, 1942a). The pamphlets presented general information about the differences within the twenty Latin American countries at the time and a brief historical analysis of the image of the United States as well. Although the promising policy of good neighborhood had produced its fruits, many questions and doubts of its efficacy were aroused. *Yankeephobia* (WELLES, 1942b) was the term used to name the consequences of the Spanish-American War – which was viewed also by the War Department as been reinforced by some Europeans.

As Edward O. Guerrant declares in *Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy*,

Yet twelve years later, at the time of Roosevelt's death, it would have been difficult to find anyone in the Western Hemisphere who had not heard of the Good Neighbor Policy; and its chief architect, President Roosevelt, was more highly esteemed throughout Latin America than any foreigner who had ever lived. (GUERRANT, 1950).

The Good Neighbor Policy became the result of a non-interventionist principle that lasted from 1933 to 1945. According to Guerrant, back in 1928, at the Havana Conference, the

American delegate Charles Evans Hughes “declared that under international law the United States had the right to intervene for the ‘purpose of protecting the lives and property of its nationals.’” (1950). This declaration created a very uncomfortable situation among his country and the ones of Latin America. Hughes exemplified the North American imperialism over dozens of countries, which could not be unperceived, and that Roosevelt invested on rescuing a good image of the United States among the Latin American countries.

The picture, when it comes to Brazil, was as follows: Getúlio Vargas had installed a dictatorship known as *Estado Novo* from 1937 to 1945. His foreign minister Oswaldo Aranha traveled to Washington D.C. in February of 1939 in order to revitalize the alliance Brazil–United States, which had been characterized somewhat unofficial. Vargas’ plans of having Brazil with the first line of the developed nations would call for some external aid. Fredrick B. Pike, in *FDR’s Good Neighbor Policy – Sixty Years of Generally Gentle Chaos*, mentions some major aspects that would be ensure the American government to attend such a cry for help:

The eastern hump of Brazil, after all, was closer to Europe than any other part of the American hemisphere; conceivably, it might lure Europe’s expansionist Nazis and fascists. Moreover, large concentrations of Germans and Italians especially in the south raised Washington’s fears of fifth column activity within Brazil. (PIKE, 1995, p. 239).

Additional concern would result from Getúlio Vargas’s waving the possibility to establish bilateral relations with Germany in order to have a market for Brazilian coffee; hence, altogether, the idea of good relations between Brazil and the United States seemed more than just convenient, it was strategic for both sides.

Ricardo Salvatore in *Representational Machines of Empire* notes the image about South America for the United States:

as a land caught in a perpetual state of childhood, unable to reach the political maturity required to sustain stable and democratic governments. Another motif related to the region’s atypical racial mixture presented as a major difference vis-à-vis North America. The third was a concern with the economic ‘backwardness’ and lack of ‘civilization of the region, predicated on the two other arguments (political instability and miscegenation) (SALVATORE, 1998, p. 83).

Although such an image would last until early twentieth century, President Roosevelt visits Argentina in 1913 and, later, Brazil, in order to consolidate those two countries as markets for the American goods and entering the circuits of the North. As a new market, Latin America would need some help spreading to the world a more positive representation. Media could be

the necessary hand and the money it would bring could make the difference. The Americas seemed to be ready and willing to accomplish it.

2. Welles behind the microphone 1: “we’re nothing if not Pan-American”

Part I – President Getúlio Vargas’ Birthday Broadcast

This radio program was broadcast on Saturday, April 18, 1942, from 11:30 –12:00 – from *Casino da Urca*, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (WELLES, 1942a). Along with his own comments and perceptions, Orson Welles promotes Brazil and celebrates the president’s birthday with both North and South America. At that time, Rio de Janeiro was still the capital of the country and carried the importance and the glamour that made the city famous in the world.

The main impression that the program gives is that one of a contrast. The idea of one American Continent combined the political and the ideological purposes in one place and at one time. Although it was the president’s birthday celebration, it was supposedly just like the one of whoever had the same date to celebrate; although it was in Rio, all those listening to the program could be transported to the scene magically through the radio waves and enjoy it – both those in Brazil and in the United States; although one can assume that the ones to be present to the celebration would have to get an invitation, Welles mentions that everybody was there because they wanted; the informality suggested by the narration sets a tone of a real party; Welles did not have a special spot to broadcast; guests from all over the world were present – from politicians to South America’s top stars, and so on.

The content of the half an hour broadcast was more than just singing *Parabéns pra você* – the Brazilian version of *Happy birthday to you* – which, by the way, wasn’t sung during that program; but included a brief speech by the United States Ambassador to Brazil, Jefferson Caffery, a list of some of the accomplishments that Vargas’ platform defended, greetings by Orson Welles himself, and a piece of the script to be used again later on, in the first *Hello Americans* later on, in November, and that would première the series.

Welles approaches the audience to build the image of the Brazilian president as a simple man by bringing the celebration of his birthday at the same time unique and special to those who were present, but also for those who, in the same day, probably would not have the privilege to have such a big celebration: “This is a birthday party – one of many being celebrated tonight in this country” (WELLES, 1942a).

From the beginning of the show-broadcast Welles would attempt to tie together the cultures of the American nations: “This is a special broadcast – commemorating a special

occasion. It's for the benefit for the Brazilian Red Cross – just as our parties back home on January 30th are for the benefit of the Warm Springs Foundation.” (WELLES, 1942a)

Culture was the main aspect enhanced by Welles' artistic and critical view of South America. The popularity of the Brazilian president in the United States was reinforced as Welles puts it while still opening the program of that night. In reference to the celebration like the one made in the United States for the benefit of the Warm Springs Foundation, Welles completes: “And as ours are in honor of the President of the United States of America, tonight's birthday parties are in honor of the President of Brazil, Mr. Roosevelt's great and good friend, Dr. Getulio Vargas” (WELLES, 1942a).

The idea of friendship and collaboration between the nations was also made geographically, as Welles puts it: “This radio show is for all his friends – from Maine to Manaus, from Saõ (sic) Paulo to Chicago, from San Salvador to San Francisco”. Interestingly São Paulo and Chicago are linked, probably because of the importance as centers in both countries; curiously São Salvador was kept “*San*”, differently from São Paulo. Was it with the purpose of bringing even closer the names *San* Francisco and *San* Salvador? A big celebration:

transmitted over most of the stations in Brazil and in North America over the Blue Network of the National Broadcasting Company, so that as many of those friends as possible can come to the same party and join us here in Rio in extending to Brazil's president hearties congratulations of all the Americas. (WELLES, 1942a).

Welles points out the presence of people from different nations at the party: “I can see people from most of our twenty-two republics from where I'm standing right now, and a good complement of representatives from the United Nation”. As a celebration, it was not only popular, but also had an aura of informality – just like the populist Getúlio. As Pike had mentioned, the unofficial character of relations between the two countries in the past had called for some move. Oswaldo Aranha's visit to Washington D.C. had sealed it with an official stamp back in 1939.

Nothing official, mind you. Everybody's here because they wanted to come. This is a real party. I'm not speaking from a platform covered with bunting and government officials. This microphone is in the Grill Room of the Urca Casino, which is one of the last truly gay places in the world. (WELLES, 1942a).

Guests are entertained by three orchestras, and famous names are mentioned: Carlos Machado and Ray Ventura. Carlos Machado was one of the most well-known bandleader in Rio and in Brazil. Ray Ventura is presented: “finally, as befits the international color of these festivities,

here's the Number One jazz band of the continent of Europe and its leader Ray Ventura" (WELLES, 1942a).

Ray Ventura introduces himself greeting the guests, and conducts a song by Sá Roras and Vicente Paiva: "Tudo é Brazil". Welles translates the title and comments: "All Is Brazil". "By the time the 'Hit Parade' and the juke boxes catch up with this suave and quotable melody, English words will have been found for the lovely Portuguese lyrics". Then some of the verses are translated:

All is Brazil.
Where the sky is brighter...
O my Brazil!
Land which God created,
You are the first in the world. (WELLES, 1942a).

Welles' comment is very curious and it is as follows: "I could think of no nicer popular Brazilian music to open this program. It's a safe guess that President Vargas likes 'Tudo é Brazil' as much as we do." Welles probably was mentioning both the aspect of Vargas being a Brazilian and the fact that the lyrics present the faints view of the nation as well.

An ufanist perception is the one that brings an object, a person, or whatever aspect of a culture to its highest level of appreciation. Expressions and adverbs in a superlative degree of superiority are spoken. As the program goes on, Welles mentions various aspects of the country in order to inform his audience about Brazil:

Dr. Getulio Vargas is the president of the larges republic in the Western Hemisphere. You could put the entire U.S.A. within the borders of Brazil and still have room for the several more American republics: Uruguay and Paraguay, let's say – and Haiti and Chile and Costa Rica. (WELLES, 1942a).

And he goes on:

And Brazil is just as beautiful as it's big, and it's a country remarkable for many things besides its geography. We say of Brazil – Brazil says of itself – that it's the land of promise. Of course that is tremendously true. But today Brazil is rich in achievement. The word of promise might seem to deny this or to forget it. (WELLES, 1942a).

As a follow-up, Welles mentions some of the accomplishments achieved by Vargas' government; that idea also ties well Vargas regime's ideology – the modernization of the country at all costs. The aspects mentioned are included in the manuscripts as an "insert", typed separately in a sheet, and it is as follows:

The Unification of Brazil
The Council of help for the Indians.
The National Department of Child Welfare.
Housing Projects.

The re-population of the Amazon.
The March to the West.
A new naval school for a new navy.
The eager development of aviation.
Ciderurzia (sic) – a program for Brazilian Industry.
Baixada Fluminense – the great, and greatly successful, project for the reclamation of swampland. (WELLES, 1942a).

The list looks like a platform for the elections and as it is confirmed later by Welles, it really is: “On this occasion, it’s our pleasure to remember that these promises were made and are being kept by President Vargas”. It is important to mention that at least three out of the ten items mentioned address directly the war necessities back in 1942: “A new naval school for a new navy”, “The eager development of aviation” – which represented the first and active participation of Brazil in a war, after the virtual presence in the World War I; and as it is in the manuscript “Ciderurzia”, but just the general explanation of it as “A program for Brazilian Industry”. Maybe language became an obstacle for the pronunciation of such a word; as well the spelling of it seems to have been.

In the sequence, Welles plays with the words *Brazil* and *music* to better characterize the importance of it within the Brazilian culture. “If you scramble the two words ‘music’ and ‘Brazil’ together and then unscramble them again, you end up with the word ‘samba’” (WELLES, 1942a). Welles uses also a great amount of humor, which, in some ways, goes both with his character and the ones of the “cariocas” as he, himself, will explain in the first *Hello Americans*: “Also if you scramble a moderate number of Brazilians together and then unscramble them you find that they’ve been dancing the Samba” (WELLES, 1942a).

While having the song *Dolores* as the background of his comments of the song itself, Welles explains that it was adapted to a samba rhythm and it is performed by Carlos Machado’s orchestra and has Emilinha Borba singing. Besides, it is mentioned by Welles that “We have offered it to you in its North American condition to help North Americans appreciate the difference” (WELLES, 1942a). Once again, there is the bridge between the US culture and the Brazilian one; and the following comment integrates it: “Samba is just a way of playing North American jazz. We played ‘Dolores’ as an exception to explain a rule: Samba is a one hundred per cent Brazilian institution.” (WELLES, 1942a) Another orchestra – Flopsie Gaõ – performs the song *Amélia*. Welles explains the character of *Amelia*, rejoicing that “For your benefit let me explain that ‘Amelia’ was a wonderful girl. She didn’t care about money. She didn’t even mind going hungry with the man she loved. Isn’t that right, Chu Chu?” (WELLES, 1942a) While explaining the meaning of the lyrics that compares *Amélia* to

another girl and noticing that the former was a perfect woman, the exclusively Portuguese word *saudade* is compared by Welles to “memory, longing, nostalgia. No, I guess that word can’t be translated” (WELLES, 1942a) In doing so, the cultural aspect of the language and also the tradition brought to the Portuguese inheritance is brought up. Chu Chu Martinez, “one of the finest singers in our hemisphere” (WELLES, 1942a) according to Welles, is a Mexican singer – attention to his ufanist reference – explains that for him also the translation is difficult: “My English isn’t very good, Mr. Welles – neither is my Portuguese.” (WELLES, 1942a) While explaining that it could sound strange to Brazilian ears the sound of a non-Brazilian singing samba, Welles, as an ambassador of the American culture, makes is nicely enough to highlight the interpretation of a samba by a Mexican. Once again, the idea of the United Nations of America:

Well, ladies and gentlemen, you should have heard that ovation. Amazingly enough, a Mexican singer’s interpretation of Rio’s favorite Samba is the biggest hit of the Rio season, and now you’re going to hear why. (WELLES, 1942a).

Wrapping it up, Welles concludes:

Ladies and gentlemen, we’re nothing if not Pan-American. We have played for you a North American jazz imitation of a Mexican song, rendered by a Brazilian orchestra into a Samba. We followed this with a Mexican singer singing a real Samba. (WELLES, 1942a).

Linda Batista, a famous voice back then, is called “the best Samba singer in the Urca Casino, which is to say in Rio, which is to say in Brazil – and that means the world”. The idea of *Tudo é Brasil*, and that the entire country would be represented by those at the party is reaffirmed by Welles, bringing once again the Pan-nationalism: from the sphere of one citizen to the one of all in the country, and in all Americas (or, to better fit the ideology, one should say The America as one single entity); from a city (Rio) to the entire nation (Brazil); from this nation to the continent; and from the continent to an entire hemisphere. As an allegory of the entire world, the president’s birthday becomes a celebration of the Pan-Americanism.

Back to Linda Batista, who mentions the big size of the country – following the ufanist perception that seems to have set the tone of the celebration – Welles presents another observation that would also appear as part of the première of *Hello Americans*: “Some like the sertões of the north; some like the cattle plains of the south; some like the port cities along the coast; and some like the jungles in the interior. But all Brazilians like Brazil, as you say, very much.” (WELLES, 1942a) Linda Batista explains that happens for two reasons: “First – it’s all Brazil”. And second: “Brazilians are Brazilians”. Nationhood explains by itself.

As a follow up, Batista performs: *Sabemos lutar*. Nothing more appropriate. She translates it: “We know how to fight” (WELLES, 1942a). Welles comments the lyrics: “It’s a song for Time, the Present. It’s a song for all these Brazilians who love big Brazil. It’s a song for all these men and women who love certain things bigger even than big Brazil. It’s a song that says this”:

If I have to fight in the War/I’ll defend my country/With all the love and all the ardor and all the vigor/of my Brazilian spirit/We like peace/Love the beauty of our land/But when we’re challenged/We’ll show that we know how to fight/We’ll fight for the very sky/That covers the hopes of South America.

The image Brazilians is the one of peaceful and proud people, and what has to be noted is the vigorous assertion of that nationality with a piece played in a rhythm that reproduces the drums of a war battle. Both peace and war, Brazilians and South Americans – and as an extension, all the Americas – would be united in times of war that challenge our pride. How suggestive!

Approaching towards the end of the program, the United States Ambassador to Brazil, Jefferson Caffery presents his speech:

Americans all over Brazil are joining with their Brazilian friends tonight in celebration President Vargas’ birthday. All of these affairs are in benefit of the Brazilian Red Cross. We Americans are particularly happy to have this occasion in which to express publicly our sentiments of deep gratitude for the splendid cooperation which President Vargas and the Brazilian people are extending to us. (WELLES, 1942a).

The last words come from Orson Welles himself:

Mr. President, I’m neither my country’s ambassador nor a Brazilian. I have no business on the program except insofar as radio program are my business. That’s why I’m here at this microphone. That’s all that singles me out from my fellow Americans – from about a quarter of a billion of my fellow Americans. That makes me the lucky fellow who’s speaking tonight for Mr. and Mrs., for Senhor and Senhora North and South and Central America. Mr. President, this is a great day. Many happy returns. (WELLES, 1942a).

3. Welles behind the microphone 2: The truth, nothing but the truth?

Part II – Hello Americans

The pilot radio program *Hello Americans* was broadcast in November 11, 1942, live, from CBS Studios (WELLES, 1942b). Welles opens the phone lines for participants to ask questions and to make comments in case he gets “something wrong”, as he puts it. The program sets a format for the others that would come later on, bringing information on different aspects of culture, history and peoples forecast.

Welles starts this pilot program by mentioning the purpose of the program, which is for “all of you who speak this language. It’s about the rest of America. That’s a big word – America – it’s easy to forget how much it means.” It is interesting that by mentioning “those of you who speak this language”, he opens the meaning of the word *language*, to mention later that he referred to English, but in a broader way, he had included the languages of the Americas.

With such a provocative beginning, right away he gets the first phone call. It is an American man’s voice saying that he did not need to be lectured about his love for his country. And as Welles mentions that the program is for those Americans who speak English, the caller is intrigued: “Everybody in America speaks English.” That sets the plot for Welles; he repeats his initial line about the purpose of the program: “I was just saying it’s easy to forget how much America means” [...] and introduces the concept of America. “Do you realize what America means?” (WELLES, 1942b).

America as one single continent – that’s how Welles names the objective of the program. With “What’s close to us looks biggest” and “A natural law that says you see further the higher you stand”, the Good Neighbor Policy seemed to be in the right track on Welles’ hands. “The new world. Its first name was ‘the New World.’ The old adventurers from Europe called it that. The name sounds righter now than ever. The new world. Its tenants are Americans.” He goes on stating that all Americans – from both north and south – stand together and “ought to know each other better than we do”

While telling the listeners that he visited all the countries in Latin America, he introduces some of the aspects that still nowadays are part of the international imagery of Rio and of Brazil. The tone of his presentation always enhances the positive aspects of the city, the people and the culture. Again, his characterization of Brazil is made in a very ufanist way. Rio is portrayed as “the loveliest city in our hemisphere, a gorgeous capital with a name that sounds like a music cue, which in this case it is” (WELLES, 1942b).

Welles explains the meaning of the word *carioca* – “the inhabitants of Rio. It’s a word like ‘Angeleno’ or ‘Maverick’ or ‘Hoosier’.” Not only that, but cariocas “(they) get an extra lot of fun out of life, which is understandable when you consider where they live, and they’re the best-natured folks I’ve ever met”. And a little later: “But there’s another side of Rio. Not a seamy side – not at all, even if smart isn’t the word of it. No, indeed, if Rio’s back yard isn’t exactly gala, it’s even gayer than Rio’s front lawn.”

The next aspect he presents is the music. According to Welles, samba is the result of one's scrambling the words *music* and *Brazil*. As an extension of that, Brazilians would be able to produce samba by "tapping match boxes, straw hats, table tops, little pieces of wood – anything at hand". This same idea was presented in the forecast of President Vargas' birthday. Rio, Brazil, and South America as an extension are lands for fun and with an exuberant nature.

The imagery of South America as a feminine character is noted by Salvatore (1998), who later mentions the manhood achieved by Brazil and Argentina after the 1930's as a result of the military forces, seems to fail here. Salvatore mentions the importance of photographers in representing Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro as modern and with sophisticated French taste. The same portrayal will be found in Disney's *Saludos Amigos*, later in 1943, while presenting shots of parks, buildings and roads crowded of people and with outdoor *cafés*. The idea of integration would be reinforced not only by the Americas, but also in the view of Brazil as an integration of its culture and that one of Africa. "Dig that rhythm, you cats. That's the Amazon and the Congo talking" (DISNEY, 1943).

Carmen Miranda, a rising star in movies in Hollywood, was a guest of this program. As Welles presents her "North America's South American favorite" His appreciation and enthusiasm with the culture seemed to really had caught him, because along with Carmen Miranda, Mr. Welles sings in Portuguese *No tabuleiro da baiana*, a song that explains and portrays *baianas*, natives from the state of Bahia as a representation of all country – the image that Carmen Miranda would forever portray with fruit hat and big ear rings and stylized bright color dresses. Carmen Miranda, as a Brazilian spokeswoman, introduces some of the instruments used to play samba as Welles names each of them.

One by one, drums, the tambourine, the *tamborim*, the scratcher, the *ganzá*, the *cuíca*, the instruments are presented, played and described in its parts, and in the end they are all played together. The awareness of the importance of the impact on the listeners seemed to be in the concern of Welles' production. As some comments about samba are been made, he mentions the fact that samba is known as the soul of Brazil. He calls the attention of the listeners to how misconstrued such a saying can bring and then proceeds to say that (it) "Might lead us to believe, for instance, that Brazilians think seriously of nothing but dancing and singing." – and he completes – "This isn't true, as any Brazilian will tell you" (WELLES, 1942b). Carmen Miranda confirms his words.

He does not waste the chance to mention some more information about the big proportions of the size of the country and the diversity that constitutes its lands. In order to present it, he mentions the “*sertões* of the north [...] the cattle plains of the south [...] the port cities along the coast [...] and the jungles in the interior.”

In the sequence, some other aspects of the country are presented, as some different voices by various characters comment several distinctiveness of the country. The first character is the *Businessman*, who informs us about the big proportions of the country in an ufanist perception:

This country is three million square miles of the biggest wealth potential on God's green earth. [...] do you know they grow two-thirds of the world's supply of coffee here in an area one-fourth the size of Ohio? And that's only one item – coffee.

The voice of a supposedly *Economist* brings information about the fertility of the ground in a non less ufanist discourse: “Everything grows here – wheat, corn, tea, rice, sugar, fruits, tobacco, cocoa, cattle...[...] Then there's cotton, rubber, hard woods, dyes, waxes...” Then it comes a *Mining engineer* to mention the state of Minas Gerais and its richness:

That's the gold country. They've been getting gold out of there for two and a half centuries and when they don't get gold they get diamonds. Big ones, too. Great big ones. But I'm not so much interested in that. [...] but I'm more interested in the Manganese. (WELLES, 1942b).

In war times the focus changes and the *Mining engineer* points to the fact that manganese is more important to him than diamonds because

You need it to make steel. They've got enough here – untouched – to make new ball bearings for the entire solar system. And they've got the iron to use it on – up in the valley of the Rio das Velhas. Biggest iron ore deposit on earth. (WELLES, 1942b).

Welles completes: “Good thing to have – especially these days”. The ufanist perception goes on. Another voice, the one of a *Sociologist*, engages the conversation to mention a Brazilian saying in a very nativist way to refer to the greatness of the country:

God is a Brazilian. That's why he favored this country with so much. Matter of fact, it's estimated that Brazil could contain nine hundred million people, with plenty of living room and food and comfort. That's half the world. Only about forty-five millions here now. (WELLES, 1942b).

An *Explorer* is the next to present information and impressions about the land: the uniqueness of the Brazilian jungle exceeds all he had seen in Africa, India, and Malay. The land... “The odd thing is that there isn't a square mile of Brazil that can't be lived in. [...] Brazil today is the last great frontier”.

The most ufanist moment probably comes through the voice of the *Naturalist*. Following the ideology of development of Vargas's regime, and the importance of sciences to elevate Brazil to the level of the first world countries, he cites Charles Darwin: "Brazilian scenery is nothing more or less than a view of the Arabian Nights, with the advantage of reality". Mentioning the fauna that could easily be seen around the city of Belém, by the Amazon River and the Rain Forest, the *Naturalist* affirms:

about five hundred different kinds of butterflies. Then there are the flowers, and the insects and the animals, all in unbelievable profusion. Monkeys, vampire bats, hummingbirds, jaguars, sting rays, crocodiles, giant snakes, parrots... (WELLES, 1942b).

A very curious aspect that Welles foresaw was the fact that the exploration and exploitation of the country would continue up to the point to endanger the species of the jungle: "That's why I'm glad we Naturalists have been busy collecting specimens and making note before it gets too late". Using the voice of the *Explorer* he in a way denounces what has happened to the country and that would still happen – maybe as a consequence of the politics he himself was representing. His future work *It's all true* would be the alibi to defend himself from any accusation of being just manipulated by the war ideology of the time.

A couple in a honeymoon trip represents the next two voices – the *Girl* and the *Architect*. The man mentions his wife's desire to take a dozen of parrots back home represents once more the awareness of the possibility of endangering species that nowadays are still a concern. The voices of a *Writer* and the one of the *Sociologist* confirm it; the first says: "Too bad it's going to be done away with". The second ads: "It will be done". In the end, the *Writer* completes: "What's going to happen to you Gun and Camera boys when there's nothing left to explore? And without a good jungle in the world, what are the adventure story writers going to do?" (WELLES, 1942b).

The *Writer* brings up the image of Brazil as a land of contrasts. He compares the disparity of a skyscraper right by a *favela*. From the window one can "look out towards the hills and see real jungle – dances and music right from Africa. Skyscrapers of the twelfth floor he can see a real jungle." With the idea of such differences the *Writer* brings up the racial mixture issue – what he calls the "idea of a drop here in Rio. Well, first there're the Portuguese – Spanish, Arabic, Nordic, Greek, Moorish. " And then, others, going to Brazil, from different countries in Europe, Africa and North America would compound what he meant by saying that "a drop of real Brazilian blood is an honest to goodness drop of all

mankind's blood". As for Welles, men in the world "might learn a great deal about tolerance and quiet decency from the Brazilians – who have the blood of all men" (WELLES, 1942b).

After portraying not only Brazil as a paradise, but its inhabitants as samples of the integration of all races, Welles ends the program presenting a metaphorical interpretation of his role: he tells the story about a committee of blind men who were investigating an elephant. As each of them touched a different part of the animal, each of them presented a dissimilar impression of it. It is interesting how Welles uses the idea of blind men to portray the insufficiency of someone to completely perceive something in its completeness. As for him, he promises to try to portray the countries he would still visit in such a way that people can "fill in enough to get some notion of what the other half of America really looks like". As a consequence of such an accuracy, Welles would be disconnected to the program really soon.

4. It's still Showtime

Part III – Saludos Amigos

Welles was producing *It's all true*, and several hours of shootings had already been done, but the executives at RKO suddenly interrupted his work and no more funding was available. A new type and format of production took place. Disney Productions in 1943 created *Saludos Amigos*. It was not only the motto and title of the cartoon, but also a song created to introduce the idea of friendship among the United States and Latin American countries. Following the idea of Pan-Americanism, Disney's piece wrapped up the Good Neighbor Policy representing a collection of cartoons mixed with real shootings in several countries, portraying different cultural and historical aspects of the continent.

Featuring *Lake Titicaca*, *Pedro* (a little airplane created to represent Chile), *El Gaucho Goofy*, and *Aquarela do Brasil* (Brazilian Watercolor), the 75-minute cartoon presents Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile and Bolivia in nine different chapters, two of which are dedicated to Brazil, named *Rio de Janeiro* and *Aquarela do Brasil*. This last one was named after one of the most known songs that portray Brazil created by Ary Barroso. The sequence of the chapters is as follows: 1. Opening Credits; 2. The Expedition Begins; 3. Lake Titicaca; 4. The Flight across the Andes into Chile; 5. Pedro; 6. Buenos Aires; 7. *El Gaucho* Goofy; 8. Rio de Janeiro; 9. *Aquarela do Brasil* (DISNEY, 1943).

Opening Credits - As the credits of the cartoon are presented, the song *Saludos Amigos* is performed with the background of a map of the Americas, mostly showing Central and South America.

Saludos Amigos
In your heart
A fond greeting to you
A warm handshake or two
Good friends always do
Saludos Amigos
A new day's waiting to start
You must meet it
Wake up and greet it
With a gay song
In your heart.

People from the Latin America are known – even if as a stereotype – as being friendly and using courtesies to treat foreigners visiting their countries. The lyrics of this song highlight such characteristics creating a very fond atmosphere for the *Good Neighbor Policy*. As the music in the background is still played, the second part begins. It is not a cartoon-looking type of images anymore; here Disney's crew enters a small airplane and the voiceover clarifies what is going on.

The Expedition Begins

“Here it's an unusual expedition: artists, musicians and writers setting out for a trip through Latin America to find new personalities music and dances for their cartoon films. So, ‘*Adios Hollywood*’ and ‘*Saludos, Amigos.*’” The image goes back to a cartoon format where a brief schedule of the trip is presented – Brazil (Rio de Janeiro), Argentina (Buenos Aires and, all across the Pampas, and Cordoba), from where the group is divided in two: one goes to the Andes and Chile and the other goes to “North to the Incan countries: Peru, Bolivia, and Lake Titicaca”.

Lake Titicaca

Aspects of the culture, such as the clothes, the colors, the llamas, and the informal market are presented and resulted in a travelogue. Donald Duck represents the American tourist who explores places and serves as the performer of the actions presented in a voice-over technique. The narrator brings data about the lake and some curiosities about the peoples who live in the villages and whose lives depend on it. The music is called “strange and exotic” and the products colorful in “the land of the Incas, Lake Titicaca”.

The Flight across the Andes into Chile

Back to the movie format, the narrator announces that the crew is heading to Chile, through the Andes, “over the highest mountains in America”. The crew is showed drawing inside the airplane (doing the homework) because the cameras could not film it from the mountains. The sequence creates the short story that reproduces the one of the Three Bears. Instead of bears, a new character is presented: Pedro, a baby airplane.

PedroAs his parents grow older, *Pedro* is in charge of the mail to Mendoza, but he is also a venue to present two important landscapes of Chile: the Christ of the Andes – a statue in the Chilean border with Argentina – and the Aconcagua – “the highest mountain in the western Hemisphere”. [...] and “(with) its rocky, snow-filled crags formed the face of a leering monster”. Pedro, the little airplane, does not fail to complete his mission of delivering the mail, even such a huge mission to deliver one single postcard from Juan Carlos in Argentina to Sr. Jorge Delano in Santiago, Chile, with the message “Estoy divirtiéndome mucho – Ojalá que estuvieras aquí”. The voiceover says: “It might have been important”. The chapter ends like a fairytale: the Papa Plane, Mama Plane and Little Pedro flew happily ever after.

Buenos Aires

The Pampas are the next stop, “just millions of acres of rich grazing land”, and Buenos Aires, “the third largest city in the Western Hemisphere”. From cartoon, to real images of Buenos Aires and its buildings, the focus changes to the drawings by a famous artist from Argentina, F. Molina Campos, who portrays “the lure of Pampas and the Argentine *gaucho*”.

El Gaucho Goofy

The description of the psychological aspect and the visual figure of the *gaucho* with his equipment is detailed: “silver coins decorate his belt, or *tirador*. The sheepskin saddle. Soft horsehide boots. (A) garment called a *chiripa*.” Tea, wine and meat are proved by the crew and registered as the traditional from the place, as well as the dances – compared to the American cowboy and the similarity of the dance to the old-time square dances in North America. The resemblance is the bridge to bring the two cultures together. From the Pampas to Texas, the North American cowboy, *Goofy* is dressed the Argentine way. He embodies the distinctive *gaucho*: “we substitute *bombachas* for chaps; the *sombrero*, the *saco*, the *tirador*, the *chiripa*, *pañuelo*, *botas*, *espuelas*, then, finally, we have the *poncho*”. The musical aspects

are played also by Goofy, always with the company of his horse. First, the sad ballads called *triste* and

the lively beat of the *chacarera*, the dance of the farmer's daughter [...], el *malambo*, a solo number in which the dancer swings out with utter abandon, often described as perpetual motion below the Equator [...] el *papa pala*, traditional dance of the rooster and the hen. (DISNEY, 1943).

From the Pampas the flight heads to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Rio de Janeiro

Introduced as a city of an “amazing beauty and the perfect sitting”, as a cartoon it starts and then is turned into a movie. The Sugar Loaf, the Copacabana Beach, the outdoor cafés, and the mosaic sidewalks are the first picturesque images. The voice then introduces a figure that has always been featured in “Brazil’s most funny stories: o *papagaio* – the parrot.” The voice calls him a “promising actor”; and *Joe Carioca* is born.

Samba is next. Some dancers are showed at the back of the images while some musicians play *Escravos de Jó* – a folkloric song named after a traditional game originated among the native-Brazilians. The musical instruments that accompany the dancers are: *reco-reco* and *cabaça*. Samba is described as “a lively two-step with a bounce”. Some images of street parade of carnival in Rio brings the idea of this festivity: “three hilarious days and nights singing, dancing, and celebrating (...) the spirit of Mardi Gras and New Year’s Eve rolled into one” About the songs produced, the information is as follows: “Each year hundreds of songs are written especially for this occasion and the dream of every composer is to have his song chosen as a carnival hit.”

The first Brazilian film created by Disney is, then, based on Ary Barroso’s famous song *Aquarela do Brasil* – Watercolor of Brazil. Welles had already mentioned Rio de Janeiro as the place where *samba* was born and the idea of describing the instruments, and the steps to dance can also be found in his radio program *Hello Americans*. The information about how the song writers expect anxiously to have their songs picked as the hit of the year during carnival was delivered by Welles, and with the provoking issue about the market that would buy the lyrics from less prestigious composers and make it over by another artist in order to achieve success and recognition. That was not in Disney’s agenda.

Aquarela do Brasil

Back to the cartoon format, a very vivid portrayal of Rio and the country is brought by the lyrics and the rhythm of *Aquarela do Brasil*. The images created by Disney's crew recalls the most recurrent images of Brazil still nowadays: the jungle (waterfalls, flora, and fauna), and the irreverence. *Aquarela do Brasil* is performed by Aloysio Oliveira and mentions the nature, the races, and the land of samba. Flowers, birds, even the water are filled of joy and gayness in a paradisiacal and peaceful land.

As *Joe Carioca*, a talkative parrot, introduces himself to *Duck Donald*, already a famous figure in Hollywood, he greets *Donald* with courtesy and a big hug. By opening his arms (wings) and the ones of Brazil to the *Donald* (the United States) he invites him to know Rio. *Donald* accepts his invitation and tries to follow his steps as the song *Tico Tico no Fubá* is played by *Joe Carioca*. Other instruments are presented: the flute, the accordion, plates, drums, *reco-reco*, and tambourine. This song became famous with Carmen Miranda's voice; and it is her image and the one of *Donald* that one can see dancing behind some curtains. Carmen Miranda, once participated in the program of Welles, is back here, with the same stereotypical features.

Joe Carioca and *Donald* have some *cachaça* and with *Aquarela do Brasil* as a background and names of some famous casinos: Urca (where Presidente Getúlio Vargas' birthday was celebrated and from where it was broadcast one year earlier by Welles), Casino Atlântico, and Copacabana Club. The image of a partying city will remain up to nowadays and with the city lights and samba will end the cartoon.

Bonus material

Two other parts are presented as *bonus material*. One of them, *Theatrical trailer*, which presents short pieces of the scenes of what is announced as "Disney's glorious new musical feature *Saludos Amigos*".

The second part, containing some shootings not in the final version of *Saludos Amigos*. Before the images themselves, some interesting information is presented: "A Walt Disney Production filmed under auspices of the office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs – 1952". And

This is a camera record of a survey trip through all of the Americas by Walt Disney and a group of eighteen artists, musicians and writers. The visit resulted in a better understanding of the art, music, folklore and humor of our Latin American friends and a wealth of material for future cartoon subjects.

The images are presented with a lot of information on the countries and cultures visited by Disney's crew.

5. Part IV – Pan-American Day

In April 14, 1942, a special program by NBC was broadcast to celebrate Pan-American Day (WELLES, 1942c). The program, broadcast partly in the US, had most of its part broadcast from Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, with Orson Welles as the host. While in the US, the voice on the radio starts asking three questions: “What are the Latin American republics like? What sort of people live there? How for instance does a great nation like Brazil (its people) look to the eyes of an average American?”

The first observation that is noticeable is the fact that although the idea of one entire nation as the Americas was proposed by the Good Neighbor Policy, the voice on the radio mentions “an average American” meaning only and exclusively the North-Americans from the United States, which can point to the Good Neighbor policy as still very limited in regards to the public it might have reached. Although the idea was of the Americas as one continent, it probably meant that for the ones directly involved with the policy and politics it was a big deal, and not for the average citizens in the US yet.

Welles starts mentioning that it was “Thanksgiving Day for all the Americas”. The image of the Americas literally as one nation would be carried on metaphorically or not as he refers to Americas as “the largest family on the globe: our family of American nations. It's our day of thanksgiving for being American and also for being a family.” (WELLES, 1942c) Brazil in this metaphor is referred as “the Portuguese speaking member of our family (...) the biggest republic on the world” (WELLES, 1942c). The ufanist discourse seems to become part of all the references to the country, which back then was also named United States of Brazil, according to the Constitution of 1891. Indeed, the first Brazilian Constitution dates from 1824, Constitution of the Empire of Brazil. From the 1891 Constitution on to the ones of 1934, 1937, and 1946, Brazil was named United States of Brazil, and from the 1967 Constitution on (which includes the one of 1988), Brazil became the Federative Republic of Brazil.

A Brazilian visit to Washington D.C. in 1820 was recalled by Welles as the first step to Pan-Americanism: “Here's where the beautiful notion of a United Hemisphere has more than mere support, or endorsement” (WELLES, 1942c). Back then, the Brazilian government

had suggested the US to organize a “concert of the American powers to sustain the general system of American independence” (WELLES, 1942c).

Another aspect appeals to the audience in regards to metaphor of family, and particularly to the religious aspect of it: “1942 is going to look fine in the history books. We have great hopes for this year of our Lord. We have a right to them.” (WELLES, 1942c) The “year of our Lord” says to both US citizens and to the Brazilian ones as a reference of tradition and family altogether. Thanksgiving, family, and the year of our Lord – three strong references that talk loud and close to both Americans from the US and to those from Latin America. The fact of Rio been chosen to host the Pan-American Conference stands to the idea of a multi-polarity of the nations, from north to south. Again, one entire nation, where decisions are made based on a perception of agreement and contribution from all the sides.

Oswaldo Aranha, the foreign minister of Brazil, is introduced by Welles as the most skilled citizen to be heard on Pan-American Day; the qualities of the minister cited by Welles can make a long list, and some of the main ideas are:

our oldest and best friend in South America [...] a passionately honest statesman [...] and eloquently indiscreet diplomatist who looks you in the eye and talks straight from the shoulder [...] a great American – who wears easily and with style the authentic magnificence of the history maker.” (WELLES, 1942c).

Before giving the ministry the opportunity to speak, Welles means to describe him a little bit more, “Or try to” – as Welles puts it, and wraps up the features of “gallantry and dash” related to Aranha: “twinkly shrewd happy eyes”, “honest eyes that appraise and appreciate”, “a handsome man who looks like you could trust him” (WELLES, 1942c). The comparison of the people from the US with Brazilians brings along the idea of one nation once more: being a *gaucho*, Oswaldo Aranha is introduced as a very proud Brazilian, as Texans or Yankees would in the US. Welles adds a lot more qualifications to the minister: “But write down ‘plus’ – a great big plus sign as big as a skyscraper, as big as the twenty-one states of Brazil after that word *Gaúcho*. Oswaldo Aranha is many things plus.” (WELLES, 1942c)

To all the attributes above mentioned, Welles suggests to add “the distinguished career in the respectable profession of the law” and more:

Patriotism – practical patriotism – write that down in capital letters, and don’t forget a big human heart and a mind that knows how to obey it: [...] a real American who’s sharp without being slick, a very real man who’s inspired and at the same time down-to-earth (WELLES, 1942c, p. 4) .

Ufanist discourse goes along with his words. Not judging Welles point of view, the discourse is incorporated not only in the perception of Brazil, its people and culture, but to the entire

relationship among the American nations, as if all of a sudden, someone had discovered family members who had never seen or spoken to each other, and had suddenly become close, and with lots of common interests.

Oswaldo Aranha makes his speech. It is not a long one, but its content is a corroboration of the ideology of good relations between Brazil and the United States: “I know well that the heart of Brazil is all with the United States. Our interests have been mutual always, our affections mutually profound.” The relationship is not only of the one between two nations, but the one as the preferred siblings: [...] “when I say that in all that family of nations of which you have made mention, we are the closest, the United States and Brazil – we are each other’s favorites” (WELLES, 1942c). The interests are said to be the very same ones, and the Brazilian ships were at the will of the US to transport the war supplies and goods.

What can be said beyond this? What need be said at this time? The products of our industry, the great wealth of our natural resources, are yours – all yours, for your fight against our common enemies. Brazilian ships give first preference to your war needs. They carry little else. (WELLES, 1942c).

As the war needs are mentioned, Oswaldo Aranha brings up the topic of the fifth column. As a concern, and perhaps the biggest interest on Latin America during the Second World War, communism became a threat to the allies. Targeting Latin American countries, the Good Neighbor Policy wanted to ensure that there would be not a single country to fight against in the continent, but instead, the US would look forward to join forces with. Not only because some of the goods and supplies, but mostly because of the strategic position of most of them. So, by any means, any nation that presented a possibility of undermining the US hegemony would be identified as part of a fifth column. The hypothesis of Brazil being part of such a conspiracy was completely rejected by Aranha.

Some excerpts of the manuscript were not broadcast during the radio programs. The first one is when minister Oswaldo Aranha offers to touch on the subject of the fifth column. He starts: “something special you would like me to say?” (WELLES, 1942c), referring to a previous conversation with Welles about the issue. The missing part is as follows: “Something particular concerning Brazil that the people in the United States would be interested in hearing?” (WELLES, 1942c) Voicing that the topic was a very delicate one, Welles mentions that he was “more or less officially warned to stay away from the subject” due to its nature and “consequent sensitivity on the part of many South Americans concerning it”; but as Welles himself says, he decided to “take advantage” of Dr. Aranha’s “great candor”

on discussing the issue. Aranha is very straight forward about the subject and as Welles had put it before, “eloquently indiscreet diplomatist who looks you in the eye and talks straight from the shoulder”. Aranha says that the subject should not be avoided, but on the contrary: “we must not today be so cowardly or so foolish as to fail to acknowledge its existence”.

After a couple more lines, a second part of the information in the manuscript that failed to be broadcast due to some interference on the radio. The section mentioning that no country “which has no fifth column has fallen to the enemy. Russia must be our great example.” Aranha continues, and this part can be both read on the manuscript and heard in the broadcast: “Naturally enough I speak for my country and no other on this continent, but I can assure you that here in Brazil we are dealing with the fifth column – dealing with it and quickly and decisively. And now, as to the sixth column” (WELLES, 1942c, underlined as in the original). He mentions all the demonstrations against the fifth column and the possibility of a sixth in Brazil.

A third excerpt of the manuscript is not present in the radio broadcast. It is the minister’s paragraph that says: “May I say that the strictness of our action here against fifth columnists has been scarcely more recent than yours” (WELLES, 1942c). The minister continues, both in the manuscript and in the radio broadcast:

Our people have begun to feel the war closer to them just as yours have. You weren’t here when Pearl Harbor was attacked, Mr. Welles, but I can tell you that the news of that disaster was felt here as a grave and terrible shock. Its effect in Brazil, quite as much as in the United States, was to unify and to solidify public opinion. (WELLES, 1942c).

At this moment Aranha touches the fact of some Brazilian ships had sunk in North American waters. Welles says that by any reasons it should be “a source of resentment and perhaps even some loss of confidence in our defensive powers”.

A fourth part is missing in the minister’s speech on the radio when compared to the manuscript. It follows Welles last comment:

Such opinion would be sixth column opinion, and I’ve told you we have no more sixth column. The fifth column may be whispering something of the sort to those elements among enemy nationals here who are willing to listen. (WELLES, 1942c).

Interesting is the fact that all the four passages mention the fifth column. There is not a single note on the manuscripts to address the missing parts – technical failure, censorship? One can hear during the radio broadcast that some interference in the sound causes to some of those parts to be barely understood. However, in the third one, the missing part seems to be too long in the manuscript for the three seconds of broadcasting that could not be heard. Welles’s

previous comment on the advice for not talking about the fifth column can bring some suspicion about the occurrence of such interferences. One more factor that should be taken into consideration is that no interference was noticed in the other program broadcasting president Getúlio Varga's birthday, in April 18, 1942, four days later.

Aranha adds that it "would be sixth column opinion", but because he had assured that it no longer existed in Brazil, it could be sort of whispers from the fifth column. As a final comment, Aranha says that "As to your defensive power, our faith is complete in it". Once again, the religious ideas match the interests: to have "faith" sounds really significant. Brazilians also believed in the offensive power of the US, and that all have confidence that "we shall win" (WELLES, 1942c).

The program ends with "This is New York. And this is The National Broadcasting Company".

Accompanying the manuscript, in the very first page, there is a half page letter, dated from April 16, 1942, sent from Rio, to Washington, D.C., from Frances Brennan, to Miss Weissberger, in which Brennan returns a "copy of the script of the Pan-American Day broadcast, and one of the copies we had made". The letter was typed in an official sheet of paper and brings the following information: "Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs of the United States of America – Formerly coordinator of commercial and cultural relations between the American republics. Washington, D. C."

What can we conclude?

Was the Good Neighbor Policy a success? Disney's *Saludos Amigos* was just a carnivalized version of Welles' research, a celebration of culture, or just one more step in the life-long appropriation of Latin America by a neocolonialist point of view? For future research, questions such as Welles response and the documentation about his dismissal of the project might be still intriguing or remain. Analysis of Welles' *It's All True* also needs to be addressed as a hint to his dismissal of the Good Neighbor Policy's agenda. Catherine Benamou presents an extensive research on *It's All True* (2007).

It seems that the policy wanted more than just friendship and good neighborhood – it searched for support and less threatening conditions when Hitler's power was growing in Europe. Latin America in a way experienced progress and started to have a different face for North Americans and Europeans. Did it pay off? How is the neighborhood nowadays? Did the friendship and the understanding among the nations improve? Those are some of the

questions that this paper might foster and that the reader can search for. It is clear that Welles's reading of what truly good neighbors were supposed to do, but he could not go much further without the financial support from the U.S. government and Hollywood. The conclusions are still wide open.

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