

PSF

Argentina

JOINT STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND
AMBASSADOR LE BRETON

The conversations in which we have been engaged had as purpose the fullest possible exchange of views and ideas between our two countries upon the tasks that confront all countries at the coming Economic Conference. They were inspired by the wish to examine all possible phases of economic and monetary policy which by international action might restore employment, improve prices and the turnover of trade, and aid in the solution of financial and monetary difficulties. The exchange of views was to prepare the way for action between all countries, and not to lead at the moment to definite agreements.

The conversations have been characterized by the spirit of warm friendship that has long existed between these two countries, and by the quick and friendly understanding of each other's minds and spirit which has grown up between the two countries whose history has made us neighbors in mind and feeling.

We have joined in the realization that the gradual and simultaneous economic disarmament of the world is imperative, and the restoration of stable monetary conditions. We have surveyed with a close similarity of views and judgments the ways and means of bringing about an increased movement of trade between the two countries and throughout the world. We have entered into related questions of trade policy in which the two governments have an important and immediate concern.

These conversations, we believe, will greatly help to forward the common purposes that we have, and to prepare the way for undertakings at the Economic Conference and the development of the mutual interests of the two countries. In warm friendship we will continue to carry forward this work.

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Confidential*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ASSISTANT SECRETARY

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March 16, 1935.

The Brazilian Ambassador states that Argentina and Chile have suggested the following method of conciliation which has been accepted by Paraguay and which has likewise been accepted both by the Bolivian Government and by the Bolivian General Staff, subject only to the suggestion that the time fixed for the reaching of an agreement for arbitration be slightly extended:

I The holding of an international conference of neutrals to be composed of delegates of Argentina, Chile, Peru, and Uruguay, to which would be invited Brazil and the United States.

II Cessation of hostilities in accordance with the terms of the League recommendations.

III Direct peace negotiations.

IV The signing of an arbitral submission in the event that the two parties could not reach an agreement.

V If the conference should be unable to fix within the period of one month the terms of the submission to arbitration, it shall then establish the specific matters to be determined by arbitration.

VI The two parties shall be enabled to make objections with regard to this latter decision but if the conference should insist upon its point of view the arbitral submission formulated by it shall have the same force as if it had been formulated by the Paraguayan and Bolivian plenipotentiaries and shall be submitted to the ratification of the two respective congresses.

VII An investigation as to the responsibility for the war.

VIII The holding of a conference in which the neighboring states shall participate for the purpose of studying the question of transportation between Bolivia and Paraguay and the manner of stimulating commerce between them.

I suggest that if the United States is officially advised that both Paraguay and Bolivia have definitely accepted the plan as outlined above, and if the League officially takes action requesting the group of American republics mentioned to endeavor to reach the agreement proposed, that the United States then state that it will be willing to cooperate with Argentina, Chile, Peru, Uruguay, and Brazil in this method of conciliation.



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ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

January 27, 1936.

My dear Mr. President:

I am enclosing herewith a summary of the interview given by the Argentine Foreign Minister, Dr. Carlos Saavedra Lamas, to the United Press on January 23. I referred to this interview in my conversation with you this afternoon.

When you recall the open antagonism of the Argentine Government and the hostility of the same Argentine Foreign Minister to the United States at the close of the Hoover Administration, I believe you will be gratified by this unusually outspoken statement.

Faithfully yours,

The President,

The White House.

"President Roosevelt's policy of the 'good neighbor', the most wise, the most prudent and the most sagacious that the great Republic of the North has ever followed, has assisted in converting the American continent into one sole, moral and spiritual state," the Argentine Foreign Minister, Dr. Carlos Saavedra Lamas, declared today. "This policy," said the Foreign Minister in an exclusive interview with the United Press, "has gained the confidence of the twenty-one American Republics. Pan-Americanism today is a bilateral link between the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin worlds. For the first time perhaps there exists a current of community of ideas and sentiments flowing between Washington and Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Santiago and Montevideo, without suspicions and without ill-will. This birth of the united Americas, coherent and coordinated, not as a formal association, but as a definite entity of objectives, conscience and tendencies," he added, "is called upon to influence the economic, international, and social destinies of the entire world."

his personal

THE AMERICAN EMBASSY
BUENOS AIRES

Argentina, 1936

Dear Mr. President, -

Your visit here was a pride and joy to Alex and to me and a benediction on your Embassy, - I need not tell you what it has meant to Argentina!

Now that I have returned from seeing you sail beyond my reach I realize how inadequate was the little word I was able to say to you in the face of the real bereavement which came to you here! So now I hope this may carry to you some hint of the sincere and tender sympathy I have for you in the loss of this, - as in the loss of that other great and dear friend I was in slight measure privileged to share with you.

With Alex's and my deep affection and our renewed expressions of regret that Mrs. Roosevelt was not with you here,

Jan
devotedly yours,
Virginia Chase Weddell.

December 2, 1936.

Argentina - 1936

Conferencia Interamericana de
Consolidación de la Paz

P.F.

Buenos Aires

Dec 4: 1936

My dear Mr. President

It is quite impossible adequately to express the far-reaching influence of your visit to Argentina and to the other neighboring countries. If I may permit myself a purely personal observation I do not hesitate to say that the two days that you spent at Buenos Aires were the happiest of my entire career for I then saw realized the dream that I have always held before me since my first visit to Argentina in 1906, viz to see the feeling of distrust and suspicion of the people of this country transformed into confidence and friendship combined with an earnest desire for fraternal cooperation.

Furthermore your inspiring address at the inaugural session of the Conference struck exactly the right note and has served

to strengthen the faith of the peoples of this
Continent in constitutional government and in
democratic institutions.

Those of us who have been laboring for
many years in furthering the cause of
Pan Americanism owe you a deep debt
of gratitude

I beg to remain, my dear Mr. President

Very sincerely yours

J. Rowe

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

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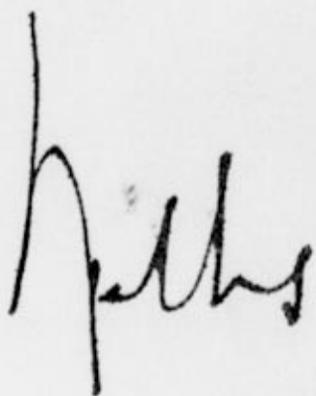
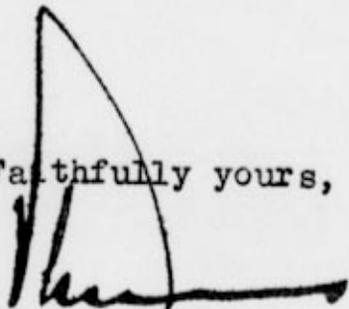
February 17, 1937

My dear Mr. President:

Our Embassy in Buenos Aires has sent up the editorials published in the Buenos Aires press upon the occasion of your second inauguration. I feel that these editorials are so significant and so indicative of the effects which your policy have had upon public opinion in Argentina that I have had them translated and am enclosing them herewith in the belief that you may wish to glance through them.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,



The President,

The White House.

(Translation)

NOTICIAS GRAFICAS, January 19, 1936. [sic]

Roosevelt's Second Administration.

Tomorrow Franklin Delano Roosevelt opens his second administration. The fact that there is no real change in the executive authority of the United States has no influence in this case in taking away any of the importance of the ceremony, which will not be one of transfer of power, but of taking the oath. On the contrary, the preparations that are being made insure unprecedented proportions for the ceremony, due more than anything else to the support of the people, which promises to be enthused as never before. And this is not without reason. Roosevelt's administration has been far from being just one more administration, performed peacefully and bureaucratically, at a propitious period in which the sole work of the ruler consists in not interfering with the normal development of affairs. On the contrary, it has fallen to his lot to act in perhaps the most difficult period in the history of his country, afflicted by an unprecedented depression, troubled by dejection and pessimism, its vitality dangerously impaired. Roosevelt had to reshape everything, from the first hour of his administration. The saving of the bankrupt banks, the

the work offered to the unemployed, are splendid indices and stages of his work. But that is not all. What Roosevelt did was to mobilize the United States in a vigorous crusade for optimism and the lost prosperity. But not over the old roads, definitively blocked by the rubbish of antiquated methods of government. New ways had to be sought, and Roosevelt was able to find them. He rehabilitated "the forgotten man", drew support from the people, turned his back on the gloomy forces the predominance of which had carried the nation to the brink of a catastrophe. He was a President whose program of government has been one designed to bring to his people more comfort and more happiness. In the dark years through which the world is passing, the figure of a statesman who sets himself such a goal stands out even better. The dictatorships which oppress so many great nations form a good background for Roosevelt, the chief man of democracy in the world.

His work thus has a resonance that extends beyond his country, the frontiers of which it passes. His second administration is awaited with immense interest not only in the United States but everywhere. There are still resounding among us the echoes of his memorable address at the opening of the Inter-American Conference, in which the position of America is defined, and her wish to strengthen the front of democracy and peace.

TRANSLATION

LA RAZON, January 20, 1937.

President Roosevelt's New Term.

On March 4, 1933, the multitude that witnessed the swearing in of the new President of the United States of America was apprehensive and anxious in mind. The immense country of the North was on the brink of the abyss. The most frightful economic and financial catastrophe appeared inevitable. Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was the new President, had to face, on the same day on which he went to occupy the seat of Lincoln, the gravest problems any President of that country had known, up till then, in time of peace. A gloomy present and an uncertain future weighed upon the throng which four years ago heard Mr. Roosevelt pronounce, with a clear and firm voice, the constitutional ritual formula of the oath.

Today the people are again congregating around the simple wooden stand erected in the grounds of the Congress. They will again hear the same words, uttered by the same man. But of that lethal, asphyxiating, gloomy atmosphere there remains only the memory. At the close of four years, Mr. Roosevelt, beginning his second presidential term after a popular election amounting to an apotheosis, will be able to tell his country that he has kept his promise.

The

The storm has been outridden. The depression was conquered. The nation has begun a new stage in its prodigious progress.

But not in domestic matters only has the panorama been transformed in the four years which will close today. When Mr. Roosevelt swore to be faithful to the Constitution of his country, the Platt Amendment was weighing on Cuba like a leaden plate, holding prisoner her sovereignty; American troops were occupying various portions of the Latin American continent, and a hostile and implacable tariff policy was deepening old chasms between the great nation of the North and the other American republics. Today, those chasms have been filled up; no foreign soldier treads any portion of the territory of a sovereign American state; the Platt Amendment has been repealed; the treaty with Panama has been replaced by another. The old error which caused the 20 republics of the continent to appear before the world as subjected to a degrading guardianship has disappeared, and the United States came to sit down with us, first at Montevideo and then at Buenos Aires, as one more brother, as an equal, with no more rights than the most modest of the nations of Central America - with an open, cordial and sincerely friendly mind. At last the American community had been established,

as it was dreamed of by Washington, San Martin, Bolivar and Marti!

Such was the work accomplished in this first historic term. Today the second one is beginning. The peoples of America heard from the lips of the illustrious statesman, from the high tribune afforded him by the Buenos Aires Conference, his profession of faith in democracy, his unshakable adherence to the institutions which have made the greatness of our continent. Under them, Mr. Roosevelt proposes to keep on with the realization of his broad program of progress and social justice. His dynamic will, his political talent, the confidence of his people, the esteem of the countries of the continent, the respect of Europe, place in his hands implements favorable to the victorious culmination of his gigantic task. Our fervent wishes are that in this new term Mr. Roosevelt may carve his definitive figure in the bronze that posterity will cherish.

(Translation)

SOURCE: LA NACION,
January 20, 1936. [sic].

THE EXAMPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

Today Franklin D. Roosevelt begins his second presidential term. Reelected by a huge majority of votes, the eminent citizen finds himself in exceptional conditions to continue to carry out his policy intended, at home, to conjure away the ills accumulated during the world crisis, and abroad, with respect to Latin America, to establish confidence on the firm basis of the rules of a good neighbor.

For us, as for many nations, the functioning of North American institutions continues to be a matter worthy of special attention because of the lessons it teaches. Whatever may be the defects of detail that may be noted in the mechanism, there is no doubt as to the respect for the essential principles of democracy. The idea of winning a triumph in the elections by methods not exactly identical but indeed somewhat similar to those used, with some frequency, among us, cannot arise in a nation in which one does not conceive the possibility of denying civic rights. Contributing to this result are certain conceptions of governmental ethics which are carried out in reality in the United States and in Argentina are often enunciated. There, there is a reaction, more and more powerful, against the false belief to which Mr. Roosevelt referred in his
address

address of March 4, 1933, that public offices and high political places ought to be esteemed only for the personal vanity and benefit which they bestow. All the practices urged by the men at the head are directed towards extirpating abuses and obtaining the predominance of justice and ethics. It is an effort to which are pledged all the forces of the nation, not excepting the political parties. Doctrinary controversy operates in a world always prepared to that effect, because of the existence of the conviction that a unanimity of opinions is not possible and would not be desirable. Each force takes its place in the struggle of ideas, and does it in due time, without fear of the risk of losing prospect of obtaining the positions which elsewhere are sought by patient waiting, decided by the weight of governmental factors.

While in the United States a new presidential term is inaugurated in the above circumstances, in our country, where the elections for renewing the presidency are only eight months away, symptoms are observed which are not at all favorable to institutional normality. The Province of Santa Fe, in which intervention has been in effect since October, 1935, a lapse of time which recalls the personal interventions, points to one of the weakest places in the policy of the Executive Power, considering

sidering the absence of any excuse for proceeding in that manner. The numerous lawsuits for alleged cases of disrespect, filed against newspaper men in the interior, constitute a retrogression with respect to the methods of the past, even the immediate past. The inability in which the Chamber of Deputies of the Congress saw itself last year to pronounce upon the credentials derived from the fraudulent elections in the Province of Buenos Aires is another sign revealing the lack of constitutional regularity. At the same time, as if these and other factors which might be mentioned were undermining confidence, a strange civic atony is observed. Indeed, in spite of the space of only a few months which separates us from the date of the elections, there is not perceived in the parties the agitation which is a precursor of the great decisions signified by the designation of the candidates. Public opinion, especially the independent bulk, which counts large numbers, is not informed of the proposals of the groups, nor can it be, in view of the fact that within the membership of the groups themselves they have not yet reached even the prolegomena of the large assemblies. The truth is that the party organizations, some due to their connection with officialdom and others for reasons that, probably, they consider useful for their purposes, maintain
silence,

silence, as if awaiting the decision of the Executive Power before adopting the proper attitude, whether one of opposition or adherence. While in the United States the president fights for his reelection or carries on propaganda for his party, and no one thinks about vote frauds, among us the influence of the president continues to be an element of incalculable value. In periods such as the present all eyes are turned on the First Magistrate, and among gossips the names are mentioned of the persons who, according to the informers, are said to enjoy his preference to receive the inheritance. The inexactitude of which such versions may suffer is not a matter of moment; the important thing is the significance implied by them, that is, the belief in the power of the president to cast decisive weight in the solutions.

We still have a long way to go to extirpate improper influences and electoral abuses. The country is still under the impression of the omnipotence of the Federal Executive Power, which intervenes in the provinces without a law of Congress and which prolongs the interventions beyond measure. The cases today are less numerous than yesterday, but both the former and the latter contain the germ of arbitrariness with a view to the elections. We must not lose hopes for a definitive reaction. To secure it, the effort of the political parties will, in the first place,

place, be necessary. Further, in contrast to this situation, reports are being received today on the inauguration of the new presidential term in the great democracy of the North. They must serve as a stimulus in the work which must be done.

EL MUNDO, January 20, 1937.

In His Second Administration Roosevelt Has
to Put His Experience to the Test to Over-
come Great and Profound Difficulties.

With the message that he will read before Congress today, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt begins his second administration. The enormous mass of votes that carried him to power must not be viewed merely as the triumph of a party, nor as the triumph of a given policy. Rather than the success of the Democratic Party or the policy of the N.R.A., - expressions very clearly defined for the voting public, - there triumphed in this case a man who embodied as few have done the spirit of free institutions. Mr. Roosevelt has been and is, to his fellow citizens, the man who maintains his faith in democracy. When many were straying, disillusioned, toward the formulas dictated by the emergency and were finding salvation in systems foreign to the American temperament, the President of the Union asserted himself as a defender of liberties. At another time, such an attitude would not have sufficed to form a platform. At that time, it constituted a whole program. There was no lack of critics of the politician, the statesman and the ruler during his first administration and after his reelection. But that was nothing more than

a lukewarm word for legalism, thrown out by the opposition. Confronted with difficult situations, with no time for consideration, with problems which appeared insoluble, he alone could act. And Roosevelt "acted". His executive temperament did not exceed the rights of the state and did not sweep away the rights of the citizen.

The Last Hours of the Hoover Administration.

To get an understanding of the extent to which Mr. Roosevelt had to carry his responsibility and proceed as he did, we have only to recall the last hours of the Hoover administration. On March 3, 1933 the banks suspended operations. Terror invaded the Stock Exchange. The crisis was precipitated, hundreds of credit institutions closed their doors, and 25,000,000 unemployed (one-fifth of the total population of the country) formed a true hunger patrol round about the gloomiest scepticism. One day later (the 4th), Roosevelt began his term. On the 9th he addressed a message to Congress. The NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, which had been characterized by its firm opposition to the candidate, had to acknowledge that the country was in firm hands. "Our first task", said Roosevelt, "is to re-open all the banks in sound financial condition". There was no time to lose. He asked for full powers to alleviate the financial situation. Twenty-four hours

later

later he again repeated the same request to alleviate the situation of the people. Thus was born the much discussed "New Deal". Whatever its results may have been, it is certain that it raised the morale of the profoundly discouraged people. More work. Shorter hours. Was that not planned economy? Yes; it was planned economy, if you wish, but it was also the beginning of a fight against the commercial monopolies and the financial consortiums that had brought the country to that deadfall. Whatever it may have been, it was democracy, because it was "controlled" to favor the greatest number and to limit the power of money, increasing the power of the government which watched over the life of the citizen.

Facing the Elections; The Opposition with Landon.

The election campaign assumed in 1936 the characteristics of a violent passion (as was not the case in 1932), and the opposition sought in Landon the man who, in the trend of his ideas, was further away from Roosevelt than any other in the Union. The Republicans accused the Democratic candidate of the exorbitance of expenditures, of the lack of a real plan in public works, of having utilized public moneys with a strong demagogic tendency in order to keep in touch with the man in the street, and, without denying what he had done to change the "tone"

of the nation, they accused him of having done nothing to lower the deficit in the budget. And his defense at Pittsburgh did not hit the target. It appeared that he was not replying to all the criticisms. He had, it is true, spent 1,500,000,000 dollars, but aside from the payment to the veterans, he likewise provided for unemployment with the groups of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and with public works so echeloned as to provide for prosperity. Some of those criticisms were, legally speaking, sound. The financiers could ask him for a balance of the budget; the parliamentarians for respect for the laws of the land, the defense of which had been assumed by the Supreme Court; the merchants and manufacturers for the removal of the heavy burden of taxation; and all who felt a certain optimism, as they had once before been led to disaster under the standard of the same word: PROSPERITY. But, and in general, had not Roosevelt been successful? This question was put to himself by the voter more than once, and when he wished to give himself the same confidence, he thought again of the confidence and optimism of Mr. Roosevelt.

lines. Organized Prosperity versus Organized Money

money Roosevelt has today an authority that he did not possess in 1932. For the time being, a majority of over

9,000,000

9,000,000 votes gives his former work an "O.K." that nobody can deny and that stimulates him to keep on with executive methods. It is to be believed that from the point of view of a program of government his second administration will be nothing more than a continuation of the first one. But with some limitations. In the first place, it is very difficult for him to come into conflict with the Supreme Court, as in the preceding term. The Democratic platform binds the President "to maintain the letter and the spirit of the Constitution". But he has his own ideas about the Constitution. He believes that the Constitution of the eighteenth century is not entirely well adapted to the United States of today. At least he has said so. It does not speak at all of the protection of the family and the home, and neither has it contemplated aid to those struck down by misfortune. Perhaps this may bring about a constitutional amendment, and this too would presage difficulties raised by the conservative elements. But as the Democratic Party also obligates him to fight against "the practices of unfair businesses", it would not be hard for him to ask for greater power for the government along those lines. His idea is: organized prosperity versus organized money.

... of liberalities in foreign trade policy, and the countries of America are bound to benefit, without

The

From the The Increase of the Public Debt.

Nothing causes it to be believed that the debts are diminishing. Mr. Roosevelt is facing his second administration, more and more persistent in furnishing "aid to the unemployed" and a "subsidy to the farmers". This will demand huge sums. It will require new taxes. The most unbiased commentators maintain that Roosevelt has been able to postpone that increase until after his reelection, but that he can not let much time go by without having recourse to new taxes if he wishes to render the life of the administration easier. The United States believes in Roosevelt. But while some consider that his political adroitness will come out triumphant, others think that it will fail, defeated by the weight of the very difficulties born of those solutions which he gave the country during his previous administration. However, the country's prospects are good. Although there is a national debt of more than \$33,000,000,000, there is confidence in business, and the number of unemployed varies from 8,000,000 to 11,000,000 persons, a figure that is still high, but that, if compared with the figures for 1932, gives a true indication that the nation has been improving. Roosevelt is a guarantee of liberalism in foreign trade policy, and the countries of America are bound to benefit, without doubt,

from

from the interchange of goods.

Transcendent Importance of the New Deal.

In the meantime we can only follow the New Deal with interest. Roosevelt has believed in democracy and is the work of democracy. Democracy has again brought him into power. If he succeeds in conquering the difficulties, undoubtedly numerous, that beset him, if he succeeds in creating a new mysticism around labor and in overcoming the obstacles which capital sets before him, if he can develop a course of action on the basis of the old formula of liberalism, to broaden the possibilities of the individual and at the same time render the government effective; if he succeeds in turning his "good neighbor policy" to advantage and in maintaining internal order, as he has done so far; if he can free his country of the conflicts which are darkening distant horizons and can give a precious meaning to peace, which he so frequently has invoked as necessary to the progress of nations, then he will not merely have made a good administration. He will have given the world a lesson beyond price.

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SOURCE: LA VANGUARDIA
January 20, 1936 [sic]

ROOSEVELT'S SECOND TERM

Today Franklin Delano Roosevelt begins his second presidential term, having been elected by an enormous majority in the election of November 3, 1936, as the Democratic candidate.

The triumph of the citizens who today will read his presidential message was greeted in the whole world as the triumph of democracy. In this sense we also gave him our applause on his reelection.

Franklin Roosevelt began his first presidential term when his country and the world were passing through an acute economic crisis. He developed a policy directed to the purpose of minimizing the effects of that situation, at least in the United States. But his work met with the obstacles which vested interests brought up against him under the economic system prevailing. Likewise the great mass of the citizens and the country saw in that effort an augury of better days and repeated the expression of their confidence in him. There is no doubt that Roosevelt will continue that policy, as he has promised in his program. But perhaps he will meet with serious difficulties to overcome. The depression crisis has not been overcome. The

deficit

deficit in the Federal budget is large, precisely because of the expenses occasioned by the policy of economic restoration. And furthermore, notwithstanding the creed of peace set forth by Roosevelt, the military expenses of the Union continue to increase.

Roosevelt's rise to the first magistracy of the United States for the second term can be considered an auspicious event in the present situation of the world because he is an ardent partisan of various measures for the rapprochement of the peoples and a greater mutual knowledge between them. In the midst of the nationalist and protectionist madness of the hour Roosevelt and his party proclaim and endeavor to carry out a broad program of free trade. This is an attitude of a peace-making character because it is conducive to softening the relations from nation to nation.

In short, Roosevelt is a defender of democracy. This is a merit in the present international situation of the world when extremist tendencies are struggling to impose themselves, with contempt for the individual rights which are considered as the most precious conquests of civilization.

In résumé, in view of the importance of the North American people in the economic and political relations of the nations, considering its possible weight as a

factor

factor for peace within the framework of the defective system of capitalistic production, it is a favorable symptom that the chief magistracy of the United States should be taken by a citizen inspired by really democratic principles.

As for the rest, the Socialist party of North America, which takes part in political struggles with a well-defined platform, defends the interests of the working class and constantly brings out the defects of the policy of the government.

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SOURCE: LA CRITICA
January 20, 1936 (sic)

ROOSEVELT AGAIN OCCUPIES THE SEAT OF WASHINGTON

In the presence of an immense multitude coming from all the corners of the enormous territory of the United States, Mr. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the great democrat, today again took the oath of office and assumed the position of President of the United States. His remaining as the first magistrate of the great nation has the meaning not only of the ratification of the confidence, on the part of his people, in his great gifts as a statesman, but also what is more important, that of a reaffirmation of democratic principles. Mr. Roosevelt's reelection most of all meant that. It was an act of faith of the North American people in the principles and the doctrine which constitute the spinal cord of democracy.

The political career of the great magistrate who visited our country a short time ago and his public life are nothing but an uninterrupted consecration to democratic principles. Very clearly did he in the presence of the enthusiasm of the immense majority of Argentine citizens proclaim his attachment to democracy at the
opening

opening act of the American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace. Nations must govern themselves by the will of their peoples freely expressed. Democracy is the sole guarantee of domestic peace and of concord between the nations. It is necessary that peoples and those who govern them should understand that. The path of humanity towards the happiness to which it has a right is possible only through the quiet channels of democracy. Such summed up in a few words, are the principles maintained by Mr. Roosevelt.

Clear it is that that work is not terminated. Four years are too short a period of time to complete the solutions required by the complex political economy and social architecture of a great nation. But this very circumstance is one which that people has not failed to take into account, when it first ratified the conduct of a government which was without spot. Unemployment has not disappeared from the United States. But out of the fifteen millions of persons out of work who were falling upon the national economy with the deadweight of their necessity and unproductivity, about half had been incorporated in the process of production. That is a consequence of the liberal, realistic and able policy

policy of President Roosevelt.

But more important than all these considerations is the indisputable fact that what shines in Mr. Roosevelt's high personality, what stands out in the happy harmony of his exceptional gifts for governing, is his human and democratic character, the character of a citizen respectful of the rights of his fellow citizens and of the rights and duties of his people. The magistrate on whom there falls no shadow of a transgression of the laws of his native land, the magistrate who with equanimity and calm presided over the impeccable elections in which his own candidacy was at stake, who repeated with a quiet voice, without any doubt whatever, the sober, sacramental, beautiful and austere formula of the constitutional oath of President of the United States:

"I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States".

TRANSLATION

SOURCE: LA FRONDA
January 20, 1936 [sic]

ROOSEVELT

The man of the thousand smiles will occupy today for the second time the presidency of the United States. Or rather, he will continue to occupy the White House, which he entered with a dash and vigor which few chief magistrates of the Union have been able to maintain in administration with the same intensity as in those formidable election campaigns a la Yankee. Roosevelt initiated his first presidential term with a revolution both in the system and in the details. As Hickes [sic]--one of his ex-ministers--has said, he attacked the party bureaucratic obligations in small matters; and with a stroke of the pen, within a few days after assuming his office, he provided that several hundreds of millions of dollars should be spent on public works in order to remedy unemployment. No man, in six years, has stirred up in our times a greater agitation. On the edge of bankruptcy, the land of dollars found its man. A man who is ill from the physical standpoint but with a mental and spiritual health above any weakness. The "New Deal", applauded and combatted; the "Agricultural Act" which unloosed a tempest of diatribe and eulogy; the whole series of measures of
foreign

foreign policy, show that Franklin D. Roosevelt was not-- not only an ordinary man--one president more, but a fighter, responsible, almost heroic, in his boldness. Reports from the United States now say that all the nerves of the nation felt a thrill when that urge of excitement unexpectedly shook them. And in a short time his figure, if not his work (which was debated), gained for him among his people the place which the Yankees reserve for those who appear a little like Lincoln in the affection for his native land.

Others have told what reasons moved the Americans to vote for Roosevelt for the second time. Among all those reasons, an observer of weight preferred the opinion that Roosevelt gained for himself the personal gratitude of each one of his voters. That observer said it almost contemptuously. But in the case of a people like that, one can never forget the mass. Roosevelt has favored the latter in its fundamental necessities, and it has carried him to the White House because his presence there seemed urgent to it as one more necessity. The man of the thousand smiles, agreeable to the Argentinians who received him very recently with the hospitality and rejoicing with which those who accomplish something are honored, will ascend the slopes of the Capitol with the same simplicity that we saw in him during the few hours of his visit.

And

And this very night, in order to confirm what we know of his first term as President, he will work ten consecutive hours for the good of his people. It is the general impression that Roosevelt's day is about 18 hours of intense labor. It is possible that not otherwise could that man, who is almost an invalid, reach the frieze of heroic figures in which appear the great statesmen of the world.

Translation

NOTICIAS GRAFICAS, January 21, 1937.

Roosevelt's Speech.

The speech that President Roosevelt was to make at the opening of his second term of office was awaited with profound interest. It cannot be said that his words did not meet the general expectation. On the contrary, it was fully satisfied by the firm ideas and the human accent that once more characterized the address of the mandatary of the United States.

Roosevelt alluded very briefly to the immense task performed during the first four years of his administration, in which "he endeavored to settle, for the individual, the ever increasing problems of the complex of civilization". The President then explained that from the first moment he had "the feeling of the truth that a democratic government has an innate capacity to protect the people from the disasters which in other times were considered inevitable". His profession of faith in democracy is well known, and Roosevelt availed himself of the solemn occasion to reaffirm it with his well known sincerity and vigor. His whole speech is, in reality, nothing more than the expression of his confidence in the democratic system, under which the individual may attain happiness and the nation economic well-being. Referring to all these aspects of
the

the broad question, Roosevelt wished to leave well established in each of them the endless possibilities of democracy, under the principles of which he fought the great battle the results of which are evident. So he said categorically: "The essential democracy of the Nation and the security of the people do not depend on the absence of a power, but on giving it to those whom the people can change or can continue to support, at fixed intervals, by means of an honest and free system of elections." It cannot cause any surprise that he believed it necessary to refer to the purity of the suffrage, the basis and essence of all authentic democracy. Roosevelt knows well that without a vote given freely the Constitution and its system are only a myth.

From his whole speech this great lesson stands out: all the good that man needs can be obtained under an authentic democratic system, despite the pretexts which the partisans of dictatorships find to justify themselves, alleging the advantage of granting all-embracing powers to a single man through the citation of dubious political or human needs.

We have said before that Roosevelt spoke little of what has been done already. He took much more time when he referred, in general terms, to what was still to be done. He followed in that part that tone of irresistible force and conviction that always flows from his discourses,

in which there is no room for the commonplace. He outlined visible evils, and expressed his purpose of attacking them. "I am not painting this picture with despair, but with hope, because the Nation, which sees and understands injustice, proposes to obliterate it", he said. And he closed with these words, which summarize his ideas and his proposals: "The Government is competent when all those composing it work as trustees for the whole people; it can make constant progress when it keeps itself informed on all facts".

[COPY: EJJ: SS]
[COMP.]

SOURCE: LA CRITICA
January 21, 1937.

Roosevelt's Word Has Spread to All the Latitudes of the Planet

There is no ruler, there is no citizen in the world who at this hour does not know that powerful hymn to democracy and that vigorous attack on social injustice which appeared in the speech which was delivered at Washington yesterday by this, the chief figure of contemporary politics.

At a time when the maddened world of the dictators is full of audacity and aggressiveness, Roosevelt, with this historical speech, has set the antithesis of doctrines before the court of the world. Seldom has a leader of democracy spoken with more clearness, with more courage. The truth is that as soon as Roosevelt spoke the conception of democracy rose in the whole world and lost that vacillation and decline, a mixture of submission and resignation, which certain contemporary figures had given it.

Roosevelt is teaching the world how democracy, in order not to be drowned by fascism and the dictatorships, must assume a fighting attitude and a militant activity. Exactly: the skepticism which at certain moments appeared, spiritually, in the world regarding democratic efficiency and regarding any reason for its survival, was largely caused by the contemplative policy, by the vacillations betraying a lack of will, of those who having the duty of confronting

confronting efforts and holding them back do not know how to assume in time a worthy attitude. In the present real crisis of character, fascism carried to the extreme the note of its audacity and the Hitlers and the Mussolinis multiply the insanity of their gestures and their intentions. Fortunately for the world, the mere moral value of the word of a Roosevelt and the factual proof of heroism offered to us by the simple workmen of Spain, are building up a defense. Now even an Eden, a master of vacillation, knows how to assume a firm attitude and to deliver categorical words in the face of the boasting of the Duce as is shown by his speech of day before yesterday.

Roosevelt has explained how the government of democracy, while respecting all liberties of doctrines, can energetically carry out its rôle.

In view of the real juridical mandate which was the meaning of the vote which endorsed him four years ago, Roosevelt, with a firm hand checked speculation, drowned out plutocratic representatives, attacked exclusive privileges and demonstrated that there is no need of dictatorships and subjects of a Caesar to transform a regime and the traditional panorama of a country. The Constitutionalist system -- as the great statesmen so clearly says -- instead of rendering democracies impotent, invigorates them if action is taken with a passion for the public welfare and

the autocratic interests of private springs of action are placed at the service of all. It is with reason that Roosevelt declares with pride that his administration broke the legend of the invincibility of certain interests. As no one will fail to understand the reference is to plutocracy and privilege.

But Roosevelt's speech is great and of outstanding importance not only because of its democratic significance, because of what it means as an antithetical voice against the wildness of fascism but also because the courage which it shows in its reference to social justice. Here is the great socialist word which has in these hours been heard in the world from a man who is not of the socialist party. Without bigotedly attaching himself to a specific doctrine, Roosevelt has labored and will labor during these coming four years for a better world. He wishes to see the 130 millions of beings who constitute the population of his native land blessed with the benefits of a better standard of life and there is a real sadness, there is in his speech a tone of deep bitterness which for a long time past has not been heard from a man of his rank.

At a time when we still fell the unforgettable emotion we experienced at his great speech forty days ago, this new speech by Roosevelt, delivered at Washington and sent over the radio to the whole world, proves to us that the
great

great citizen who was our guest has the right to display the rank of leader of world democracy. Everything joins in him to prevent any dispute as to his right to that eminent rank. His talent, the passion of citizenship which he puts into his words, the generous aim for social justice which he today shows in his actions, and above all, that militant energy which he furnishes to democracy in its struggle against fascism. His resounding speech of yesterday shows that in Roosevelt democracy has a formidable builder and a luminous maker of orientations.

COPY: EH: SS]
COMP: felt]

LA RAZON, January 21, 1937.

A Speech of Full Reaffirmation.

A summary of Roosevelt's splendid address, upon beginning yesterday the second term of his administration, can be given in a few words: reaffirmation of the policy followed up to the present. Experience, far from suggesting to him a correction in his courses, indicates the maintenance of his former judgment. It does not seem necessary to recall that when that man of extraordinary faith and rugged character assumed power with immense responsibilities, the United States was passing, economically and socially, through one of the deepest depressions ever known in what had been the classic country of prosperity; nor is it necessary to repeat that his revolutionary ideas encountered bitter opposition on the part of those who believe that the best art of governing is that displayed by a minimum of state action. Like Lenin, Mussolini and Hitler, Roosevelt accomplished a real revolution in business, in finance and in social matters, bringing planned or controlled economy into a field heretofore unsuspected in the magnificent nation of the North, which was built on the basis of individualism. For that reason the Supreme Court of Justice, on more than one occasion,

occasion, had to annul some of his decisions, based on principles contrary to the old Constitution which, as is well known, was the model for our Constitution of 1853.

While the speech we are discussing introduces a ratification of all of his former policy, it likewise contains pleasing promises for the future of America. His "good neighbor policy", to which reference is made as a standard to be followed, had the virtue of dispelling the not unfounded distrust with which the American continent viewed the foreign advances of the White House. Cuba, Venezuela and Mexico felt on more than one occasion the weight of Washington, which was contemplated with fear by the countries on the Pacific and the Atlantic. From the first days of his first term, Roosevelt dispelled those expressions of a new Monroeism and won at one stroke the full good will of all America. If that policy of Americanism needed a cement, it found it in the Buenos Aires Conference, which has already won a place in the history of the fundamental ideology of our continent. With an ideological climate such as has just been created (and it would be unjust to forget the Argentine efforts in that direction), much can now be hoped in the near future in the way of a great increment of intellectual and commercial intercourse. The fair illusion of yesterday

is on the way to being converted into the beautiful reality of tomorrow, and our country made a good contribution towards this pleasing transformation.

Roosevelt also reaffirms his faith and hope in democracy. That is explained, among other reasons, by the noble way in which it is being developed there. Its basic and largely traditional parties respond to principles and ideas that are their creed and dogma. They have at their head men who are conscious of the immense responsibility that attends the leaders. They cooperate towards the common good, without other aspiration than that of the boundless progress of the nation, and log-rolling and plots to further purely personal interests are alien to their practices. Democracy, thus understood and thus applied, constantly improved, is bound to merit the eulogies which Roosevelt has just devoted to it in his speech, repeating his former opinions on this system of government, anchored for centuries in the Constitution of that country.

In general outline, such are the ideas contained in the speech with which the second book of his presidential work begins. It was awaited eagerly, and its content has not disappointed expectations. The whole world, which has been watching the United States for some time, will
receive

receive it with applause. Argentina, bound more than ever to that great country by ties of all kinds, expresses her wishes that increasing prosperity may attend this second administration of Roosevelt, the man with a character of iron and of a faith without bounds.

(Translation)

SOURCE: LA NACION,
January 22, 1936 [sic].

President Roosevelt's Ideas.

In the address delivered by Franklin D. Roosevelt on taking his oath of office, on the occasion of the inauguration of the new presidential term, the ideas are summarized which he set forth on many occasions and which gave him such undeniable popularity in the United States. They are, in substance, the democratic principles which he raised in his propaganda to the level of politico-social ideology and which revealed to his fellow citizens that this man, this leader of opinion, in spite of his using a language of current formulae, brought to the country no routine spirit but a disciplined will to accomplish a work of transformation. On their face, his declarations did not differ from those which North American politicians invested with the responsibility of government have been making and are accustomed to make, since none of them, whatever his party, would profess tenets contrary to democracy or ignore the existence of urgent problems relating to the needy masses. Nevertheless, Mr. Roosevelt's words have for everyone a more profound meaning and at the same time a more specific meaning. His democratic sentiment and his interpretation of the means that it offers are not confined solely

to

to the exaltation of a system which assures to the individual the enjoyment of liberty and the protection of undeniable rights; in addition to this they represent a pliable and strong instrument to work for the effective improvement of the moral conditions and the real situation of people, since the life of a nation is not limited to expecting good administration and scrupulous application of the laws; it includes the solving of serious, difficult and dangerous problems which are connected with the well being which is the due of each person, with his proper place in society, with his demands for justice.

What Mr. Roosevelt calls in his address "the ever increasing problem of the complexity of civilization", which includes economy, the distribution of wealth, the spread of employment, the gradual lifting of living standards, the diffusion of the means of progress, whose influence continuously determines advances and backsets in the world, must be for the modern ruler a systematic preoccupation and a program in the government of the state. And only the methods whereby the people changes or confirms the men who are to govern it, are the ones having efficacy to raise and settle those problems, or in other words those which best serve that which constitutes the "complexity of civilization". Making use of them in the course of four years, Mr. Roosevelt's administration was able to
establish

establish a control over blind economic forces and haughty selfishness and protect the nation against the disasters which elsewhere are considered inevitable by anti-democratic pessimism. During this period of fruitful trials those who believe themselves above the democratic government of the community were put to rout. "They have been defied and defeated", Mr. Roosevelt says.

He began to govern at the worst moment of the economic depression; but the work of reconstruction, of reviving creative energy, is not confined to the recovery of prosperity: upon the old foundation it is necessary to build a stronger and more ample edifice with "new materials" demanded by "a new order", based on social justice. The increase in production, facilitated by a richly endowed nature, can thus be translated into the extension of human comforts, be expressed in advantages which go beyond the mere requirements of subsistence. There are in the United States millions of inhabitants who do not have what is an indispensable necessity, who suffer from want, and this indigence, this form of lack of balance or injustice must call for experiments, and constant efforts to find the remedy, to suppress this poverty and attain to standards of social justice, which democratic procedure may bring, because this progressive perfectibility is a condition of democracy, inasmuch as a nation
which

which sees and understands those phenomena of inequality tends to eliminate them. If we interpret Mr. Roosevelt exactly, his doctrine of government of the people is based on an aspiration toward unceasing social perfection. He has demonstrated the sincerity and efficiency with which he can apply his ideas, and this firmness of character and this clarity of intelligence in action enhance the prestige with which now he once more assumes the destinies of the great Republic of America. He presents himself before the nations with the authority of the statesman who is accomplishing his thought without dissimulating it and without belittling it through momentary weaknesses or useless violences.

Embajada
de la
República Argentina

Octubre 6 de 1937.

Agradeceré a V.E. se sirva expresar al Excmo. Señor Presidente Roosevelt nuestra adhesión a las nobles manifestaciones que acaba de realizar con tan admirable oportunidad que confirman la fé en el imperio que alcanzarán en definitiva la justicia y el derecho de que es ilustre exponente.

Nos es grata la coincidencia de sus trascendentes declaraciones con el voto unánime de la Asamblea de la Sociedad de las Naciones que acaba de consagrar la posibilidad, en ciertos casos, de una cooperación universal en el afianzamiento de la Paz respondiendo a los grandes postulados que se consagraron en la Conferencia de Buenos Aires bajo su alta inspiración e iniciativa.

*Embajada
de la
Republica Argentina*

October 6, 1937.

I shall be grateful if you will be good enough to convey to His Excellency, President Roosevelt, our adhesion to his noble declaration recently made at such an admirably opportune moment which confirms faith in the ultimate reign of justice and right of which he is an illustrious exponent.

We are pleased at the coincidence of his transcendental statements with the unanimous vote of the Assembly of the League of Nations which has just made manifest the possibility in certain cases of world-wide cooperation in the affirmation of peace, responding to the great postulates consecrated at the Conference of Buenos Aires upon his initiative and under his lofty inspiration.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Hyde Park, N. Y.,
October 16, 1937.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

It is entirely agreeable to me that President-elect Ortiz should come here, and I take it that, as his Inauguration is on February 20th, he will be in Washington prior to the first of February. Go ahead with the arrangements.

Be sure to check with White House Social Bureau which has already prepared program of receptions and dinners at White House for coming season.

F. D. R.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

October 15, 1937

My dear Mr. President:

Espil had dinner with me alone last night and in the course of our talk he told me that he had learned from the Associated Press that Dr. Ortiz, the President-elect of Argentina, had actually said to the press correspondents that he hoped before his inauguration on February 20 next to visit the United States.

Under the Argentine Constitution Dr. Ortiz will be considered officially the President-elect after the college of electors ratifies his election, and this is scheduled to take place on October 20.

I think it would be a singularly helpful thing--particularly in view of our recent

The President,

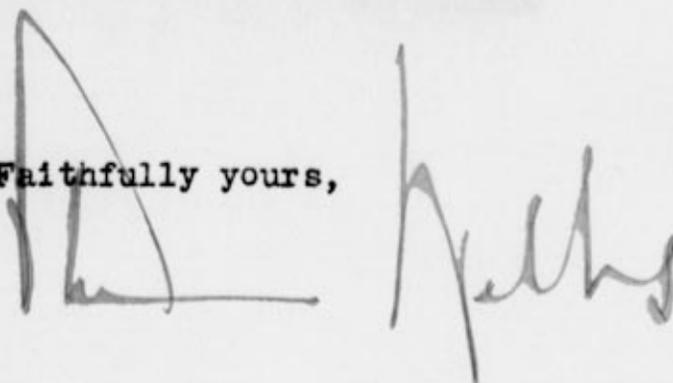
The White House.

flurry with Argentina—if Dr. Ortiz did visit the United States before his inauguration, and I consequently wish to know if you will authorize me to instruct Weddell to take an early opportunity of telling Dr. Ortiz that he has been instructed by you to let the President-elect know personally that you will be particularly happy if he finds it possible to make this visit. I am hoping that the preliminary conversations for the trade agreement will commence within the next two or three weeks and if Dr. Ortiz's visit coincided with the announcement on the part of the two Governments that the trade agreement was to be negotiated, it would probably make the President-elect particularly happy since it would enhance his own prestige at home.

Will you let me know what your wishes may be.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "W. H. Taft". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping initial "W" and a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

file personal

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

file Argentina

October 18, 1937.

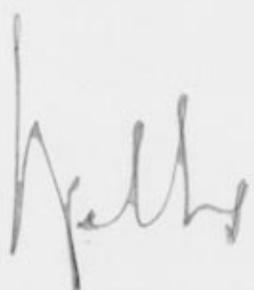
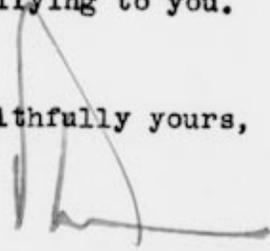
My dear Mr. President:

Spruille Braden has sent me with a personal letter a copy of a letter which he received under date of October 8th from Dr. Marcelo de Alvear, former President of Argentina and the defeated candidate in the recent elections for the presidency. I think you may find this expression of opinion of the leader of the great Radical Party in Argentina gratifying to you.

copy

Believe me

Faithfully yours,



Enc.

The President,

The White House.

TRANSLATION

Buenos Aires, October 8, 1937.

Mr. Spruille Braden,

CAPITAL.

Distinguished Ambassador and esteemed friend:

I feel the need of expressing to the worthy representative of the great North American Republic my congratulations for the clear expression, the lofty thought and the rigorous morality of its great President, all of which have been clearly brought out in the address delivered in Chicago.

All you Americans and especially you diplomatic representatives who have a direct contact with the Government of your country should be proud of the great President whom your noble and glorious country has the good luck to possess.

Very cordially yours,

M. T. de ALVEAR

Manuelita

Casa Rosado, Buenos Aires, Febrero 19 de 1928.

Mi estimado Señor Presidente:

Entre las satisfacciones más íntimas que he recibido, con motivo de mi asunción a la Primera Magistratura de la República Argentina, figura su expresivo mensaje de calificación, traido por los accionados y expertos viajeros de su patria.

Mucho agradezco los sentimientos de franca amistad, que remueve en tan significativa comunicación y, créame, que está en mi espíritu estrecharla cada vez más.

Realmente, los lazos de unión entre las dos Repúblicas no han derivado, tan sólo, de nuestros protocolos de acercamiento. Son la consecuencia de ideales comunes, de aspiraciones legítimas y de una política uniforme hacia la conservación de la paz, que es la única base para el perfeccionamiento de toda civilización.

Nuestras instituciones republicanas y nuestra orientación de solidaridad internacional se han inspirado siempre, en las de su progresista país; y es un motivo de orgullo nacional poder mantenerlas y perpetuarlas.

Es manifestado ya, que una de las normas primordiales de mi gobierno será la de responder a las innumerables demostraciones de buena vecindad que nos han hecho llegar los países de América, con la misma altura de propósitos y la misma fe en los destinos del continente.

No hayo un deber en reiterarle esta manifestación de principios, que he desentrañado del pueblo argentino y de mis propias convicciones, como la mayor prueba de fraternidad y entendimiento.

El agradecer, el envío de los brillantes alas americanas, que han subrayado su espontáneo mensaje sobre la serenidad prajicia de nuestro cielo, saludo al excelentísimo Presidente, al Gobierno y al Pueblo de los Estados Unidos y me reitero su muy sincero amigo.

Salvo. M. Ortíz

R.F.

~~Translation pl.~~

~~MM~~

R.I.S.

For immediate
translation

R.F.

7 490

2/28.

Registration Bureau

For immediate

translation &

return to the

White House

E. Z. Harkness

RECEIVED



FEB 28 1938 PM

Mr Forster

Special

Translated

P. S. F. - Argentina

Mr
Christy

Mrs Lewis

[TRANSLATION]

Casa Rosada, Buenos Aires, Argentina

February 19, 1938.

My dear Mr. President:

Among the deepest satisfactions which I have received on the occasion of my accession to the First Magistracy of the Argentine Republic there is your cordial message of greeting, brought by the bold and expert aviators of your country.

I am deeply grateful for the sentiments of frank friendship which you renew in this significant communication; believe me when I say that I intend to make this friendship ever closer.

Truly the bonds of union between the two republics have not originated only in our protocols of rapprochement. They are the consequence of common ideals, of legitimate aspirations, and of a uniform policy tending to preserve peace, which is the sole foundation for the perfecting of any civilization.

Our republican institutions and our policy of international solidarity have ever been inspired in those of your progressive country, and it is a reason for national pride to be able to maintain and to perpetuate them.

I have always said that one of the primary rules of

my

my Administration will be that of responding to the innumerable demonstrations of the good neighbor policy that the countries of America have given us with the same lofty views and the same faith in the destinies of the continent.

I make it my duty to repeat to you this statement of principles which I have drawn from the Argentine people as well as from my own convictions as the greatest proof of fraternity and good understanding.

In thanking you for sending the brilliant American aviators who emphasized their spontaneous message on the auspicious serenity of our sky, I greet the distinguished President, the Government, and the people of the United States, and repeat, that I am their

Very sincere friend,

[Signed] ROBERTO M. ORTIZ

To His Excellency,

Franklin Delano Roosevelt,

President of the United States of America.

Argentina - 1938

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 1, 1938

MEMORANDUM:

We are advised that this was given
out at the State Department the evening of
February 28, 1938.



RESORT HOTEL IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

The SHOREHAM

Connecticut Avenue at Calvert Street
Washington, D. C.

Sept. 19th 1938.

My dear Mr. President,

Thank you so much for the excellent photograph you sent me of yourself. It was most kind of you, and I am very pleased, and very proud indeed to have it.

Since our delightful luncheon at Hyde Park I have seen Mr. O'Connor on several occasions, and Mr. Tombs. I am glad to be able to tell you that work

on the school will begin within
the next few days. We have
arranged to add a small
library, which I think will be
an asset.

I spent a very interesting
week-end in Detroit. Excellent
work is being done at the
Orthopaedic Clinic, & Convalescent Home.
An intensive study is being
made over a period of years
of the social & home problems
of patients who have been
under our care. We hope to
publish a report of our findings
within the next two or three
years which should be of
value, & interest.

We deeply appreciate your
kindness to us, and the



RESORT HOTEL IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

The SHOREHAM

Connecticut Avenue at Calvert Street
Washington, D.C.

privilege of having met you
will always remain a
very real and happy memory.
With kindest regards
in which my husband joins
me,

Very sincerely,

Katherine Tuck.

File
Bureau

Buenos Aires.

June 2nd 1939.

Dear Mr. President,

It was most kind
of you to write to me, - your letter
has given me the greatest pleasure.

I am indeed sorry that I
could not be at the Dedication of the
School, - but I am looking forward
to our next leave at home, when
we shall most certainly visit
Warm Springs. I can only hope
that this will be at a time

when you are there.

We are delighted that
Mr. Norman Arneour is to be our
Ambassador here, he arrives very
soon, and is much needed in this
busy and difficult post. We have
been alone here since two weeks
after our arrival last October,
and have tried very hard to
do our best.

I am enclosing a few more
Stamps from the Postal Congress, -
please do not trouble to acknowledge
them. I am so glad you liked the
others I sent.

Mr. O'Connor tells me classes
started May 15th - I am so happy
that the school belongs to a
Community under your guidance
and care.

With every good wish in
which my husband joins me,

Most sincerely,

Katherine Tuck.

PSF: Argentina - 1939

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

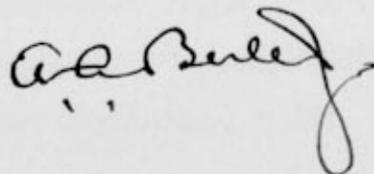
October 25, 1939

My dear Mr. President:

You will recall that you recently signed a letter to President Ortiz of Argentina on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the establishment of direct air service between that country and the United States.

The original of the reply made by President Ortiz has now been received from the American Embassy in Buenos Aires and is enclosed, together with an English translation. The text of your letter and the reply from President Ortiz were given to the press in Buenos Aires and in Washington on October 12, 1939.

Faithfully yours,



Enclosures:

1. From President Ortiz, October 11, 1939.
2. Translation.

The President,

The White House.

Department of State

BUREAU }
DIVISION }

RA

ENCLOSURE

TO

Letter drafted

ADDRESSED TO

The President, The White
House

PSF: Argentina

Presidente de la Nación Argentina

Octubre 11 de 1939.

Mi estimado Señor Presidente:

Me complace en acusar recibo de la carta que Vuestra Excelencia me dirige con ocasión del décimo aniversario del servicio aéreo directo entre Estados Unidos y la Argentina.

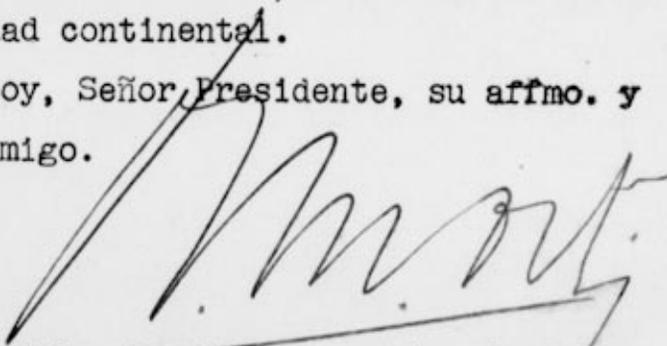
En tan grata oportunidad, es para mí una gran satisfacción rendir tributo a los maravillosos progresos realizados por la aviación civil de Estados Unidos que, al aproximar cada vez más a nuestros dos países, han hecho posible el contacto de sus pueblos y el conocimiento recíproco de sus intereses y de su cultura.

Los resultados obtenidos hasta hoy permiten augurar nuevos progresos de las comunicaciones aéreas entre las dos naciones, y me

agrada pensar que eso será para bien de la obra de paz y de trabajo que constituye nuestro común ideal.

El contacto fácil y rápido que asegura esa línea entre los Estados Unidos y la Argentina, y el constante progreso en que se desenvuelve y mejora tan precioso recurso de acercamiento por el esfuerzo ejemplar de la industria norteamericana, servirán sin duda a la amistad cada vez más estrecha y cordial de las dos repúblicas y a la empeñosa colaboración de sus gobiernos en el terreno de la solidaridad continental.

Soy, Señor Presidente, su affmo. y sincero amigo.



Al Excmo. Señor Presidente de los Estados Unidos de Norte América, D. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Excmo. Señor Presidente de los Estados Unidos
de Norte América

Don FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Casa Blanca

Washington

EE.UU.

Presidente de la Nación Argentina

PSF: Argentina

TRANSLATION

President of the Argentine Nation

October 11, 1939

My dear Mr. President:

I take pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of the letter which Your Excellency addressed to me on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of direct air service between the United States and Argentina.

On such a happy occasion, it gives me great satisfaction to pay homage to the marvelous progress realized by the civil aviation of the United States which, in bringing our two countries closer together, has made possible the meeting of their peoples and the mutual knowledge of their interests and culture.

The results thus far obtained make it possible to foresee further progress in aerial communications between the two nations, and I am happy to think that this shall be for the work of peace and progress which constitute our common ideal.

The easy and rapid contact assured by the line between the United States and Argentina, and the constant progress

progress in which such a valuable means of communication develops and improves, will doubtless serve more and more to strengthen the close and cordial friendship of the two republics and the earnest collaboration of their governments in the field of continental solidarity.

I am, Mr. President, your affectionate and sincere friend,

R. M. ORTIZ

To His Excellency the President of
the United States of North America,
Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Translated by:
RA:AED:CZS

7

[Translation]

Argentine Republic

Ministry of Worship and Foreign Relations

First Pan American Housing Conference

Organizing Commission - Santa Fe 953

Buenos Aires, November 8, 1939.

His Excellency

The President of the United States of North America,
Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt.-

S/D.

His Excellency

The President:

On the close of the tasks of our First Pan American Housing Conference, I have the honor to express to Your Excellency our most cordial gratitude for the distinguished delegation from your country which you were good enough to appoint and which has so brilliantly represented your great sister nation at our conference and contributed, with its important aid, to the success of this Assembly.

As an expression of this gratitude, I take pleasure in sending you a medal commemorating the Conference and I
hope

hope that Your Excellency will keep it as a modest reminder of it.

With the highest and most distinguished consideration,

JUAN F. CAFFERATA

President

RÓMULO AMADEO

Secretary General

[There is a stamp of the Organizing
Committee of the First Pan American
Housing Conference]

Transmitt
14/6/39

Enclosure
held at
White House

República Argentina
Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto
Primer Congreso Panamericano de la Vivienda Popular
Comisión Organizadora - Santa Fe 953

Buenos Aires, noviembre 8 de 1939

Al Excelentísimo Señor Presidente de los Estados Unidos de Norte América, Don Franklin D. Roosevelt.-

S/D.

Exmo. Señor Presidente:

Terminadas ya las tareas de nuestro Primer Congreso Panamericano de la Vivienda Popular, tengo el honor de hacer llegar a V.E. nuestro más vivo agradecimiento por la destacada delegación de ese país que tuvo a bien designar y que en forma tan brillante ha representado a esa gran nación hermana en nuestro certámen contribuyendo con su valioso aporte al mayor éxito de esta Asamblea.-

Como expresión de este agradecimiento, me complace en enviarle una medalla conmemorativa del Congreso esperando que V.E. la guarde como un modesto recuerdo del mismo.-

Sin otro particular, saluda al Exmo. Sr. Presidente con su más alta y distinguida consideración

Rómulo Amadeo

Rómulo Amadeo
Secretario General

Juan F. Cafferata
Presidente



B. A.
May file
June 16 1939

My dear Mr. President:

There is enclosed the English translation of a letter addressed to you by the Union Popular Argentina por la Alianza de las Americas, which the Embassy at Buenos Aires was particularly requested to transmit to the Department for the information of the White House.

It appears from the comment made by the Embassy that the Alianza has a decided political tinge, but that its aims are for the moment similar to those of our Government with respect to inter-American relations. The Embassy also expresses the opinion that the Alianza should be carefully watched since, through possible increasing influence of the Radical party from which it draws many of its members, it may assume more and more importance and influence on Argentine foreign policy.

There is attached a draft of a letter for my signature which, if it meets with your approval, could be sent to the

Embassy

The President,

The White House.

-2-

Embassy at Buenos Aires with instructions to transmit it
in an appropriate manner.

Faithfully yours,

Sumner Welles

Enclosures:

1. Translation of letter
from Union Popular
Argentina por la Alianza
de las Americas.
2. Suggested reply to letter
from the Alianza.

My dear Mr. Araujo:

On behalf of the President I take pleasure in acknowledging with his thanks the receipt of the generous letter from the Unión Popular Argentina por la Alianza de las Américas, signed by you and by the other officials of the Alianza, with respect to the problems of foreign policy facing the American Republics.

Your kind endorsement of the good neighbor policy and of President Roosevelt's initiative in international affairs have been genuinely gratifying to the President, who is likewise most appreciative of your cordial comment concerning the recent good will visit to Argentine waters of the Seventh Cruiser Division of the United States Navy.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Eduardo Araujo,
Secretario General,
Union Popular Argentina por la
Alianza de las Americas,
25 de Mayo 158 - Esc. 512,
Buenos Aires, Argentina.

UNION POPULAR ARGENTINA
POR LA
ALIANZA DE LAS AMERICAS

25 DE MAYO 1938 - Esc. 512

BUENOS AIRES

May 8, 1939

FUNDADORES

Marcelo T. de Alvear
 Rodolfo Moreno
 Santiago C. Fassi
 Fernando Saquier
 Vicente Solano Lima
 José P. Tamborini
 Julio A. Noble
 Carlos M. Noel
 Américo Ghioldi
 Juan José Díaz Arana
 Eduardo Araujo
 Emilio Troise
 Victor Juan Guillot
 Carlos Sanchez Viamonte
 Leónidas Anastasi
 Avelino Sellarés
 Raúl Damonte Taborda
 Francisco Perez Leirós
 Arturo Orzábal Quintana
 Rodolfo Araoz Alfaro
 Carlos E. Cisneros

**JUNTA EJECUTIVA
CENTRAL***Secretario General:*

Eduardo Araujo

Secretario:

Arturo Orzábal Quintana

Tesorero:

Duncan Haymes

Vocales:

Julio A. Noble
 Leónidas Anastasi
 Francisco Perez Leirós
 Julio González Iramain
 Rodolfo Araoz Alfaro
 Emir Mercader

To His Excellency the President
 of the United States of America
 Mr. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
 Washington, D. C.

Excellency,

The most welcome visit of the seventh division of cruisers under the command of rear admiral Kimmel, affords us Argentines a new opportunity to express our warm adherence to your defence of peace and international law. As an organization joining the main political, cultural and labor forces of this country in the common purpose of promoting a Pan American defensive agreement, the Argentine Popular Union for the Alliance of the Americas has the honor to declare that your Good Neighbor policy in the western hemisphere and your firm stand against totalitarian aggressions throughout the world, added to the tokens of special friendship that your Government has given the Argentine people, have enormously increased our traditional feelings of fraternity towards the United States of America.

The International Congress of Democracy recently held in Montevideo, which has been a genuine expression of popular will, has proved that all the Latin American countries share these feelings.

On the occasion of the Lima Conference, and for several months previously, Argentine popular opinion manifested its support in your scheme of continental solidarity; and it was a matter of deep regret for the people of this country, therefore, that more positive results were not reached by that Pan American gathering.

73 5. 60/522

PSF: Argentina

UNION POPULAR ARGENTINA
POR LA
ALIANZA DE LAS AMERICAS

25 DE MAYO 1958 - Esc. 512

BUENOS AIRES

FUNDADORES

- Marcelo T. de Alvear
- Rodolfo Moreno
- Santiago C. Fassi
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- José P. Tamborini
- Julio A. Noble
- Carlos M. Noel
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- Raúl Damonte Taborda
- Francisco Perez Leirós
- Arturo Orzábal Quintana
- Rodolfo Araoz Alfaro
- Carlos E. Cisneros

JUNTA EJECUTIVA
CENTRAL

Secretario General:

Eduardo Araujo

Secretario:

Arturo Orzábal Quintana

Tesorero:

Duncan Haymes

Vocales:

- Julio A. Noble
- Leónidas Anastasi
- Francisco Perez Leirós
- Julio González Iramain
- Rodolfo Araoz Alfaro
- Emir Mercader

Fully conscious of an impending danger to the sovereignty of these sister nations, the Argentine people adheres unreservedly to your declaration of April 14 last, that it is necessary "to match force with force if any attempt is made to subvert our institutions or impair the independence of any one of our group". The alliance of the Americas is one of the most vehement aspirations of our people.

We have also greeted with joy the declaration that your country "will give economic support, so that no American nation need surrender any fraction of its sovereign freedom to maintain its economic welfare". Argentine popular opinion regards the spirit of this fraternal statement as implying the certainty that all commercial difficulties between our two countries will very soon disappear.

The Central Executive Board of the A.P.U.A.A. express their best wishes for the pursuit of your enlightened policy, and have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency the assurance of their highest consideration.

Orzábal Quintana
Exec. Secretary

E. Araujo
Gen. Secretary

Treasurer

Members:

[Handwritten signatures of members]

*file
confidential*

PSF: Argentina

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

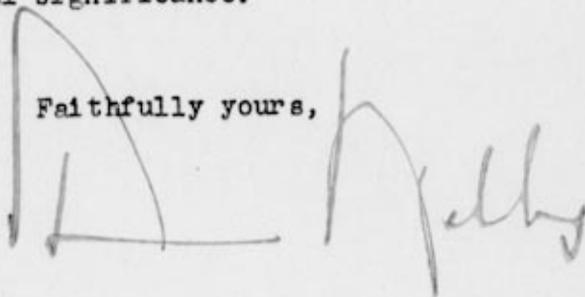
June 14, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

I believe that you will wish to read the enclosed despatch from Norman Armour, which I think is of very real significance.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,



The President,
The White House.

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Buenos Aires, June 6, 1940

No. 739

By air mail June 7, 1940.

OPINION OF CHIEF OF ARGENTINE NAVAL
AIR SERVICE AS TO ARGENTINE COOPERATION
IN THE EVENT OF WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED
STATES AND THE TOTALITARIAN POWERS.

~~Strictly Confidential~~

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

With reference to my strictly confidential telegrams no. 169 of June 1, 4 p.m. and no. 171 of June 2, 9 p.m., regarding projected discussions relating to defense plans, I have the honor to enclose as of pertinent interest a memorandum of a conversation with Captain Marcos A. Zar, Chief of the Argentine Naval Air Service, which it is thought should receive careful consideration. It gives a thoughtful exposé of the views of a high ranking Argentine naval officer who is known by the Embassy and the Naval Attaché to be sincerely pro-American in his sentiments.

It will be noted that in Captain Zar's opinion Argentina would not cooperate with the United States in war against European powers unless the United States had provided a market for Argentina's exportable surplus of agricultural products.

Captain Zar is married to an American, is a graduate of the United States Naval Air Station at Pensacola, Florida, served with the American forces during the first World War, and since 1938 has been the Director General of Argentine Naval Aviation and the President of the Permanent Argentine Committee on Aeronautics.

Respectfully yours,

NORMAN ARMOUR

Enclosure as stated.

Buenos Aires, June 5, 1940

~~Strictly Confidential~~

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

During an extended conversation this morning, Captain Marcos Zar, Chief of the Argentine Naval Air Service, spoke very frankly under the condition that he would not be quoted. He stated that in his opinion there is no immediate danger of revolution, since the President seems to have the situation well in hand, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Interior and Public Works are pro-ally, and the Congress appears to be about to pass emergency legislation which will enable the Executive to handle subversive activities more effectively than heretofore.

He thought, however, that there would be a very real danger of revolution if Italy should enter the war on the side of the Germans, for then the 3,000,000 Fascists in Argentina would be thrown into the Nazi camp, bringing the forces of the totalitarians in this country up to almost one-third of the total population. (He added here parenthetically that the Communists in Argentina are already tied up with the Nazis and that evidence of this fact can be found in the identical language used in editorials appearing in the Nazi and Communist press). And under such conditions he believed it would be doubtful whether the Ministers of War and Marine would continue to support a democratic government.

The question of whether the Argentine people would resist the formation of a totalitarian government, subject to the influence of the Nazi-Fascist authorities in Europe, would depend, he believed, upon what precautions the United States had taken in the interim. He thought that no matter what plans were made for cooperation among the American Republics, Argentina would not join the United States in war against the totalitarians unless the United States had provided for Argentina's economic future. Under the existing United States tariff, he said, Argentina is dependent upon European markets and would have to fall in line with European requirements irrespective of political conditions. However, if the United States should lower its customs duties on the products supplied by Latin America, so that, in effect, there would be virtually a Pan American customs union, then Argentina's economic future would be assured and Argentina would be enabled wholeheartedly to join the United States in any action which might be taken to save democracy. He pointed out that the United States appears to be willing to spend billions of dollars to protect its democratic institutions and its present form of economy. To what better use could part of those billions be put than to keep totalitarianism away from the Americas by lowering the United States customs duties on Latin American export products? Lower the tariff, he urged, and use some of that money in reasonable subsidies to the American farmer, so that the American farmer would not be adversely affected by the competition of Latin American agricultural products. From the long range point of view, he asked, what lasting good would be served by merely building up

United States military defenses if a continuance of the present United States tariff would mean an invitation to Latin American countries in Argentina's position to fall in line with the wishes of the totalitarian powers? (Captain Zar appeared to be familiar with the President's authority to reduce customs duties by 50% and with precedents for compensation payments).

Of course, he said, if the Allies should win the war Argentina would not be required to have a totalitarian form of government, but considering its present dependency upon European markets and the probability that Europe will be impoverished after the war, Argentina would have to give preference to European barter deals and concomitantly discriminate severely against United States merchandise.

Captain Zar added that he believes that the greatest difficulty which the United States faces in Latin America is the Latin fear of Anglo-Saxon domination. He said the average Argentine does not think that the United States is supporting the Monroe Doctrine for the common benefit of all of the American Republics. The average Argentine thinks that the United States is merely planning to transfer Argentina's dependence from Europe to the United States in furtherance of an imperial policy. The Good Neighbor Policy has not done much to weaken this belief, since the United States Tariff speaks a different language. "Lower your customs duties and you gain a closely knit family of American nations ready to fight shoulder to shoulder against any aggression."

Captain Zar did not think that German successes had altered Argentina's preference for and satisfaction with

United States military missions. He recalled that in a staff meeting held yesterday it had been expressed as a unanimous opinion that Germany's air successes had been entirely due to superiority in numbers of airplanes and not to capacity or technique. He added that the Argentine Army Air Service had been receiving suggestions from the German aviation officer of the German Army Mission when the United States Army Air Mission arrived, but that nevertheless, according to Colonel Parodi, the efficiency of the Argentine Army Air Service had improved 100% as a result of American training.

As for sentiment among Argentine naval officers, Captain Zar asserted that of Argentina's ten Rear Admirals eight were trained in the United States and are considered pro-democratic and pro-Ally. The two doubtful Rear Admirals are Benito S. Sueyro and Gastón Vincendeau. He went on to say that while Vice Admiral León L. Scasso, the present Minister of Marine, is against everything and everybody, Vice Admiral Julián Fablet is definitely pro-Ally. He concluded with the assertion that most of the pro-Germans in the Argentine Navy, and there are not many of them, are found in the junior grades; that is, among the younger officers "whose judgment is not yet seasoned."

C.M.R.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*file
Confidential*

January 9, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR PA

I want to take up with
Cordell Hull whom I want to
see Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday,
whichever is the best.

F. D. R.

Lunch today

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 8, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From Secretary Hull to keep you up to date:

On January 5 he took up with the British possible economic pressure against Argentina, including embargo of exports; reduction or stopping of purchases; "freezing"; issue of parallel statements by them and us condemning Argentina. Halifax recommended cooperation, but noted the need for Argentine food. Our statement condemning Argentina should be ready on Tuesday; British have not yet given their answer.

Secretary Hull is studying the results of breach of relations, since there will be economic and political losses to be weighed against the political gains. Attached telegram to Armour summarizes economic risks inherent in breach of Argentine-United States relations.

The Secretary hopes to see you on this early next week. He feels the scales have tipped to where drastic action may be needed. Chile appears next danger point.

All of us are glad you are recovering.

Adolf A. Berle, Jr.
Adolf A. Berle, Jr.

Enclosure:

Copy of telegram to Buenos Aires.

COPY

TELEGRAM SENT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

January 8, 1944.

AMEMBASSY,

BUENOS AIRES.

~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL~~ FOR THE AMBASSADOR

This telegram constitutes an interim indication of discussions within the Department and with the British Ambassador regarding policy with respect to Argentina.

On the economic side the Department has considered three principal phases of economic action:

- (1) A complete cessation of economic intercourse between Argentina and the United States, the United Kingdom, Brazil, and as many other American republics as possible. In considering such a course the Department has discussed fully with representatives of the supply and shipping agencies the effect of cessation of imports from Argentina by the participating countries. It is clear that the most difficult problems would lie in connection with wheat and meat. There is plenty of wheat in the world, but much of it is immobilized in western Canada because of lack of internal railway facilities. The reorganization of international movements of wheat would also occasion

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

By J. Schauble Date FEB 4 1972

great strains on United Nations shipping facilities, notably in the case of supplying Brazil. The loss of Argentine meat for any protracted period would necessitate violent shifts in British consumption from beef to pork even with drastic drains upon United States supplies, both of which as a practical matter seem out of the question. Fats and oils problems would be serious but less difficult, while cessation of procurement of other items such as hides and quebracho could be handled by consumer rationing.

The Department and the supplying and shipping agencies have concluded that in considering the possibility of foregoing Argentina as a source of supply the basic factors are the following: Argentine supplies could probably be foregone for a period of from three to six months subject to the following conditions and exceptions:

(a) that a complete resumption of Argentine shipments could be counted on at the end of that

period;

period;

(b) that we would not be faced during the period with the supply of any substantial part of areas to be liberated from the enemy; and

(c) that in the light of probable military demands for shipping there is considerable doubt that shipping could be made available to supply wheat to Brazil. For a period of from six months to a year the practical difficulties of the drastic rationing in the United States required to provide supplies for other areas, especially the U.K., and of the changes necessary in the British meat ration could probably not be surmounted, even though on a purely statistical basis this would be theoretically possible subject to the same conditions and exceptions. The opening of liberated area demand would bring such pressure on wheat and fats and oils that the supplies could not be provided if Argentina were not available as a source.

(2) A complete cessation of economic relations between the United States and Argentina involving a discontinuance of all our procurement, embargo on all exports to Argentina, and a general Treasury freeze not accompanied by a liberal license policy. To such a measure might be added collaboration of Venezuela and other oil producing countries in withholding supplies of petroleum. Possibly also War Shipping Administration could hold up coal imports from South Africa.

(3) A general freeze of Argentine assets accompanied soon after by license arrangements which would permit commercial trade at least. To this might be added the oil and coal measures mentioned in (2) above.

On the political side, the Department has considered the moral and psychological effects of the various economic measures mentioned above and the advisability of a strong statement of our position coupled with parallel statements by the British and other nations; the expulsion of Argentina from membership on the Committee for Political Defense; and the expulsion of Argentina from other inter-American economic organizations such as the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee.

I have discussed all of these matters at considerable length with the British Ambassador, the Department has furnished him with considerable detailed information, and he is awaiting a definite reply from London.

I am thinking at the present time of the possibility of making a scathing denunciation of Argentina's course with special reference to the Bolivian situation, and I have hoped that the British Government would make a somewhat similar declaration simultaneously.

I would appreciate your urgent comments
a) on the possibilities of various types of action
outlined in this message and b) on what might be
included in the statement.

HULL
(AAB)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*file
Pharmal*

February 15, 1944.

11:50 A.M.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ACTING SECRETARY STETTINIUS

We have heard from Ambassador Armour by telephone just a few minutes ago that the foreign office in Argentina, ~~which~~ was on our side and was in favor of declaring war, has now been taken over by military authorities unfriendly to us. It is a very disturbing development. It interferes with the hopeful attitude that we had in connection with the whole Argentine situation.

(The Ambassador of Argentine who is coming in at 12:15 to see you probably has not heard this news.)

Mr. Bonsal of the State Dept. is coming to act as interpreter and can give you more background on this if you want him to.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 13, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY FOR
MY SIGNATURE.

F.D.R.

Letter to the President, 5-10-44, from Secretary Morgenthau, re prev. corres. between Treasury and State and the Pres. re freezing Argentina. Says Treasury now feels that Secretary Hull's cable, 5-5-44 to Ambassador Armour, be put into effect. Attached are Exhibits 1,2,3, which are copies of prev. corres. and of Hull's cable of 5-5-44.



Admiral Sir John Brown

The President gave these
to the P.M. in order that we
might have copies made. This
has been done and 1 return
went herewith.

J.R. Collins

16/IX/44

File
WB



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

September 12, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

British Economic Cooperation Toward
Argentina -- Meat Negotiations

It is no exaggeration to say that effective implementation of our Argentine policy depends on British cooperation in economic matters. Up to the present we have received only tentative and highly qualified promises from London to investigate the possibility of such cooperation.

As you know, we have considered that it is of the greatest importance that if the British ultimately find it necessary to sign a meat contract rather than to purchase on a month-to-month or spot basis, such contract should be for the shortest possible term. However, the rumor has persisted that the British intend to sign a four-year contract and Mr. Eden has now written to Ambassador Winant stating among other things that

"We have no desire to conclude a contract running for a longer period than is strictly necessary.... but our paramount duty both to our people and to our Allies is to ensure that, during the acutely difficult postwar years, they shall be adequately fed; and the case made out by our Ministry of Food that only a longer term contract will ensure this as regards meat is entirely convincing."

In view of the situation developing on food surpluses as pointed out in Judge Byrnes' report to you of September 7, it would appear that longer term commitments with the Argentine could be avoided. As Judge Byrnes has indicated "Production in the areas under Allied control with the exception of Russia is approximately one third above normal production. War reserves have been established. When peace comes the reserves in the military theatres will become surplus."

With respect



With respect to meat specifically, which the Combined Food Board may consider in relatively short supply, although it has not as yet analyzed or allocated the supply for the period November to November 1945, it appears that with the overall ample food situation, that some provision could be made for supplying additional meat to the United Kingdom from the United States, Canada, Australia and South American countries other than Argentina. I understand that there is a surplus of utility beef in the United States and with the current prospects of slaughter this fall that the surplus undoubtedly will be increased. It is also my understanding that there may be some surplus of commercial grades of beef. It may be possible for us to arrange to increase lend-lease of certain quantities of utility and commercial grades of beef to the United Kingdom provided a similar reduction of British purchases of beef in the Argentine is obtained.

I therefore suggest that you urge upon the Prime Minister that -

1. British purchases of meat in the Argentine be continued on a spot basis and that no agreement for a period of four, or even two, years be concluded.
2. The British Ministry of Food reduce its meat purchases in Argentina by resorting to the above-mentioned possible alternative sources of supply and by giving due weight to the promising food supply situation in Europe and elsewhere. I have been informed that our Army has terminated all purchases of Argentine canned beef through the British Ministry of Food, which, as you know, purchases meat in Latin America for us under an arrangement of the Combined Food Board.

CH



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 15, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Argentine Supplies

With reference to your request for a summary of the relationship of Argentine supplies to our war effort, there is enclosed a digest of correspondence that has been exchanged with the Combined Boards and the Combined Chiefs of Staff.

You will note that the Combined Boards report that in the light of current commitments they are not disposed to undertake the responsibility for the increased burden that would fall on the United States should economic sanctions be applied to the Argentine.

Enclosure:

Digest of Correspondence Regarding
Argentine Supplies.



CH

PSF: Argentine folder 1-44

file
confidential

DIGEST OF CORRESPONDENCE WITH COMBINED BOARDS AND
COMBINED CHIEFS OF STAFF REGARDING ARGENTINE SUPPLIES

On two occasions the Department of State and the British Embassy have addressed letters to the Combined Boards to determine the degree of dependence on the Argentine for supplies essential to the prosecution of the war and to the provision of relief. The first letters were addressed in January of this year and sent to the Combined Food Board, the Combined Raw Materials Board, the Combined Shipping Adjustment Board and the Combined Production and Resources Board. After the replies had been received, they were sent to the Combined Chiefs of Staff. After studying the correspondence, the Chiefs of Staff expressed the opinion that "the effect of cutting off the supply of meat from the Argentine would make it necessary to re-examine the feasibility of undertaking military operations on the scale now planned; and that the loss of wheat supply from the Argentine would be likely seriously to prejudice the feeding of liberated territories during the military period. The supply of leather from the Argentine is also of considerable importance and if it were to be cut off, this would undoubtedly handicap future operations.

"Although

"Although the recent turn of events makes this matter of less serious import than formerly, the Combined Chiefs of Staff would like placed on record the serious military implications that would follow any such cessation of supplies from the Argentine at the present time."

In the early part of March the Department of State and the British Embassy again addressed the same Combined Boards, except the Combined Production and Resources Board which had no immediate interest in the matter. It was pointed out that additional data relating to the world position of some of the commodities might have become available. In order to make the matter more specific, two questions were asked:

"(1) How long could a cessation of Argentine procurement by the United States and United Kingdom be continued without affecting the existing level of use or consumption in these two countries? The answer to this question will of course involve consideration of alternative sources of supply, and of existing stockpiles in the two countries and the extent to which they might be reduced without serious consequences.

"(2) Subsequent to the reduction of existing stockpiles to a safe strategic level, to what extent would use or

consumption

consumption have to be curtailed in order to continue the cessation of Argentine procurement indefinitely? This question raises the further question of the place of relief needs as a part of total requirements. Such needs should be given full consideration, along with all other requirements."

It was pointed out that these questions were predicated on the assumption of the termination of procurement activities in the Argentine by the United States and United Kingdom, and did not involve similar action by other countries, such as European neutrals or other American republics.

The reply from the Combined Raw Materials Board pointed out that the level of consumption of hides would be affected almost immediately although apparently quebracho, bones, gluestock, and casein are in somewhat better supply. Only small supplies of mica come from the Argentine but any decrease in procurement would be correspondingly reflected in use immediately since there is no accumulation of inventory.

The Combined Food Board, in two new developments since their previous letter, pointed out that a world increased demand for food and the commitments of the United Kingdom to General Eisenhower to supply his needs for ninety days from United Kingdom stocks, made the situation more difficult than in January. With respect to the commitments made to

General Eisenhower

General Eisenhower, it was pointed out that if the cessation of Argentine or other imports into the United Kingdom were to force a reduction in stocks, the commitments made to the Supreme Commander would have to be immediately reconsidered.

Since the United Kingdom was unwilling to reduce stocks or consumption of food, the whole burden of making up the United Kingdom loss of Argentine supplies would necessarily fall on the United States and Canada. The food authorities of the United States and Canada are unwilling to undertake this responsibility.

The Combined Shipping Adjustment Board reported that since their January letter military demands upon shipping have increased substantially, and, on the basis of their present knowledge of military and civilian requirements, there is no prospect that an added burden involved in the cessation of Argentine procurement can be accepted.

These replies received from the Combined Boards were again sent to the Combined Chiefs of Staff for their comments. They have replied that:

"A careful study of the replies from the Combined Boards, received as a result of your recent inquiries with reference to the implication of economic sanctions against

Argentina

Argentina, together with a study of other materials, has not served to convince the Combined Chiefs of Staff that the situation in this respect has changed from that expressed in their letter of 29 January 1944.

"Irrespective of the effect upon civilian economies, any cessation of supply from Argentina of meat, wheat, fats, oils, leather, and quebracho, would have unfavorable military implications."

(2985)

hms

PSF: Argentine folder

1-46

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 23, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

Will you see Cordell again
in regard to the Argentina situation?

F. D. R.

Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, marked "Copy", 5/10/44, to the President, in re freezing of Argentina, in an effort to stop the growth of Fascism in the Argentine and neighboring States. States the Treasury Dept. feels very strongly that Secretary Hull's cable of 5/5/44 to Ambassador Armour, which was drafted solely within the State Department and without consultation with the Treasury, sets forth a realistic Argentine program and should be put into effect at once. Attached is a folder containing a copy of of the cable referred to, a copy of joint memorandum sent to the President on 10/25/43 by Treasury and State, and a copy of the President's memorandum of 10/25/43 to Mr. Stettinius, regarding the matter.

Prev. copies filed - State Dept. folder, 2-43.)

PSF; *argentine folder* 1-44

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 24, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. E. R. STETTINIUS, JR.

TO DO THE NECESSARY.

F.D.R.

Personal and Top Secret letter, 11-22-44, to the President from Lord Halifax, enclosing 2 copies of recent relevant telegrams on the question of Argentine meat - telegrams exchanged between the Prime Minister, the President, Mr. Hull and Mr. Stettinius, re the Argentine and the British meat contracts from April 30 to Oct. 12, 1944.

June 26, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

When the Chilean Ambassador Don Rodolfo Michels makes his farewell call on Tuesday you may wish to give him a message to carry to President Rios concerning our present views on Argentina, our strong feelings of regret and disappointment that Argentina remains the only country in this hemisphere which lends aid and comfort to our common enemy, and our concern with the militaristic totalitarian program of the Farrell Government. For these reasons we have asked Ambassador Armour to return to the United States.

You might wish to refer to the fact that when Chile recognized Argentina, the Foreign Minister of Chile stated that the recognition was conditional on Argentine implementation of the break in relations with the Axis. It might then be advisable to express the hope that Chile as a leader among the nations truly dedicated to the principles of democracy may now be receptive to a re-examination of its position toward the Farrell government.

(C. H.)

(Original memo filed - Chile folder 1-44)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

September 13, 1944

~~TOP SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Additional Observations Relative to
British-Argentine Meat Negotiations

I must again refer to the matter of the British meat contract about which I sent you my memorandum of September 12th.

Our Embassy in Buenos Aires reports that the British Ministry of Food has informed the Argentine government that the British are disposed to sign a new contract for two years at the same prices as the current contract. The contract would be on the same basis as that recently concluded with New Zealand and Australia so that Britain would buy the entire exportable surplus for four years with prices subject to re-examination at the end of two years. The Embassy adds that this word from London came as a great relief to the Colonels.

I regret to say that it has become increasingly clear that the British continue to treat the Argentine Fascist threat as a matter of minor and relatively unimportant policy. To us it is a matter of major policy. If we fail in the implementation of that policy, the Nazis will have a powerful center to renew their fight in this Hemisphere economically, politically and eventually in a military way. This would mean inevitably the destruction of all that we have been trying to build since 1933.

In view of our enormous aid to the British on supply matters, it is certainly not asking too much to request that they forego the petty commercial advantages of a long term bargain with a Fascist government. It is hard

to believe

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

By J. Schauble Date FEB 4 1972

to believe that they will permit the Argentines to succeed in the "divide and conquer" tactics they are so obviously employing in the matter of the meat contract. As I have said time and again, the political implications of these meat negotiations are really tremendous. If they are concluded, as the Argentines hope they will be, their position will be greatly fortified and our own position correspondingly weakened throughout the Hemisphere.

CA

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copy of ~~the report~~

has already been to the Henderson plane

PSF; Argentina folder 1-48

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE SECRETARY

*file
personal*

September 28, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

As of possible interest I enclose an excerpt from the report submitted by General Lang, our Military Attaché in Argentina, regarding public reaction in that country to the announcement of the liberation of Paris and its implication with respect to our policy.

C A

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1. Effect of the Liberation of Paris in Argentina.

A-1. Within the past few days, the attitude of the people of Argentina as a whole, toward the United States, has undergone a profound change. As yet it is premature to attempt to forecast the precise political implications of this popular psychological awakening. It seems probable, however, that it will have a far-reaching significance. The well known political ineptitude and ignorance of the science of government, which characterize the present régime in the Casa Rosada, have contributed enormously, though perhaps negatively, in the short space of two days to the crystallization of the altered public attitude toward North America.

On 22 August, the newspapers of Buenos Aires reported that Dr. Rafael Augusto BULLRICH, chairman of the Comité France Amerique, had petitioned the Chief of Police of the Federal Capital for permission to hold a public celebration in the Plaza Francia on the day upon which Paris would be delivered from Nazi control. It was further reported that such permission had been refused. Apparently sensing a wave of popular disapproval as the result of this report, the Chief of Police officially announced in the newspapers of 23 August that he had never denied, or even received, the petition referred to and that authority to hold the celebration was granted.

In the forenoon of 23 August, newspaper bulletin boards and radios announced that the French Army of the Interior under General KOENIG, assisted by citizens of the French capital, had liberated Paris from Nazi control. This announcement produced a tidal wave of joy which passed over the city of Buenos Aires and, virtually, the entire republic of Argentina. Those who write and those who read the reports from this office are fully aware that the vast majority of Argentines have favored the Allied cause throughout this war and that this number has been increased as a consequence of Allied victories. They also know that France, and especially Paris, has always been the cultural and recreational Mecca for Argentines of wealth and position. Despite this knowledge, the extent of the emotional reaction in the city of Buenos Aires to the deliverance of Paris far surpassed anything which had been anticipated. Even more unexpected was the almost universal popular reaction, especially among the upper classes, to the decision of the American Commander-in-Chief to employ French troops for the actual occupation of the French capital. No one seemed to pause to consider the manifest practical wisdom of the decision of the American commander. On all sides, this decision was attributed to great gallantry and was hailed as a complete demonstration of the nobility of purpose

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actuating the United States in the war. The Yankee had been misunderstood. He was not an imperialist. Otherwise, today he would be flying the hitherto far-from-loved Stars and Stripes from the Eiffel Tower. The Americans were really liberating France for the French and not for their own aggrandizement. Such are the sentiments which are still being volubly expressed on all sides and, doubtful as the compliment may appear to be, the significance of such utterances, as indications of a fundamental change in public opinion, is not to be underestimated.

How long this wave of American popularity will last is conjectural. If, however, any miracle could have been performed to render it permanent, the present Argentine Government has accomplished it.

The news received on 23 August, that French troops had occupied the city of Paris, was the signal for general jubilation throughout the city. In the staid restaurant at HARROD'S British department store, at lunchtime that day, the clients repeatedly sang the "Marseillaise", "God Save the King", the "Star Spangled Banner", and other Allied patriotic songs. Similar scenes were witnessed in other restaurants. That evening, very large crowds spontaneously gathered in the calle Florida and marched to the Plaza San Martín, shouting: "Argentines, yes; Nazis, no"; "Down with the dictators"; "Liberty, Liberty, Liberty"; and "vivas" for France, Great Britain and the United States. The crowd was jubilant and very well behaved. The majority of them reached the Plaza San Martín, where they gathered around the statue of the Liberator (who had died in France) and continued shouting in favor of liberty and against dictators. Some brave souls even shouted for the Argentine Constitution and elections. A small part of the procession in calle Florida was diverted by the police down side streets. The police were good natured, but were the victims of a certain amount of rough and tumble at the hands of objecting members of the demonstration. Several arrests were made, but there were no serious disturbances. All through the night, the clubs, restaurants and night clubs of Buenos Aires were the scenes of continual singing of the "Marseillaise" (of course illegally under the state of siege) and of demonstrations for France and the Allies. The vast number of people who participated in these demonstrations and the manifestly pro-Allied and pro-democratic, rather than merely pro-French, atmosphere which prevailed stood out conspicuously in the proceedings. Moreover, in the crowds the best classes of Argentines were conspicuously represented.

Having obtained permission from the police, the various French committees in Buenos Aires announced a mass meeting in the Plaza FRANCIA, at the French Monument, in celebration of the victory, for the afternoon of 24 August at 6 p.m. No speeches

or singing were to be permitted at this gathering. All during the afternoon of 23 August and the day of 24 August, vast numbers of floral offerings from organizations and individuals were heaped upon the French Monument. By 5.30, when delegations from the British and American Embassies visited the monument, on which they had already placed wreaths, the Plaza Francia, which faces on Avenida Alvear, was jammed with an enthusiastic but very orderly throng of people who were cheering and alternately singing the "Marseillaise" and the Argentine National Anthem. Large numbers of people continued to pour into the Plaza Francia from all directions until, by 7 o'clock, there was a crowd variously estimated at between 50,000 and 100,000 people. Ex-President RAMIREZ, whose house is directly behind the French Monument, deposited a wreath and, subsequently, made numerous appearances with his wife and guests upon the balcony. He was cheered, though not with great enthusiasm, and made a short address which could not be heard because of the general din. Ex-President General RAWSON, in uniform, also deposited a wreath and mingled freely in the crowd with former Senator Alfredo PALACIOS and other pro-Allied political figures. Normal contingents of uniformed police, both mounted and on foot, were on hand, reinforced by very large numbers of detectives. The orderly and eminently respectable character of the crowd cannot be over-emphasized. At approximately 7.30, for reasons which it has been impossible to ascertain, a police riot call was turned in and police motor vehicles, with sirens blowing, arrived on the scene with substantial reinforcements of uniformed police. The crowd was ordered to disperse and, subsequently, tear gas was employed against it. This was the first of a series of errors of judgment on the part of the police, presumably acting under orders of the Government, which during the next few hours appeared to alienate whatever support the FARRELL régime possessed among the rank and file of citizens of Buenos Aires.

As a result of the measures taken by the police, large groups of demonstrators departed by various routes from the Plaza Francia, headed toward the center of the city, yelling imprecations against dictators and chanting "Argentines, yes; Nazis, no". Many of these groups sang the "Marseillaise" and the Argentine National Anthem. They were loudly applauded from the sidewalks. French flags were in evidence everywhere throughout the city, permission for this display having been granted by the Government.

Wherever these marching groups were encountered by the police, stern measures were taken to disband them. Nevertheless, large numbers reached the Plaza San Martín where a very large mounted police guard was drawn up in front of the "Círculo Militar" (Military Club). The obvious implication with respect to the popularity of the Military among the citizens

was

was not lost upon the crowd. As groups of demonstrators reached the Plaza San Martín, some one gave the order to clear them out and police, both mounted and on foot, charged the crowd, freely using sabers, riding whips and clubs. Many innocent passers-by, including a clerk from this office, who was a full city block from the demonstration, were beaten.

Farther downtown, similar scenes were enacted throughout the night. The police apparently completely lost their heads and attacked any group of people whom they happened to see. Many of these groups fought back and general disorder reigned. At the Boston Bar, on calle Florida, the police undertook to break up the singing of Allied songs and a near riot ensued, in which sabers were met with bottles and other improvised weapons, many serious injuries resulting. Three American seamen in uniform, from the gun crew of a merchant vessel, were hauled out of a taxicab by the police who, in turn, were reviled by the crowd which, for the first time in many years, kept shouting "Viva los norte americanos". While innocently watching this performance, Major KING of this office, in civilian clothes, was clubbed from behind by a policeman.

The night clubs and other places of amusement of the city again were the scenes of tumultuous pro-France and, more especially, pro-Allied demonstrations, with much singing of the songs of France, Great Britain and the United States.

The newspapers of 25 August reported these events fairly accurately and announced that there had been over 100 arrests. The true total is, of course, unknown. Public resentment against the police and the FARRELL Government is universal. This latter fact is recognized by the Nationalist press which clamored for an immediate suppression of anti-Government elements which threatened to get out of hand.

All rumors indicate that the Government is very much disturbed by the force and character of these pro-Allied manifestations and by the flood of popular resentment against it. On all sides, Argentines are saying that after all the United States appears to have been right about the character of the present government, the Fascist character of which has now been publicly revealed. It may well be that the stability of the present régime has been seriously affected. It is absolutely clear that the prestige of the United States among the Argentine people has been immeasurably enhanced. The final repercussions of this entire incident are yet to be heard.

Excerpt from Report of M.A., Buenos Aires, August 26, 1944,
No. 11559.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

October 11, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Favorable effect of your statement of September 29 on Argentina; persistent campaign to undermine our position by Reuter and other British agencies.

1. Our Embassy in Buenos Aires reports that your statement of September 29 on Argentina has had a "tremendous and salutary effect" in well-informed circles in counteracting propaganda to create the impression that our counsels are divided, that British are not with us, and that Brazil is swinging toward Argentina. Your statement was given full publicity and significantly Argentine authorities have not replied publicly, although pro-Axis press makes usual vicious attacks.

2. Unfortunately the Reuter agency continues to send stories to other American countries calculated to give exactly the opposite impression. Reuter story on September 30 said that your statement was received in London with "surprise and sorrow", it having been assumed that Argentine statement on war criminals had cleared up the situation completely. Reuter despatch from Washington, publicized in Argentina, reported official concern here over Ambassador Martins' trip to Rio de Janeiro, suggesting it foreshadowed Brazilian move away from us toward Argentina. In view of these tendentious reports the Brazilian Foreign Office has made a public disavowal. Embassy at Panama reports publication of AP despatch from London quoting editorial in South American Journal bitterly attacking us and defending Argentine regime. Editorial asserts "it is not true that Argentina repudiated her solemn inter-American obligations", and adds: "The United States has a Pan American obligation not to interfere in the internal affairs of her sister nations". South American Journal is notorious for its bitter attacks on our position in Argentina for months past.

These

These press stories have effectively created the impression in Argentina and other South American countries that Britain has no intention of going along with us on implementation of non-recognition policy, and is in fact content to do business with Fascist military regime in Argentina at our expense.

e.H.

PSF: Argentine folder 1-44

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THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

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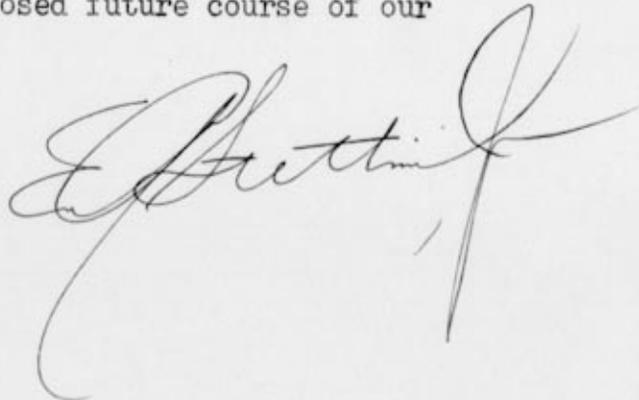
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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Argentina

I hand you herewith a memorandum which summarizes developments in our Argentine policy.

The memorandum states our basic objectives, describes developments in the months preceding the Argentine request for a Meeting of Ministers, summarizes developments in relation to that request, and indicates the proposed future course of our action.



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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By J. Scheuble Date FEB 4 1972

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Our Policy Toward Argentina

I - Objectives and basic policy.

The following is a brief statement of our objectives and the basic policy we have been pursuing since the Farrell government took power early this year:

1. The power which in the final analysis controls the Government of Argentina today is vested in the Campo de Mayo and Club del Plata military-Fascist combine. This group is pro-Nazi, anti-United Nations and is determined to stimulate the formation of the same type of government in other South American republics.
2. The same military-Fascist group has definite expansionist plans for the domination of South America and is working feverishly to develop a military machine powerful enough to support arbitrary political and economic demands upon its neighbors. It is planning for and anticipates assistance from refugee Nazi technicians, economists and military personnel after the war. If this group is permitted to stabilize and solidify its position through the political tolerance and helpful trade of the principal United Nations it will threaten the peace of South America as soon as its strength permits.
3. So long as this group is in control of any Argentine government, the Government of the United States will refuse to accredit an ambassador to Buenos Aires and will do everything possible to prevent such government from gaining strength through commercial intercourse with the United States.

II - Evaluation of situation prior to Argentine request for a Meeting of Ministers.

The diplomatic isolation of Argentina, supplemented by convincing evidence that this government was determined not to be drawn into any compromise deal, caused a steady deterioration in the position of the Farrell regime during the past five months.

The exclusion of Argentina from the UNRRA meetings, from Bretton Woods, from the Aviation Conference, from the discussions of the Dumbarton Oaks conclusions, and the rumors that a Meeting of Foreign Ministers might soon be called without her participation, have hurt and hurt badly. At the same time, our economic measures, although not as decisive as we would prefer to make them, have suggested that more severe action might be forthcoming as soon as improvement in our general supply situation decreased England's dependence on Argentina for meat and other products. Our Lend-Lease policy and our refusal to permit exports for new Argentine development projects have resulted in a tremendous advantage for Brazil in the race for primacy between the two countries. As our pressure, both political and economic, has increased, the war in Europe and the East has gone directly contrary to the predictions of the Argentine military, whose Chief of Staff, Von der Becke, established "conclusively" in a lecture at the War College two weeks before the Normandy landings, that an invasion of continental Europe from England was a military impossibility.

As external developments have moved against the regime, the internal Argentine situation has become increasingly a matter of concern. If there had ever been any doubt as to the basic sentiments of the people, it was removed on the occasion of the liberation of Paris when hundreds of thousands spontaneously cheered the Allies in demonstrations which wound up as anti-government protests. And while the underground movement in Argentina, in Uruguay and Chile is not sufficiently dynamic and unified to overthrow the regime, it has been a persistent disturbing factor.

Faced with this situation, the Farrell government apparently decided some time ago to make a paper record of compliance with the Rio agreements. The record of the past three years, as well as of the past six months, demonstrates that by far the greatest number of anti-Nazi measures have been taken only after our establishment of control of the seas and our military successes made those measures largely unnecessary (e.g., clandestine radio stations; port and harbor controls). In other words, the anti-Nazi program of the Argentine regime has been stepped up in almost direct ratio to the disappearance of the danger. (There is, of course, the obvious coincidence that such measures would not greatly offend the German High Command.)

More importantly, the measures adopted, even during recent weeks, do not hit at that powerful group of Nazi financial and industrial houses, the strength and resources of which have increased substantially each year through government contracts. These Nazi firms, which include affiliates of the German cartel system, are at the very heart of the problem. Not only are they doing a major share of the rearmament work for the Argentine Army, but there is irrefutable evidence that they continue to serve as political, espionage and propaganda instruments for the Nazi party and the German High Command. It is these firms which offer Nazi funds, Nazi technicians, Nazi financial and industrial leaders, the best opportunity in the world today for a new start. These firms have not been touched to any significant extent by measures adopted by the Argentine government.

However, it is clear that the Farrell government hopes that the paper record of compliance in other areas, supplemented, possibly, by further promises of action on the remaining serious charges, would suffice to induce a movement for recognition by the other republics at a Meeting of Ministers.

III - The Argentine request for a Meeting of Ministers.

The Argentine move for a meeting was a bold and desperate stratagem to obtain recognition. The Farrell government was "on the ropes" and the move for a Meeting of Ministers was designed to give it a "breather" and open the way for at least a "draw".

Recognition of the Farrell regime would not only stabilize that regime internally, but (it is obviously hoped) would lead to a relaxation of controls over all types of communications between Argentina and Europe. Furthermore, admission of the present military government to the American family of nations would give the Nazis a facade of unity behind which they could operate to establish themselves firmly not only in Argentina but in other parts of South America.

As window dressing to obtain a Western Hemisphere "Munich" at the proposed Meeting of Ministers, the Colonels are frantically turning out decrees to comply with their Rio obligations on a mass production basis, and our Embassy reports that the Germans are "jubilant" because they see in these new steps the best possible protection for themselves and their vast economic interests.

We intend to maintain a firm and uncompromising position in this matter because we fear that some of the conservative military and civilian leaders of other Republics will incline to the expedient of an appeasement formula that would be fatal.

IV - Attitude of this Government and of the other Republics toward a Meeting of Ministers.

We have made it entirely clear that (1) we favor a meeting of foreign ministers of nations cooperating in the war--of course excluding Argentina--to consider war and post-war problems of mutual interest; (2) we are unalterably opposed to any attempt to negotiate a "formula" with the Argentine regime with a view to recognizing it; (3) we are likewise opposed to granting the Argentine request for a meeting to consider the Argentine problem, but as a matter of tactics we have

stated that if the other American Republics so desire, we are prepared to participate in a full and free discussion at the end of the proposed meeting of foreign ministers, it being clearly understood that in that event we would not accept any limitations on the scope of that discussion. In other words, we would go into such a meeting "loaded for bear" with the purpose of obtaining a final, irrevocable condemnation of the present Argentine regime. We have, of course, made it clear that we are not recommending any discussion of the Argentine question at a meeting of foreign ministers, but we feel that it would play into the hands of the Argentines if we were to take the initiative in refusing them a hearing.

As of this moment we feel that we are making progress toward general acceptance of our views on the Argentine situation, without in any way imposing them. There has not as yet been a final crystallization of opinion among the other American Republics, but there is reason to hope that we may be able to reach a satisfactory understanding within the next week.

Up to now we have proceeded slowly and carefully in order to avoid any appearance of seeking to impose our views. The other American Republics have been given every opportunity to express their own opinions and to suggest procedures. In stating our position we have emphasized an attitude of cooperation and avoided giving the impression of intransigence.

We feel that the time has now come to press our views more directly and energetically in an effort to obtain general agreement with the other American Republics on our position. Instructions to that end have been sent to our chiefs of mission.

Brazil is unqualifiedly supporting our position, and we have reason to believe that most of the other republics, including Mexico and Chile, will come around. Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and Uruguay have stated that they favor acceptance of the Argentine request. We are calling in the Venezuelan Ambassador and intend to state the situation to him in words of one syllable, and are also sending further specific

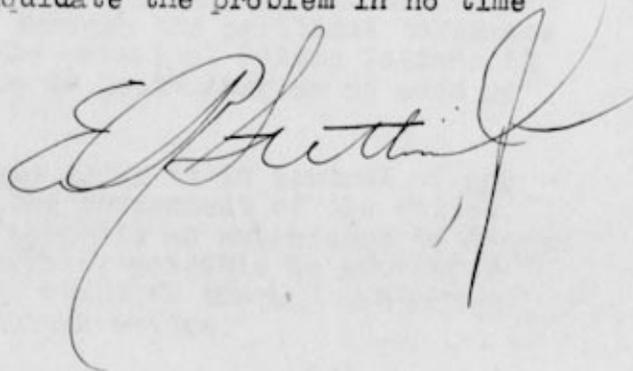
instructions to our Ambassador in Caracas, in an effort to persuade the Venezuelans to go along with us and the majority of the other American Republics. If they do so, we believe there may be a good chance of persuading Colombia and Ecuador to do likewise. As for Uruguay, it will probably go along with the majority.

V - Future course of action.

It is, of course, clear that the negotiations now in progress may affect the course of our future action in a very material manner.

However, unless there is a real turnover in Buenos Aires, the Department will do everything possible to maintain the "quarantine" to the full extent in political relations, and to the maximum extent consistent with the war effort in economic relations.

In the economic area, we will continue to press for more effective British collaboration. Notwithstanding our representations to the Prime Minister, to Eden, and to Halifax, the British have given us no more than formal and restrained support. Unfortunately, the Farrell government has been well aware of this British attitude and very much heartened by it. Consequently, in the weeks immediately ahead, it will be imperative that we do everything possible to obtain full and wholehearted British support. Our most competent observers maintain that if such support were forthcoming and sharply brought home to the Colonels, we could liquidate the problem in no time at all.



"ERS JR
OK
FDR"

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 2, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: United States Policy toward Argentina

Present United States Policy Regarding Argentina.

"The United States has determined not to establish relations with Argentina until its government demonstrates by unqualified acts its intention of observing its inter-American obligations and of abandoning its threat to inter-American peace."

Possible Courses for Argentina to Follow:

In the light of the proposed conference in Mexico, Argentina may react in one of the two following extreme forms.

- A. Further aid and comfort to the enemy, a withdrawal from the Pan American Union, followed by aggressive measures against her neighbors to gain their support.
- B. A drastic change in internal policy, followed by steps designed to qualify her for readmission to the American family of nations.

Recommended United States Policy in the event that Argentina pursues Course (A).

- 1. The United States should be prepared to give military and economic guarantees to each of Argentina's neighbors.
- 2. Fullest

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

By J. Schauble Date FEB

4 1972

2. Fullest diplomatic activity in support of Hemisphere unity and Argentina's isolation should be given.
3. Determine economic and financial policy towards Argentina in cooperation with the British and the other American republics, which will give maximum support to the war effort and our political objectives.

Recommended United States Policy in the event that Argentina pursues course (B).

1. That the United States be prepared to enter into consultation with the other American republics with the end in view of recognizing Argentina as soon as the following steps are taken:
 - a. Establishment of an interim Government as provided for by the constitution which demonstrates by the following action its intention to observe Argentina's inter-American obligations and to abandon its threat to inter-American peace.
 - (i) Reaffirmation of break with Axis, leading to declaration of war.
 - (ii) Dissolution of Axis organizations, elimination of Axis interests in black-listed firms and jailing of Axis individuals.
 - (iii) Termination of the state of siege and prompt action to restore the Argentine Constitution

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

By J. Schauble Date FEB 4 1972

and

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and the calling of elections thereunder.

- (iv) Adequate guarantees that Argentine Government officials will cooperate fully in the interchange of information and the taking of appropriate measures against the Axis and Axis sympathizers.



*Miss Barrows says the original of this memo, approved by
the President, taken back to the Dept. by Mr. Stettinius +
Mr. Rockefeller 1/18/45.
hms*

*argentina folder
1-45*

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- 1. The United States should be prepared to give military and economic guarantees to each of Argentina's neighbors.
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"OK"
"ZOR"

Jan. 18-45

~~TOP SECRET~~

Return to Rm: 289

January 2, 1945

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By J. Schauble Date FEB 4 1972

CC TO BOHLEN
AND GREW
A-R:NR:OMH

A true copy of
the signed original
[Signature]

E. R. STETTINIUS, JR.