

PSF

Chile

1938-<sup>MAY</sup>47

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
DIVISION OF PROTOCOL

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. McINTYRE

August 4, 1938.

The following are excerpts taken from a personal and confidential letter dated June 28, 1938, which I received from Norman Armour, American Ambassador to Chile:

\*\*\*\* Confidentially, I am a little worried at the thought of his postponing his visit until after the elections in November at home. The presidential elections here are not until late October and although the inauguration of the new President will not be until December 23rd, Alessandri will then be, so to speak, "keeping the seat warm" for his successor. Also it seems possible that the excitement, to put it mildly, over the elections, may not have calmed down entirely by that time. In fact, there are some people who think that if Ross is elected, the Left may not accept the verdict without attempting to show some fight.

"However, all the above is negative. On the positive side the President's visit would have a splendid effect here and I am sure that rather than not have him visit Chile, they would prefer to have him come at any time the President finds it possible to do so. On second thought, if he waited until after the elections at home, he would not reach here presumably until late in November, by which time all excitement following elections here should have quieted down. Also this would be sufficiently far in advance of the inauguration of the new President not to have any conflict in that direction. All things considered, therefore, if the President could time his visit to come, let us say, between November 25th and December 5th, this would seem

to fit

to fit in perfectly. He could then continue on up to Lima for the opening of the Conference.

"Should the President prefer to go to Lima first for the opening of the Conference and then come on to Chile, he could still do this provided he did not stay too long at Lima. As the opening is on December 9th, if he left there on December 11th, that would bring him here about the 14th-15th. This would be only eight days before the inauguration of the new President here, which is fairly close but would still probably be possible, although I think the earlier date, prior to the opening of the Lima Conference, would perhaps be preferable."

I thought you would be interested in having for your files these confidential observations in regard to a trip to the west coast of South America by the President in the Fall.



G.T.S.

Chile folder - 1938

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

11/23 [38]

Personal

Summerlin:

"The American Amb. in Santiago, Chile, sent the following message: 'Nov. 22. For the Under Sec. Would it be possible to secure from the President or the Sec. a message to be read at the opening of the Chile-North American Institute of Cultural Relations on Thursday, Thanksgiving Day? The inauguration will take place under auspices of Comision Chilena de Cooperacion Intelectual at 7 PM, Nov. 24. The British Foreign Minister sent a similar message which was read at the opening of the British Institute last May and I know some such official recognition from Washington will be appreciated here. Armour.'

"Following is proposed message:

"Your telegram 138, Nov. 22, Noon. You are authorized to read the following message: 'The development of the cultural relations between the peoples of the world is of transcendental importance in the present era. The attainment of a full appreciation of the problems, the customs, the ideals, the aspirations of their neighbors is essential if nations are to break down the barriers of misunderstanding. I know that the new Chilean-North American Institute of Cultural Relations is fully alive to this great issue and I am confident that it will make a most substantial contribution to the friendly and sympathetic understanding between the peoples of Chile and the United States. (Signed) Franklin D. Roosevelt.'"

OK [Signature]

EMBAJADA DE CHILE  
WASHINGTON

8 June 1939-

N°904/35.-

Excellency:

I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency, with the request that it be forwarded to its high destination, a letter from His Excellency Pedro Aguirre Cerda, President of the Republic of Chile, addressed to His Excellency Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America.-

For Your Excellency's information and convenience I am, at the same time, enclosing a copy of the letter in its original Spanish, as well as a translation made at this Embassy.-

Acc  
Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.-

HIS EXCELLENCY CORDELL HULL,  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

**EMBAJADA DE CHILE**  
WASHINGTON

Santiago, 2 de junio de 1939-

Mi estimado Señor President:

El muy digno representante de Vuestra Excelencia ante mi Gobierno, Excelentísimo Embajador Señor Norman Armour, puso en mis manos el atento mensaje que Vuestra Excelencia se sirvió dirigirme con ocasión de la proximidad del décimo aniversario del establecimiento del servicio aéreo directo entre Chile y los Estados Unidos.-

Como bien lo dice Vuestra Excelencia, gracias a la rapidez y seguridad de este magnífico servicio, nuestros países han llegado a ser vecinos cercanos, y como tales pueden ayudarse acuciosos y eficazmente, uno a otro, en todos los campos de actividad pública y privada. Por ello participo plenamente de la complacencia que a todos produce la posibilidad alcanzada de una más estrecha cooperación entre los ciudadanos de Chile y los Estados Unidos, posibilidad que se ve demostrada por la prontitud con que tuve a honra recibir los buenos deseos y saludos personales de Vuestra Excelencia, como, asimismo, por la rapidez igual con que se impondrá de esta respuesta en que le manifiesto mis vivos agradecimientos y sincera congratulación.

Respetuosamente, Señor Presidente, a Vuestra Excelencia,

(Fdo.) P. Aguirre Cerda.

AL EXCELENTISIMO SEÑOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,  
PRESIDENTE DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS DE AMERICA.-

EMBAJADA DE CHILE  
WASHINGTON

"TRANSLATION"

\*\*\*\*\*

Santiago, 2 June 1939-

My dear Mr. President:

The very worthy representative of Your Excellency before my Government, His Excellency Ambassador Norman Armour, put into my hands the kind message which Your Excellency was good enough to address to me on the occasion of the forthcoming Tenth Anniversary of the establishment of direct air service between Chile and the United States.-

As Your Excellency points out, thanks to the rapidity and safety of this magnificent service, our countries have become close neighbors, and as such may diligently and efficaciously help each other, in all fields of public and private activity. Therefore, I join fully in the pleasure felt by all at the possibility attained of a closer cooperation between the citizens of Chile and the United States, a possibility which may be seen demonstrated by the speed with which I had the honor to receive the good wishes and personal regards of Your Excellency, as well as by the equal dispatch with which Your Excellency will receive this response in which I convey my warmest thanks and sincere congratulations.-

With my very kindest regards to Your Excellency, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) P. Aguirre Cerda

TO HIS EXCELLENCY FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.-

\*\*\*\*\*

Chile - 1939

ADALABME  
W2AW

OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to  
PR 810.79611/41

June 22, 1939

My dear Miss LeHand:

With reference to the communication recently addressed by the President to His Excellency Pedro Aguirre Cerda, President of the Republic of Chile, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the establishment of a direct air service between the United States and Chile, there is enclosed herewith President Aguirre Cerda's reply, together with a copy of the transmitting note and its enclosures from the Ambassador of Chile at Washington.

No further action appears to be necessary.

Sincerely yours,

*L. G. Summers*  
Chief of Protocol.

Miss Marguerite A. LeHand,  
Private Secretary to the President,  
The White House.



Santiago, 2 de junio de 1939.

*Mi estimado Señor Presidente:*

*El muy digno representante de  
Vuestra Excelencia ante mi Gobierno, Excelentísimo Embajador  
señor Norman Armour, puso en mis manos el atento mensaje que  
Vuestra Excelencia se sirvió dirigirme con ocasión de la pro-  
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*Como bien lo dice Vuestra Ex-  
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lencia, como, asimismo, por la rapidez igual con que se impondrá  
de esta respuesta en que le manifiesto mis vivos agradecimien-  
tos y sincera congratulación.*

*Saluda muy atentamente a Vues-  
tra Excelencia,*

*AL EXCELENTISIMO SEÑOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,  
Presidente de los Estados Unidos de América.*

*Al Excelentísimo Señor*

*FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,*

*Presidente de los Estados Unidos de América,*

*Washington.*

Chile-1939

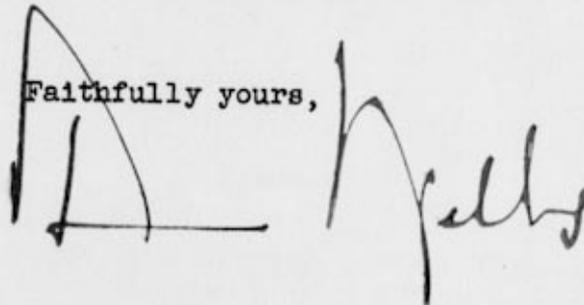
DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

July 5, 1939

My dear Mr. President:

I return herewith the original of the letter of the President of Chile of May 23, 1939 replying to your communication to him of May 15, 1939 on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the establishment of air communications between the United States and Chile. A translation of President Aguirre's letter is also enclosed.

Faithfully yours,



Enclosures:

1. President Aguirre's letter returned.
2. Translation of President Aguirre's letter.

The President,

The White House.

Department of State

BUREAU  
DIVISION

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ENCLOSURE

TO

Letter drafted

ADDRESSED TO

the President.

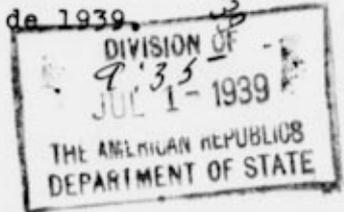


*State for  
Special translation*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
JUL 1 9 15 AM '39  
RECEIVED

Santiago, Mayo 23 de 1939.

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



Estimado Presidente y amigo:

Puedo asegurarle que todo el pueblo de Chile participa de mis sentimientos que no pueden ser sino de gratitud por las repetidas manifestaciones de vuestra simpatía por mi país.

La valiosa ayuda material y moral que tan generosamente nos prestásteis con ocasión del terremoto del 24 de Enero último, primero; la honrosa distinción que significa el haber invitado como huésped de honor del pueblo norteamericano a nuestro Ministro de Hacienda, después, y, ahora, la carta tan gentil que me enviásteis con fecha 15 del presente y que se refiere al décimo aniversario de la unión aérea de ambos países, son gestos que comprometen hondamente el reconocimiento del Gobierno y pueblo chilenos.

Para todo chileno es muy grato establecer que paralelamente con el acercamiento material que han hecho posible las intrépidas alas de la Aviación Comercial norteamericana, se ha operado una más estrecha vinculación espiritual entre vuestro país y las demás Naciones de América.

Seguro estoy, también, de que la cooperación de nuestros conciudadanos desarrollada en el espíritu de cordial confianza y comprensión que ha distinguido vuestra política, permitirá la obtención de grandes y mútuos beneficios en las relaciones espirituales y comerciales de todos los países de América.

Cordialmente lo saluda su affmo.,

*P. Spriuel*

(TRANSLATION)

Santiago, May 23, 1939.

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

Esteemed President and friend:

I assure you that all the Chilean people share my sentiments which cannot be other than those of gratitude for the repeated manifestations of your sympathy for my country.

First, the valuable material and moral assistance which you so generously accorded us on the occasion of the earthquake of January 24 last, then the high distinction shown by inviting our Minister of Finance to be the guest of honor of the American people, and now your kind letter of the 15th instant referring to the tenth anniversary of the union of the two countries by air, are actions that merit the profound gratitude of the Chilean Government and people.

It is very gratifying to every Chilean to verify that parallel with the physical proximity which the intrepid wings of American aviation have made possible, there has been forged a closer spiritual tie between your country and the other nations of America.

I am

I am also sure that the cooperation of our citizens developed in the spirit of cordial confidence and understanding which has distinguished your policy, will permit the attainment of great and mutual benefits in the spiritual and commercial relations of all the countries of America.

I am cordially

P. AGUIRRE CERDA

Chile  
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Re-Letter from Amb Bowers --Nov 2-1939-Santiago, Chili  
regarding Chilean politics

See: Sumner Welles folder-Drawer 4-1939



grandecimiento, ya que el capital humano por su valor espiritual y su capacidad productiva es la riqueza principal de una nación".

#### Más adelante expresó:

"Podemos estar ampliamente satisfechos del saldo de este primer Congreso Panamericano de la Vivienda Popular. No se construirán de inmediato millares de casas porque eso es una utopía, ni sus conclusiones serán palabras que se lleve el viento como plenas de los pesimistas dispuestos a empequeñecer los mejores esfuerzos.

"La realidad es otra. Ella será la palabra de orden que alcance hasta los últimos rincones de América. A los gobiernos, a los capitalistas, a la sociedad, para decirles que hay un problema social de impostergable solución. Que no es posible que en esta etapa de la humanidad existan, frente a los rascacielos y a los palacios, familias que habitan en madrigueras, como las especies inferiores de la naturaleza. Que es urgente desterrar el tugurio y la vivienda insalubre. Que les va en ello su propia conservación, porque allí se incuban la tuberculosis, la prostitución, la revolución, todas las miserias morales y todas las miserias físicas".

#### El Dr. Cafferata terminó diciendo:

"Lleved a vuestros gobiernos y a vuestros pueblos, con la palabra de este congreso, la impresión íntima de nuestro reconocimiento por haber acudido a nuestro llamamiento. Llevedle el sentimiento de solidaridad en esta obra, en la que todos coincidimos, de todos los campos políticos y filosóficos y de todas las esferas sociales.

"En la Exposición de Palermo, dentro de un marco de sol, de aire y de verdura, compañeros necesarios de la vivienda sana, admiramos la obra que realizáis, juntamente con nosotros, que muestra el movimiento que en América crece y se intensifica en favor de la vivienda popular. Por ello merecéis nuestro aplauso.

"La República Argentina y su gobierno se sienten orgullosos de este certamen, que habéis realizado con vues-

## Otros oradores

El delegado de la provincia de Santa Fe, Dr. Juan Casiello, improvisó breves palabras, para afirmar que el esfuerzo realizado y la obra fecunda que traducen las conclusiones aprobadas comprometen la gratitud nacional, porque de hoy en adelante el problema de la vivienda popular ha dejado de ser la preocupación de determinados sectores, para convertirse en una preocupación general, que presionará en todos los instantes la conciencia pública hasta que lleguen a concretarse las ansiadas soluciones que reclaman los países.

La delegada uruguaya, Da. Sofia A. de Demichelli, pronunció un breve discurso, destacando el significado de la reunión, que acerca —dijo— a los hombres de todos los medios continentales para discutir grandes cuestiones de interés público en forma clara y cordial. Saludó a las delegaciones, destacó la obra de la prensa argentina y tuvo un recuerdo de simpatía para la mujer de nuestro país.

El presidente, Dr. Cafferata, declaró clausuradas las deliberaciones y felicitó a los congresistas por la labor desarrollada.

## Las conclusiones

De todas las comisiones internas en que estuvo dividido el congreso se aprobaron numerosas resoluciones, de las cuales ya hemos informado al dar cuenta de la labor de las comisiones.

De la comisión de urbanismo se aprobaron estas conclusiones de carácter general:

"Todo plan de vivienda popular debe ser encarado —previo a todo estudio de cualquier naturaleza— como un problema urbanístico. Por tanto, todo proyecto de vivienda popular debe considerarse parte integrante del plan regulador y regional.

"Los temas fundamentales de este plan de vivienda popular deben responder a las siguientes normas urbanísticas: zonización, parcelamiento funcional, espacios verdes, vialidad, saneamiento y ambiente, considerándose indispensable la creación de una legislación de emergencia que impida la expansión de la ciudad, hasta tanto se disponga del plan regulador y regional, en su defecto, y por lo menos, el plan de zonización general.

"La conveniencia de crear el Instituto de la Vivienda Popular en cada país de América, con la finalidad de propender a la aplicación de los principios básicos consagrados por los congresos y a objeto de establecer como una necesidad imprescindible un mayor intercambio de los estudios realizados por los distintos países; crear un comité interamericano de la vivienda popular".

De la comisión de Aspecto Arquitectónico y Constructivo se aprobaron los temas sobre vivienda mínima, colectiva y rural.

De la comisión de Aspecto Económico se aprobaron las resoluciones sobre intervención reguladora del Estado, aumento de capacidad adquisitiva popular, provisión social por un sistema de seguros nacionales, aumento del poder económico de las clases populares, vivienda tipo granja popular, leyes orgánicas y bancos hipotecarios.

De la comisión de Aspecto Financiero se aprobaron los temas sobre construcción de casas baratas por medio de la acción combinada del Estado con el capital privado.

También se aprobaron las conclusiones de las Comisiones Estado/ Ac-

a la cual se adhirieron los delegados gubernamentales de todos los países representados.

Dispone la constitución de comisiones nacionales de vivienda popular, formadas por expertos en legislación, finanzas, economía, urbanismo, higiene, ingeniería, industrias, educación y servicio social. Bajo la dirección de estas comisiones funcionarán numerosos servicios de investigaciones. Además, se establece la creación del Instituto Interamericano de la Vivienda Popular, con sede en Buenos Aires.

## Agasajos a los delegados

El comité ejecutivo del Congreso de la Vivienda Popular ha invitado a las esposas de los delegados americanos a realizar una excursión a Tigre y lugares del delta, que se efectuará hoy por la mañana.

Los delegados americanos y adherentes han sido invitados a visitar la Exposición de Planos Reguladores que se realiza en los salones de Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales, avenida Roque Sáenz Peña 777.

## La exposición

La Exposición de la Vivienda Popular, instalada en el pabellón Provincia de Buenos Aires, de la Sociedad Rural Argentina, permanece abierta todos los días hábiles de 14.30 a 24.30 y de 9 a 12 y 14 a 24.30 los domingos y feriados, siendo el acceso a la misma gratuito.

## En la Corporación de Arquitectos Católicos

Los Cursos de Cultura Católica y la Corporación de Arquitectos Católicos han organizado un acto, que tendrá efecto el próximo martes a las 18.30 en la sede de la institución, Reconquista 572, con motivo de la visita de los profesores de la Universidad Católica de Chile arquitectos Celestino Sañudo y Ramór Venegas, integrantes de la delegación chilena al primer Congreso Panamericano de la Vivienda Popular. Los visitantes, que vendrán acompañados por un grupo de estudiantes de la misma universidad, serán saludados por las autoridades de los Cursos y de la Corporación. A continuación los arquitectos Sañudo y Venegas disertarán sobre algunos aspectos del problema de la vivienda popular.

El miércoles a las 18.30 serán recibidos en la misma institución los delegados brasileños, ingeniero Paulo Accioli de Sá, presidente de la Acción Católica Universitaria, e ingeniero arquitecto Rubens Almada Horto Porto, director del Secretariado Económico Social del Brasil.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

*Chile*  
1

In reply refer to  
IC 550.2 M 1/109

November 3, 1939

*DS*

My dear General Watson:

I enclose as of possible interest to the President the report of the Honorable Claude G. Bowers, Ambassador to Chile, in his capacity as Chairman of the United States delegation to the First Pan American Housing Conference held at Buenos Aires from October 2 to 7, 1939.

Through a misapprehension Mr. Bowers addressed his report to the President but an appropriate acknowledgment thereof has been made in the Department.

Sincerely yours,

*6*  
*Correll Shull*

Enclosure:

Report.

Brigadier General Edwin M. Watson,  
Secretary to the President,  
The White House.

**Department of State**

BUREAU  
DIVISION

IC

ENCLOSURE

TO

Letter drafted 10-28-39

ADDRESSED TO

Brigadier General Edwin M.  
Watson



EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Santiago, Chile,

October 17, 1939

Dear Mr. President:

I have the honor to submit, herewith, resolutions adopted at the First Pan-American Housing Conference at Buenos Aires October 2-7, with some observations on the proceedings and the spirit of the meetings.

The delegates of the United States were cordially received and the practical experience and character of the delegates, Raymond Cahill, C. B. Baldwin and S. L. Tesone, contributed greatly to the prestige of the delegation. Both in going and returning, while passing through Argentina, functionaries and civil governors met me at every station and stop to pay their respects and to offer their services. I was designated to reply in behalf of all the delegates in the Convention to the addresses of welcome by Señor Cantilo, the Foreign Minister, and by Dr. Cafferata, President of the Conference, who is a member of the Argentine House of Deputies, representing the Conservative Party. We were given the place of honor on every occasion and on the occasion of the call of the delegates on Señor Cantilo I was singled out by him for special attention and he took his position beside me for the pictures taken. Throughout the Conference Cahill, Baldwin and Tesone were constantly appealed to for information and advice, based on what has been done  
and

The Honorable

Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
Washington, D. C.

and attempted in the United States. And though from the beginning there was a division of the nations along political and ideological lines, we were cultivated by both sides and were able to stand aloof from controversial divisions without compromising our position with either side.

The first evidence of a division on political or ideological lines came with the announcement of the officers selected by the Argentine committee on arrangements, which designated Dr. Cafferata President of the Conference, with three vice presidents of whom I was one, and without recognition of Chile. The Argentine government delegates were very conservative and representative of the upper classes, and the slate of officers recommended, instantly was challenged by the Chilean chairman, supported by the Mexican Ambassador in Buenos Aires, who headed the Mexican delegation, and by Colombia. To prevent bad feeling, if possible, I suggested privately to the Argentineans that the Chilean chairman be substituted for me as vice president but they refused to make the substitution. Instead they proposed to add two more vice presidents so as to include Chile. But the Chileans insisted that the conference elect the vice presidents by ballot. This was forced. In conversation with Luciano Kulczewski, Chairman of the Chilean Delegation and head of the Caja de Seguro Obrero, he said that the purpose had been to organize and direct the conference along reactionary lines and that the Argentine and Brazilian delegates had the "social mentality of the 1870s". This man is the son or grandson of a Polish teacher,

LIAM RIA

AIR MAIL

- 3 -

teacher, who migrated to Chile years ago, and he has done good work in his position in Chile. It is proper to add that his is the mentality of the socialist.

The work of the Conference was divided between nine commissions, dealing with the Economic, Hygienic, Social, Financial, Architectural and Constructive, Judicial and Legislative Aspects, with Urbanism and Housing, with Education and with the Present State of the Problem in the countries of America. We assigned our delegates to the commissions that seemed the most important since, with the commissions meeting at the same time each day, it was impossible to have representation on all, though Mr. Edward Trueblood of the Embassy in Santiago, was used in delegate capacity. The assignments were determined by the specialities of the delegates and in some instance it was necessary to designate two to one commission. That on Economics considered matters that pertained especially to the work of both Cahill and Baldwin; that on Social Aspect to the work of Tesone and Baldwin. Mr. Cahill served alone on the Finance Commission and Tesone alone on Architecture and Construction. I served on the Executive Committee composed of the heads of all the delegations, which concerned itself wholly with the program of the Conference.

## II

It soon became evident that there were two distinct blocs in the Conference. One was lead by Mexico and Chile, and the other by Argentina and Brazil. The fight centered in the Social commission on the relative merits of collective and individual housing, the Mexicans and Chileans very earnestly insisting on collective housing,  
and

AIR MAIL

- 4 -

and the Argentineans and Brazilians just as fervently insisting on individual housing. With us of the North American delegation the contest at first seemed meaningless since it appeared clear enough that financial, economic and geographical considerations must be the determining factor in each country and community; that while individual housing is good where practical, it would be prohibitive in congested industrial communities and large cities. We were finally forced to the conclusion that the strange contest was predicated on the theory of the conservatives that it was politically and socially undesirable that large numbers of workers be thrown close together where they could talk over their grievances and possibly conspire. Indeed one conservative referred darkly to the collective housing in Vienna and the conversion of the houses there into forts. The head of the Brazilian delegation when pressed by me to explain the reason for so much fighting on the kind of housing, said that the objection to collective housing is that it would lead to "promiscuity". When I smiled my amazement he stoutly added; "It would never do in Brazil".

There is no doubt however that the cleavage was political and ideological.

### III

While the debate was dragging on on this subject a declaration was handed our delegation to the effect that one of the solutions of the problem of proper habitations was the paying of wages permitting the worker to live in a decent manner in harmony with the dignity of man.

It

MIAM SIA

AIR MAIL

- 5 -

It was signed by the Chileans, the Mexicans, the Colombians, the Panamanians and the Cubans. I interpreted this as well within the legitimate conclusions of the Conference, and in view of our own national position, I could see no justification for refusing our signature. The effect soon was seen when the Argentineans, supported by the Brazilians and the conservative group, submitted their set of resolutions in which, while insisting on individual housing, they, too, inserted a declaration that the workers should be paid a minimum wage that would permit them to live decently.

This unanimous declaration of all the American Republics in favor of wages for workers in keeping with a human standard of living, in my judgement, was the most important position taken during the Conference, and in most South American Republics it may well be described as almost revolutionary.

That which impressed me most in the undercurrent of the Conference was the indication that the most extreme conservatives now believe that decent housing for the workers means social security and stability for the state, and that the problem cannot be lightly dismissed but must be tackled when necessary by the state itself. There were two elements in the Conference but both seemed in agreement on this - one because it is the workers right, the other because policy decrees it.

When the vote finally was reached on individual and collective housing, we submitted the following statement in explanation of our inability to vote for either one to the exclusion of the other:

The

"The delegation representing the Government of the United States wishes to make clear its position regarding the discussion about the construction of collective or private houses. In the United States both systems of construction have been carried out by public and private enterprises. This has been based only on economic and practical reasons. In the work carried out for the disappearance of tenements, which would necessitate the construction of private and collective houses, it has been considered necessary from the social point of view, to contribute to the development of the type of houses which permit the residents to enjoy educational advantages, such as libraries, nursing clinics, physicians, and outdoor playgrounds, etc. It is considered that such facilities and advantages will greatly contribute to the physical, public and economic development of people of limited resources. If the projects are well planned, these requirements may be realized whether the system of private houses or collective houses is followed."

## IV

Throughout the Conference the delegation of the United States was treated with marked deference, due to a realization that we have attacked the housing problem more aggressively and on a larger scale than elsewhere; and it was clear that in all matters of controversy both sides were eager for our support. On controversial matters on which we did not feel authorized to take a position it was possible to satisfy both sides, concerning our reason, by frank explanations in conversations.

We were taken on a tour of the housing projects in Buenos Aires, some dating back fifteen years. First we were shown some individual housing projects. These were small, substantially built two story cottages with proper sanitation, light and air, and with back yards or gardens. However the rental was beyond the capacity of the worker. Later we were shown a large apartment house with suites of five and six rooms, as comfortable and attractive

AIR MAIL

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as the average apartment house in New York City, but the rental here was beyond the reach of the worker, and, in fact, this apartment house, was primarily for superannuated civil servants or the widows of officers.

Thus the housing projects of Buenos Aires are for the "white collar" workers called, by the Argentinians "employees" to separate them from the "workers", and not for the "workers" who most desperately are in need of better housing. The Chileans, on the other hand, are concentrating on housing for workers who are in most desperate need of it.

The most pretentious housing project shown us was the six story apartment house of cement and steel erected by the Socialists Union. Here the apartments are attractive. Two more apartment houses of the same size are near- ing completion. Even here however the rental is beyond the reach of the average worker and the explanation given me is not without its significance. It seems that the housing projects of private agencies sponsored by the Government get loans at three per cent, but that the Socialist Union must pay six per cent and thus increases the cost of the apartments.

V

One of the most significant features of the Conference was the presence of "associate" delegates -- consisting of people not designated by the Governments, but deeply interested in housing, -- such as social workers. These were all Argentinians from all parts of the Republic, and they impressed me as far more deeply in earnest about housing

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ing than the governmental delegates, and much less conservative as to methods. They took part in the discussions and were frequently sharply critical of the position of the Argentine Government delegates. At times they became a problem. That they had effect on the official delegation I have no doubt, forcing them to a more liberal position than they otherwise would have assumed. Their presence and their attitude indicate that outside official circles there are energetic forces working toward better housing for the workers in Argentina.

## VI

Because various resolutions, especially from the Finance Commission, provided for measures and methods entirely incompatible with our policies and methods, our delegation sponsored a qualifying resolution to the effect that these decisions reached in the resolutions should be applicable in the various countries to the extent only that they are consistent with the laws and customs of the different nations.

We were approached with the proposal that the next conference be held in the United States and with the assurance that this was the desire of all the countries represented in the Conference. We could only reply that we had no instructions covering the point and could not in consequence extend a formal invitation, but that should the United States be chosen it would be a compliment appreciated. Washington was unanimously chosen.

The Argentineans sponsored a resolution providing for the establishment of a permanent Pan-American housing committee, with headquarters at Buenos Aires, to carry  
forward

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forward the work of the Conference and to facilitate an exchange of views on housing problems. It was suggested to our delegation that since the Pan-American Union had headquarters in Washington it would be well to have the committee stationed in Washington. However in view of the Argentine desire to have the committee in Buenos Aires we did not care to make an issue and so we accepted the designation provided in the Argentine resolution. However this question is to be presented to the respective republics through diplomatic channels.

## VII

While there was much idle discussion that lead nowhere, over non-essentials, and perhaps not a great deal actually was accomplished, I am persuaded that this Conference has made history. On a continent where the housing conditions of the masses is pitifully miserable it has awakened a public interest in better housing for the city and rural workers. The press of Buenos Aires reported the proceedings fully along with editorials of a sympathetic nature, and special articles. The Argentine Government issued a special postage stamp in honor of the event. There seemed to be a general realization that governments in South America cannot stand aloof from responsibility in the solution of the problem of housing for the working masses, and that decent housing means healthier, stronger people, and that money spent on housing projects is money spent on social security. This is something new in these regions. And the unanimous declaration on living wages was little less than revolutionary on this continent.

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I noted, too, a spirit of rivalry among these nations as to which has done the most in housing, and the continuation of these conferences will tend to sharpen this rivalry and lead to good.

I am enclosing as part of this report the most important of the resolutions adopted. By boat pouch I shall send the press clippings, editorials and such other material as may give a complete picture of what was done and attempted.

I cannot over emphasize the good impression made on everyone by our having on the delegation such competent experts in their line as Cahill, Baldwin and Tesone who constantly were asked for information on what has been and is being done in the United States.

Respectfully yours,

*Charles H. Bower*

Chairman

LIAM SIA

AIR MAIL

TRANSLATION

Ninth Commission

Present state of the problem in America

Conclusions

- (1) The Conference considers that the construction, aided by the State, of dwellings for urban and rural workmen and for public and private employees is of vital importance to the countries of America.
- (2) The Conference recommends the fostering of these constructions as an indispensable means of conserving the social order in the nations and as the best element to raise the cultural and moral level of those who will be benefitted.
- (3) In order to develop this program there is recommended the setting up of central organizations, endowed with sufficient capital by the State to direct the work in the entire country, and which will receive the contributions of the municipalities and sectional governments.
- (4) For the adjudgment of the popular houses, the scale of wages must be taken into account in order not to burden the beneficiary with sums greater than those which the latter would be able to reasonably pay, in proportion to the rent of the dwelling he occupies. In the case that the necessities of the workman (laborer, either urban, rural, farmer, or employee) may demand a dwelling superior to that which he can pay for out of his own resources, the state, through the autonomous

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autonomous organizations, should furnish him, free of charge, the necessary money to bring the price of the house within his reach.

(5) In order to give an effective development to this work, not only should the resources of the state be used, but also the institutions charged with it should make use of credit.

(6) In order to keep these institutions non political, it is advisable that private entities take part in its constitution.

(7) The construction of houses through individual initiative, should be stimulated and aided, and means necessary for it, furnished.

(8) The obligation must be imposed on business organizations to contribute in accordance with their abilities, to help their personnel acquire houses.

(9) The amounts which the workers contract as debts for acquiring their houses, should be turned into cash, not only in order that they lend a greater service through rotation; but also to maintain the commercial morality between those so favored.

(10) It is necessary to make an intense propaganda campaign in order to impress on all citizens the necessity of collaborating in the development of the popular house.

(11) The credit institutions of all countries should aid in this important work, and the money holding class (capitalists) convinced of the obligation of bettering the conditions of the lower classes as a means of social security.

(12)

(12) Life Insurance of the debtors, destined to free the mortgaged property, is considered as an indispensable element in the building of the popular dwelling.

(13) Governments should stimulate private initiative, examining the taxes and contributions to the entities occupied in this social work, giving them every kind of facility.

We hope that the conclusions and recommendations which are given above may deserve a favorable reception by the Conference since they may so well be deduced from the particular case of Colombia, as was noted in this writing. Therefore, understanding the idiosyncrasy of the South American countries, and through the data which we have been able to obtain, like problems are to be contemplated in all countries so that the adoption of the recommendations, with the modifications which in each case suggest a middle course, can be adopted by all the countries.

León Bugnot

President

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COMISION NOVENA

ESTADO ACTUAL DEL PROBLEMA EN AMERICA

CONCLUSIONES.-

- 1) 1) La conferencia considera de vital importancia para los países de América la construcción favorecida por el Estado, de viviendas para los obreros urbanos y rurales y para los empleados públicos y privados.-
- 2) La Conferencia recomienda el fomento de estas construcciones como medio indispensable para conservar el orden social en las naciones y como el mejor elemento para levantar el nivel cultural y moral de los favorecidos.-
- 3) Para desarrollar este programa se recomienda la constitución de organismos centrales dotados de capital suficiente por el Estado que dirijan las labores en todo el país y que reciban la contribución de los municipios y gobiernos seccionales.-
- 4) Para la adjudicación de las casas populares se debe tener en cuenta la escala de salarios, con el fin de no gravar al beneficiario con sumas mayores de aquellas que éste podría pagar razonablemente por concepto del arrendamiento de la vivienda que ocupa. En caso de que las necesidades del trabajador ( obrero urbano, rural, campesino o empleado ) exijan una vivienda superior a aquella que él puede servir con sus propios recursos, debe el Estado por medio de los organismos autónomos, facilitarle a título gratuito el dinero necesario para rebajar el precio de la casa.-
- 5) Para dar un desarrollo efectivo a esta labor no solo deben usarse los recursos del Estado sino que las Instituciones encargadas de ello deben hacer uso del crédito.-
- 6) Para mantener estas instituciones alejadas de la política, es aconsejable que en su constitución intervengan entidades particulares.
- 7) Debe estimularse y favorecerse la construcción de casas de iniciativa individual de los mismos interesados, facilitándoles los medios necesarios para ello.-
- 8) Debe imponerse a los empresarios la obligación de contribuir de acuerdo con sus capacidades para facilitar la adquisición de casas a su personal.-
- 9) Deben hacerse efectivos los servicios de las deudas que los trabajadores contraigan para la adquisición de sus casas, tanto para que los recursos en ellas invertidos presten mayor servicio por medio de la rotación, como para mantener la moralidad comercial entre los agraciados.-
- 10) Es preciso hacer una campaña intensa de propaganda con el fin de llevar al ánimo de todos los ciudadanos la necesidad de colaborar en el desarrollo de la casa popular.-
- 11) Las instituciones de crédito de todos los países deben ayudar en esta importante obra y debe llevarse al cumplimiento de los capitalistas la obligación en que están de mejorar las condiciones de las clases inferiores como medida de seguridad social.-
- 12) El seguro de vida de los deudos destinado a libertar la finca hipotecada, se considera como elemento indispensable en la obra de la vivienda popular.-
- 13) Los gobiernos deben estimular la iniciativa particular, eximiéndola de impuestos y contribuciones a las entidades que se ocupen en esta obra social y dándoles toda clase de facilidades.-

Esperamos que las conclusiones y recomendaciones que preceden me-

AIR MAIL

Translation

Social Aspect

Conclusions

That it be left to the approval of the States to define their conception of the popular dwelling in their respective countries.

(a) The Congress considers that the problem of the popular dwelling should be solved, preferably seeking the construction of individual dwellings the ownership of which may be acquired by the workingmen (employees or laborers) and may constitute family property (or the patrimony of a family).

(b) In cases where economic or urbanistic reasons do not permit it, the collective dwelling may be chosen, but in such cases the greatest independence for each family should be considered.

(c) It is the keen desire of the Congress that the different countries represented in it examine the urgent possibility of fixing a minimum family wage for the laborers and employees in order that they may be economically able to acquire their dwellings as their own property.

Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Paraguay, Venezuela,  
Uruguay, Ecuador, Haiti, Nicaragua, Costa Rica,  
Honduras, Argentina, United States, Peru.

(d) That in order not to defeat the purposes sought with the individual and self-owned dwelling, life insurance should be procured, which takes into consideration the disappearance of the head of the family and the immediate taking  
of

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of possession by the widow, and thereby also the founding of a complete and national system of social insurance in order to meet the emergencies which the laborer or modest employee might be confronted with.

(e) The Congress would be pleased to see that the states incorporate as a political, social and unrenounceable law, in their respective legislations, the non-allowing of the populating or exploitation of farm or cattle land without first having approved the previous arrangement of adequate lodgings in agreement with the common norms of hygiene, both physical and moral, for the home of the workman's family;--likewise it recommends applying the same criterion to industry in general.

(f) The Congress would be pleased if the states which possess government-owned lands, and whose transference to private ownership is being established in a slow manner, that they should stipulate to those having already established concessions in them, the measures in order to assure for them a comfortable, hygienic and economic dwelling.

(g) The Pan American Housing Congress understands that it is a duty of the states to intervene directly in the financing of the dwelling of that part of the people whose family budgets alienate them from the possibility of getting the house as their own property, said intervention being considered as a basic function of social order without this intervention obstructing the necessary and useful parts of the other factors that enter into the solution of the problem of the popular dwelling as being in substance: cooperatives, and private assistance.

(h)

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(h) The first Pan American Housing Conference recommends the holding of conferences or National Congresses of the popular dwellings in order to advise the sanctioning of concordant and complementary laws which permit the carrying out of the ideal of the economic, urban and rural dwelling.

(i) The Congress hopes that building institutions such as the Argentine Railroad Employees homes project, whose results give faith in what is going to follow in the organization, may become general in America.

It recognizes that the greatest guarantee of success in the organization of the kind of Argentine Railroad Housing Project, is in life insurance as an auxiliary guarantee of the loans and at the same time an element of social aid to the families of the borrowers, in the case of the death of insured.

(j) The Congress, considering that it is a primal duty of society to watch over the moral and physical upbringing of the child of the working mother during the hours when she is at work, would be pleased to see the states intensify their action in favor of the creation of nurseries, gardens for infants and clubs for children of school age, foreseeing their construction, in planning the workingman's districts.

Desirability in the case that collective houses must be built, that the use of patios and gardens for children, be subject to the vigilance of people of the female sex of qualified morality and fitness.

Desirability that the administrative organizations in charge of the adjudgment of suitable popular residences, establish for the same, a regime which assures that benefit especially to large families and families with children under 14.

That

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That commissions be created of control and social aid which have charge of the formation of files and filing systems, registering the duly studied antecedents of the aspirants to the benefits which the respective laws accord.

That commissions be set up with persons of recognized ability and altruism to carry on, ad honorem, the positions before mentioned, in order to regulate properly the functioning of these commissions.

(k) The First Pan American Housing Conference recommends the holding of conferences or national congresses of the popular dwelling in order to advise the passing of laws which are concordant and complementary to permit the carrying out of the ideal of the economic urban and rural dwelling.

#### Resolution

The first Pan American Housing Congress recommends:

That each workingman's district, each group of cheaply priced dwellings, whether composed of private or collective houses, either privately owned or rented, must be furnished with the installations to aid medically, socially, culturally, and in recreation.

#### Statement

A statement of the North American Delegation in reference to its position regarding the construction of collective or private houses:

The delegation representing the Government of the United States wishes to make clear its position regarding the discussion about the construction of collective (multiple ) or private houses. In the United States both types of construction have been carried out by public and private enterprises. This position has been based only upon

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upon economic and financial reasons. In the work carried out for the disappearance of tenements, which would necessitate the construction of private and collective houses, it has been considered necessary from the social point of view to contribute to the development of the type of houses which permit the residents to enjoy educational advantages such as libraries, nursery clinics, physicians and outdoor playgrounds and etc., and other types of institutions. It is considered that such facilities and advantages will greatly contribute to the physical, mental and economical development of people of limited resources. If the projects are well-planned, these requirements may be realized whether the system of private houses or collective houses is followed.

FRANCISCO GUARDERAN

President

ASPECTO SOCIALCONCLUSIONES

" Que quede a la apreciación de los Estados el definir el concepto de vivienda popular en sus respectivos países."

a)- El Congreso considera que el problema de la vivienda popular debe solucionarse buscando de preferencia la construcción de viviendas individuales cuya propiedad pueda ser adquirida por los trabajadores (empleados y obreros) y constituida en bien de familia (o patrimonio de familia).-

b)- En los casos que por razones económicas o urbanísticas no lo permitan, podrá optarse por la vivienda colectiva; pero en tales casos deberá contemplarse la mayor independencia para cada familia.-

c)- Es un deseo vehemente del Congreso que los distintos países países en él representados, contemplen la posibilidad urgente de fijar un salario mínimo familiar para los obreros y empleados, con el fin de ponerlos en capacidad económica de adquirir su vivienda en propiedad.-

BOLIVIA- BRASIL- COLOMBIA- PARAGUAY- VENEZUELA-  
URUGUAY- ECUADOR- HAITI- NICARAGUA- COSTA RICA-  
HONDURAS- ARGENTINA- ESTADOS UNIDOS- y PERU-

d)- Que para no defraudar los fines perseguidos con la vivienda individual y propia, debe procurarse el seguro de vida que contemple la desaparición del jefe de la familia y la posesión inmediata para la viuda, así como también la fundación de un sistema completo y nacional de seguros sociales, para afrontar las contingencias a que pueda verse abocado el obrero o modesto empleado.-

e)- El Congreso vería con agrado que los Estados incorporen, con carácter de derecho público social irrenunciable, a sus respectivas legislaciones, el no consentir la población o explotación agraria-ganadera sino después de comprobada la previa disposición de alojamientos adecuados de acuerdo con las normas comunes de higiene física y moral, para hogar de la familia obrera.- Asimismo, recomienda aplicar igual criterio para la industria en general.-

f)- El Congreso vería con agrado que los Estados, que poseen tierras fiscales y cuya transferencia al dominio privado se realiza en forma lenta, arbitren a los concesionarios en ellas establecidos, los medios necesarios para asegurarles vivienda cómoda, higiénica y económica.-

g)- El Congreso Panamericano de la Vivienda Popular entiende que es un deber de los Estados, intervenir directamente en la financiación de la vivienda de aquella parte de la población cuyos presupuestos familiares las alejan de la posibilidad de alcanzar la casa en propiedad; considerando dicha intervención como función básica de orden social, sin que esta intervención obste a la necesaria y útil de los demás factores que entran en la solución del problema de la vivienda popular como ser: el cooperativismo y la asistencia privada.-

h)- El Primer Congreso Panamericano de la Vivienda Popular recomienda la celebración de conferencias o congresos nacionales de la vivienda popular, para aconsejar la sanción de leyes concordantes y complementarias que permitan llevar a la práctica el ideal de la vivienda económica, urbana y rural.-

i) El Congreso hace votos por que se generalicen en América instituciones estructuradas cual lo es el Hogar Ferroviario Argentino cuyos resultados dan fé de lo acertado de su organización.-

Reconoce que la mayor garantía del éxito en la organizaciones de la índole del Hogar Ferroviario Argentino, radica en el seguro de vida como garantía auxiliar de los préstamos, a la vez que elementos de ayuda social a las familias de los prestatarios en caso de muerte del asegurado.-

j)- El Congreso considerando que es un primordial deber de la sociedad velar por el desarrollo moral y físico del hijo de la madre obrera durante las horas en que ésta cumple con su trabajo, vería con agrado que los Estados de América intensifiquen su acción en favor de la creación de salas cunas, de jardines de infantes y de clubs de niños en edad escolar, previendo su construcción al planear los barrios obreros.-

Conveniencia, en el caso de que deban hacerse casa colectivas, de que el uso de patios y jardines para niños esté sujeto a la vigilancia de personas de sexo femenino de calificada moral e idoneidad.-

Conveniencia de que los organismos administrativos que tienen a su cargo la adjudicación de viviendas populares adecuadas establezcan para la misma un régimen que asegure dicho beneficio especialmente a las familias numerosas y con hijos menores de catorce años.-

Que se creen comisiones de control y de ayuda social, que tengan a su cargo la formación de legajos y ficheros en los que se registren antecedentes debidamente estudiados de los aspirantes a los beneficios que acuerden las leyes respectivas.-

Que se constituyan comisiones con personas de reconocida competencia y altruismo para desempeñar ad honorem los cargos antes mencionados.- Reglamentar debidamente el funcionamiento de esas comisiones.-

k)- El Primer Congreso Panamericano de la Vivienda Popular recomienda la celebración de conferencias o congresos nacionales de la vivienda popular, para aconsejar la sanción de leyes concordantes y complementarias que permitan llevar a la práctica el ideal de la vivienda económica, urbana y rural.-

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V O T O .-

El Primer Congreso Panamericano de la Vivienda Popular recomienda:

Que toda barriada obrera, todo conjunto de viviendas baratas, ya sea ampueta por casas individuales o colectivas, propias o de alquiler, debe estar completada con las instalaciones de asistencia médica y social, cultural y deportiva

.....

#### DECLARACION

DECLARACION DE LA DELEGACION NORTE AMERICANA EN LO REFERENTE A SU POSICION EN CUANTO A LA CONSTRUCCION DE CASAS COLECTIVAS O INDIVIDUALES

La Delegación que representa el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos, quiere aclarar su posición respecto a la discusión sobre la construcción de casas colectivas (múltiples) o individuales. En los Estados Unidos ambos tipos de construcción han sido llevados a cabo por empresa pública o particulares. Esta actitud no ha sido basada sino en razones económicas y financieras. En la obra llevada a cabo para la desaparición de conventillos, que involucra la construcción de casa individuales y colectivas, se ha creído necesario desde el punto de vista social, contribuir al desarrollo de aquellas casas que permitan a sus residentes gozar de ventajas educativas como ser bibliotecas, cunas clínicas, médicas, plazas, etc., y otros tipos de instituciones. Se considera que tales facilidades o ventajas contribuirán grandemente al desarrollo físico, mental y económico de aquellas personas de recursos limitados. Si los proyectos son debidamente planeados, estos requisitos pueden ser realizados ya sea que se siga el sistema de casas individuales o colectivas.-

Francisco Guarderas  
Presidente

EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PSF:  
chile

C O P Y

SANTIAGO, November 27, 1939.

Dear Joe:-  
(Gutsey)

I have had a hectic time since coming here, first with the innumerable calls and counter-calls of courtesy, the ceremonies, four or five speeches etc., and two weeks in Buenos Aires where the President sent me to head the American delegation to the First Pan-American Housing Conference before I had been here three weeks.

At Buenos Aires I made the speech at the opening meeting replying on behalf of all the visiting delegates to the address of welcome from the Prime Minister, and recently here I spoke at a banquet in my honor attended by all the Government, by all the leaders of all the parties, journalists, bankers, business men, etc., and speaking on the new Latin American policy immensely pleased the crowd. It was on its feet cheering when I closed, and, contrary to the custom here, the papers ran laudatory editorials and diplomats of other Latin-American countries sent copies to their chanceries, and I was deluged with letters from leading figures here saying it was the most sincere-sounding interpretation they had heard. But I note that there is not so much as a mention in the American press. Ho-hum, what's the use.

The war has settled the issue of the next convention unless Roosevelt positively refuses to run. If he runs he will be elected. If he does not and some one like McNutt is nominated we shall have a candidate who instinctively is not liberal or progressive, and I note that it is assumed that he will be nominated if Roosevelt is not. I am persuaded however that Roosevelt will run. If he does you are all right in

Pennsylvania; if not you will have a desperate fight and a meagre chance.

This is a most beautiful country, the climate perfect, the city is charming, the people the best in South America because there is no mixture of colored races and the race here, a combination of Spanish, English, Scotch, Irish and German is much like our own. The people on the street here look exactly like people on the street in Cleveland, Cincinnati, Louisville, or Indianapolis - Middle West people.

Our Embassy is a palace and very attractive, larger than the one in Madrid, better adapted to entertaining, and most impressive in appearance. I have given about eight dinners thus far for an average of 25 people each time. The town is more social than Madrid. The Union Club here is one of the best three in the world. The bar, by the way, is the longest in the Western Hemisphere. Two country clubs that are attractive. And with races every Sunday the Hippo club has the most imposing race course I have seen outside that where the Derby is run in England. The scenery is magnificent, especially in the lake region which I traversed on the way back from Buenos Aires - more beautiful than Switzerland. Vina del Mer, known as the "Biarritz of South America" is just what you would expect of Biarritz - which means I am not wild about it.

The war is fantastic. War for Democracy? Tell it to the marines! If it were for Democracy, England and France would not have bullied the Czechs into yielding to Hitler; they would not have exerted themselves through their Governments to crush democracy in Spain; they would not have chosen the wrongs of Poland which was as democratic as Portugal as the pretext for fighting; they would not be kissing both cheeks of Mussolini and Franco now while they continue their contemptuous denunciations of democracy.

For Democracy? Forget it! It is a war to determine who dominates Europe.

Now that Hitler and Stalin have joined forces the parlor reds and the parlor Nazis in America must feel foolish. They look it. Pat his it off fine in a sentence where she said on reading of the combination, "I see Stalin has joined the anti-comitern pact".

If we are wise we will stay out. The war will either end in a typically dishonest Chamberlain peace that would disgrace us, or in the economic ruin of all nations in the war if it continues long. Roosevelt will get more glory historically by keeping us out than by being in.

Sybil and Pat join in regards to your sisters. By the way I have run out of match boxes. I really must call on the Guffeys again.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Claude G. Bowers.

Tully file  
Chile - ~~2-2-43 closed~~

MISS LEHAND:

This has been thanked for. The  
President says to return it for the files.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*Mrs Roosevelt*

1/2/40

MEMO FOR E. R.

To thank him and keep in  
our files.

F. D. R.

*Isabell*

Autol  
1-8-40  
Chili

Santiago December 18-39

Dear Mrs Roosevelt;-

I am inclosing  
for your amusement and possibly the  
President's a little essay by a small  
child in which you are described as "a  
very nice lady" - which would not be  
unanimously approved at Southhampton  
or Palm Beach.

It reflects the feeling of the masses here  
- and in Spain.

Now Spaniards, men from the trenches  
and former Ministers, I have heard  
the warmest expressions of appreciation  
of your sympathy for the cause of  
democracy in that country.

The present miserable mess in Europe  
was prepared in Spain. The world is  
now paying the price of Mr Chamberlain's  
"appeasement" which has brought  
"peace in our time" I wonder if you  
have heard a churchillian that did not  
reach the press? Malcolm Macdonald,  
the pale pink edition of a pious and  
sentimental father was speaking in the  
commons on the troubles in Palestine.  
Becoming sentimental without rhyme or  
reason he said in clerical tones, "how  
my earliest infancy I have heard time and  
again the story of Bethlehem where the Prince  
of Peace was born" and then in a stage  
whisper from churchill - "My God, I  
thought it was burning coal!"

Sincerely  
Edward G. Bowler

SANTIAGO COLLEGE  
SANTIAGO  
CHILE

December 14, 1939  
Dictated Tuesday.

Hon. Claude G. Bowers  
Ambassador of the United States of America  
Santiago

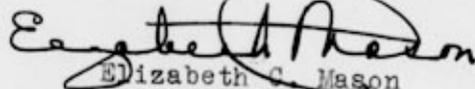
Dear Mr. Ambassador,

I have just returned from your office and one of my teachers of the Lower School has brought to me a paper written by a little girl of Italian extraction. It seems the children were given the privilege of writing on any subject they wished,-- Christmas, My Farm, Flowers, etc.

I know that you will be interested in the subject which little Lucy Mina chose!

With kindest greetings, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

  
Elizabeth C. Mason  
Directora

ecm.hr

Lucy Mina.  
Eleven years old.  
1<sup>st</sup> Grade.

Santiago Chile  
Dec. 12/1939.

The Kind President of  
United States!

In United States there is a very kind President. He is called "Franklin Roosevelt." He has a kind heart and he loves peace.

The Chileans love him, because he is such a happy man. He loves to go fishing, in the Gulf of Mexico and he catches big fat fishes.

President Roosevelt has done many good things for his country.

They have a very powerful Navy.

His wife is a very nice lady, she helps the poor people.

This year the King of England visited United States. Before United States belonged to England but it is a free country since 1776.

I like all the Presidents of U. S. A. but the ones I like best

are President Roosevelt and  
George Washington.

Oh, I would love to go to  
United States! Daddy says I am  
going when I am a big girl.

---

EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
SANTIAGO, CHILE

Personal

VIA AIR MAIL

Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt  
The White House  
Washington

1092

U.S.A

U.S.A

file personal

COPY

PS

EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Santiago, May 10, 1940

Dear Joe:-

We have been pretty busy down here with the war phase and with a weeks entertainment of Admiral Byrd, and the papers come rather irregularly. I notice with a shock some time ago that Lawrence and his gang of traitors were fighting your renomination even after you overlooked the first treachery. Then the other day I got a letter from a friend saying: "Of course you know that your friend Guffey won a grand victory." That is all I know. I assume that the victory was in the primaries.

I have read your book on the Third Term and it is fine. I cannot see any sane possibility now of Roosevelt not being drafted. It is not a matter of tradition, or of personal desires; with the world in flames in the gravest crisis it has known in centuries the displacement of a tried man in whom the people have confidence for any one new would be unspeakable stupidity. I note that the country is demanding his renomination and I hope he will not hesitate. He need not utter a word. He can just stand mute.

To elect a man like Dewey, untried, and ignorant both of national and international affairs, and merely on the strength of the fact that as a fair police court prosecutor he sent a man to the penitentiary would amount to insanity and would discredit democracy.

I see that after three years everyone has come to the conclusion I constantly hammered in in my despatches about Chamberlain. What a crime that he could not be thrown out until after nation after nation had been sacrificed and democracy was forced to face a facism with enormously extended frontiers. I foresaw and foretold everything that has taken place as the record shows; but I was looked upon as an ass and a mere "political appointee" by the wise boys for almost three years while every facist in disguise whispered among themselves that I was a "red". Well, well, chickens do come home to roost.

It begins to look as though we may be forced in by events. Hitler is a raving maniac now and there is no outrage of which he is not capable.

I see you got Earle another job. Well, old boy, I am glad he was not in Penn. for the primaries to join his old pal Lawrence against you. Ho-hum.

Regards to your sisters.

Sincerely,  
/s/ Claude G. Bowers

PSF: Chile

Chile  
4

May 24, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. SUMNER WELLES

For preparation of reply.

F. D. R.

Enclosures

fdr.tmb

Let to the President 5/14/40 from Claude G. Bowers, Santiago Chile re the war and its possible repercussions in South America. Also copy of Confidential dispatch No. 512 to the Sec. of State 5/14/40 Re: Purported German Nazi Plans in Chile.

May 24, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

In compliance with the request contained in your memorandum of May 24, I am enclosing a suggested reply for you to send to Claude Bowers in response to his letter to you of May 14.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

~~Samner~~ Welles

Enclosures:  
To Mr. Bowers.  
From Mr. Bowers,  
May 14, 1940.

The President,  
The White House.

May 24, 1940

Dear Claude:

I have read your letter of May 14 and your despatch of the same date with a great deal of interest. I think there is no doubt that in the event of continued German victory in Europe, German agents in many of the Latin American countries will undertake immediately activities with a view to the overthrow of existing governments.

I know that you will remain in close touch with the Chilean authorities and let us have by telegram if necessary all information of a disquieting character.

You will have received by now a telegram requesting you to suggest the desirability of confidential conversations between military and naval officers of the United States and officers of the Chilean Army and Navy with regard to coordination of measures of continental defense. I think it is desirable that a step of this kind be undertaken as soon as possible in the light of the existing situation.

With my warm regards, believe me

Yours very sincerely,

The Honorable  
Claude G. Bowers,  
American Ambassador,  
Santiago.

Santiago, May 14, 1940

Dear Mr President:-

For your information I am inclosing a copy of a despatch which may be of interest apropos of the war and its possible repercussions in South America. Should the war spread and the Nazi-Facist International continue its victories and we ultimately be involved, the status of Chile would be of importance to us. I am not afraid of the German Nazis here acting alone, but as I try to point out in the despatch there are some army conspirators in existence, though these are not numerous I think, and certainly not among the officers in high commands. However the technique of these brigands in Czeckoslovakia, Norway, Spain etc is to enlist the cooperation of reactionary forces in democratic nations in their <sup>and</sup> game start their crimes under the guise of not "tolerating communism"<sup>^</sup>--communism meaning democracy. There are elements here <sup>as</sup> and there were in Spain that would gladly join forces with facism or nazism. I do not think there is any real danger, but there is always the possibility and in these days I am sure you will want to know any possible as well as probable dangers. The arrogance of the German nazis here is incredible and disgusting to the Government here. That which I would impress is this,--should the Nazis be so stupid as to attempt to inject themselves by force into the American scene, it is in Chile that they would strike.

Nothing that is happening in Europe now surprises me, as it was very clear to me as early as 1936 that the organized forces of banditry of the totalitarian states had planned by terrorism and brute force to destroy liberalism and democracy in Europe, and I saw the rehearsal in Spain. I am still dumbfounded that so few of my colleagues appeared to have the most remote conception of the significance of what was going on.

The cause of liberty and democracy won a major victory when the insufferable ass, pro-fascist at heart, Chamberlain was pruned loose from appeasement and Churchill was put in.

Warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,

*Claude G. Bowles*

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House.

No.512

Santiago, May 14, 1940

Subject: Purported German Nazi Plans in Chile

~~Strictly Confidential~~

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

Apropos of the attitude in Chile toward the war, I have the honor to report an incident which presumes to throw some light on the possibilities. A man with a slight accent, thought by the butler to be German, telephoned my house and asked to see me alone on an important mission. I arranged to see him at the office. He had the appearance of a business man of the middle class, well dressed, and shrewd. He claimed to be of Polish origin and to possess large means, and to be engaged

gaged in business here where he has lived for many years. He refused to divulge his name on the ground that he could not afford to be involved in any investigation of his story because of his business, and I got the impression that he may be on terms of social intimacy with the alleged Nazi conspirators of whom he told me. The substance of his tale is this:

About the beginning of the war, a man appeared here from Germany where he had been trained in the school of espionage and propaganda and had been a member of the S.S. organization. He is here as an agent of the Nazi Government for the purpose of organizing and preparing the large German population for an ultimate attempt to take over the Government. This man and his group have a compact organization which is prepared to obey instructions from Berlin. They claim to have spies on all the embassies and legations and to have agents in many of them who keep them informed regarding the proceedings and papers in them. They have the wires tapped.

"I could tell you much more", said this man, "but the other information is of such a character that should it be investigated and the investigation come to the attention of these people the source of the information would be recognized".

He said he was unable at the moment to recall the man's name, but said he lived on the twelfth floor of an apartment house at Plaza Bulnes No. 30. He added, whether with significance or not I do not know, that the owner of the house, a woman, lived on the eighth floor.

I have had inquiries made by members of my staff, regarding this house and the person on the twelfth floor,  
through

through an American, Mr. Hutchinson, who lives in the house, and he reports that three men live on this floor. These are Frederick Kaufman, Franz Mondshein and Eric Piket.

The American informant understands that they are German Jews. That evidently is their story at any rate. However it is well understood that the Nazis have slipped many spies and agents in among Jewish refugees. The British Ambassador tells me that not long ago when some Jewish refugees appeared in London one of the real refugees, pointing excitedly at a man among them, exclaimed: "Why, that's the man who was in charge of the concentration camp where I was". The fact that these three may pose as German Jews does not necessarily mean that they are such.

I have taken the liberty of speaking to Sir Charles Bentinck about this man's visit and I noticed that when I entered he immediately pulled plugs from the connections with the telephones since the British Embassy is acting on the theory that even with the receivers on the telephones down they can be made to serve as dictaphones.

## II

The idea of a German Nazi organization looking for the "opportune time" to "take over the Government" does not impress me as entirely fantastic. There is, as you know, a very large German population here, and, from all I hear, these are mostly militantly Nazi. While all the Germans in Chile are said to favor Hitler, I am told in southern Chile, where they are strongest, that only the younger men are active Nazis. But I am told that active Nazis they are.

Were

Were the Germans alone to attempt to "take over the Government" they could and would be put down. But there may be some significance in the use of the words "opportune time".

There have been and still are military men in Chile who are in favor of military government and the ending of all democratic processes. There are some men of influence, because of their wealth and business connections, who are so bitter against the Liberal Government in power that they would welcome a military coup d'etat. At the beginning of the Aguirre Cerda regime there was open talk of the Army rising in revolt and taking over the Government. There have since been two attempts that failed dismally because of the absence of any popular support. That there still are some officers, not the highest, who cherish this idea I am informed by the Military Attaché, who knows them personally and is apparently is told by them of their prospective plans. They base their desire on the old familiar ground that they will "not tolerate" having the "communists" run the country, or the socialists having any part in the Government. All this is of the familiar pattern. In other countries this element has within the last four years not hesitated to join the Nazi or the Fascist elements - the same thing.

If the Germans Nazis here are planning, in cooperation with some Army officers, a military revolt it could be given the appearance of having popular support by the German element of the population.

As against the probability is the fact that the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, Army, Navy and Aviation, are said to be entirely loyal to the Government and to the President; that the major part of the Army

comes from the middle classes; that opposition leaders of the caliber of Cruchaga, President of the Senate, and Agustín Edwards, former Ambassador in England, are known to be opposed to attempts to change the Government by force, and they are partial to the Allies.

However, I am calling attention to these incidents and reports because of all the countries in South America there is greater danger of a Nazi attempt here than in any other because of the German population and its aggressive attitude in the present war.

Respectfully yours,

CLAUDE G. BOWERS

CGB:LRL  
820.02

PSF: Chile H

*file  
personal*

Santiago, Chile,  
May 25, 1940

My dear Mr. President;

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter of a very confidential character which I am sending to Welles. It bears out what I wrote you recently about the dangers in Chile. Because of the German population here, larger in proportion to the entire population than elsewhere in South America, and because of the nitrate and copper, etc., I am still sure that should Hitler's temerity go so far as to contemplate some action in the Americas he would be most likely to try it out in Chile first. I find that the Brazilian Ambassador, Gracie, who is a real friend of ours, shares my opinion, though he thinks that Brazil may be looked upon as a fertile field.

Faithfully yours,

*Claude H. Bowers*

The President,

The White House,

Washington.

Santiago, Chile,  
May 25, 1940

Dear Mr. Welles:

When I called on Sáenz last night regarding the confidential proposal in your telegram No. 84 of May 23, 12 noon, he gave every evidence of personal satisfaction and said that he and the President have been thinking that something of the sort would be wise; that it was all right to announce a policy of neutrality but that alone was mere "theatre" and that something practical by way of preparation to meet any possible emergency is necessary. He said he would see the President today and try to give me an answer tonight.

In the course of the conversation he asked if he could be perfectly frank and off the record, and then said frankly that there is a German problem in Chile, that there are officers in the Chilean Army who are Pro-German due in large part to the fact that the Chilean Army for years was under German training. He said that the heads of the Army and Navy are thoroughly Pro-Ally, however, but indicated that the situation is being watched and that the Department of Investigation had been reorganized and strengthened. He astonished me by saying that one officer had been discovered sending material to Germany and had been apprehended but that there was to be no publicity.

This gave me the opportunity to ask if it would be impertinent were I to tip him off from time to time to any reports that came to me regarding German agents at work here. He said he hoped I would. I then gave him the names of two or three men who are said to be actively engaged in the work of organizing the Germans. He took the names and will personally see that an investigation is made if not already made.

Meanwhile

The Honorable  
Sumner Welles,  
Under Secretary of State,  
Washington, D. C.

Meanwhile I have heard that there are 10,000 Germans in Chile who have actually been trained and drilled for war purposes. This comes to Colonel Wooten through a pro-Ally officer of the Army. From another source I heard that there are 30,000 Germans organized. This seems a bit extreme but one never can tell.

Let me reiterate with all possible emphasis my own conviction that these German agents count confidently on the assistance of the Fifth Column, so effectively used in Spain. The Fifth Column, aside from the Germans, embraces, first those in the Army of whom there may be very few, who want a dictatorship, and secondly, those of the Rights, the extremists without imagination, who want to get rid of a liberal government.

In relation to the latter I am convinced that the men of brains and patriotism among the political opponents of the regime, such as Agustín Edwards, realize that more is involved in any possible conspiracy against the regime than local politics. I heard last night that the President has arranged a meeting with Rightist leaders, a semi-social gathering, not to be advertised. I have been told that in getting the Rightist leaders and the President together at my functions for Admiral Byrd I opened the way for this approach. These Rightists are Pro-Ally.

I am wondering whether it is not just as well at this juncture for me to transmit such information and observations as herein contained to you directly in the form of a personal letter rather than in the form of a despatch. If you would prefer otherwise, please let me know.

I am enclosing a copy of this letter to the President.

Sincerely yours,

Claude G. Bowers

PSF: Chile

Chile  
4

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 10, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR  
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

Will you read the enclosed  
from Ambassador Bowers and prepare  
reply for my signature?

F. D. R.

Letter dated June first to  
the President in re Nazi activities  
in South America.

*file  
per mail*

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

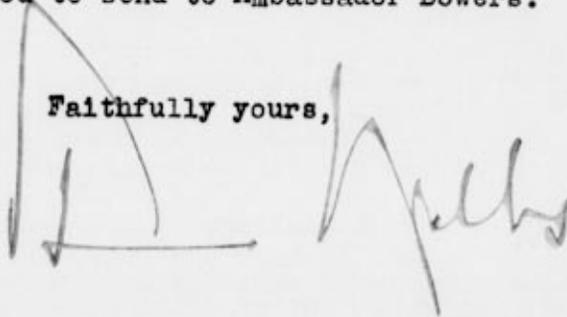
June 10, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

In accordance with the request contained in your memorandum of June 10, I am transmitting a suggested reply for you to send to Ambassador Bowers.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,



Enc.

The President,  
The White House.

Santiago, June 1, 1940

Dear Mr President:--

I have written fully I think to Welles about the more recent developments here regarding German Nazi activities . On the day of the receipt of the telegram proposing conferences between army and navy men I saw Seanz, the Foreign Minister, who is absolutely trustworthy and both pro-Ally and pro-American , and found him not only agreeable but pleased. He very frankly told me that both he and the President are deeply concerned over the Nazi activities here. He added, and this is significant, that they were not unmindful of the fact that there are some pro-German officers in the army . These are influenced in some cases by the long period of German training of the army here, and in some cases to their German blood. He said the higher officers, the three Commanders-in-Chief are pro-Ally and dependable . He said that until almost the time of the arrival of our men on the 7<sup>th</sup> no one in Chile will know anything about it but the President and himself .

The President turned out to be heartily for the conferences and Seanz made the comment that they are coming none too soon. The definitive answer was not given until Wednesday morning when the Minister receives the diplomatic corps. Seanz explained that he thought ~~my~~ visit would be less conspicuous on that day since my frequent trips recently to the Foreign Office has caused some curiosity and speculation.

On Wednesday I found Seanz very much disturbed. This was due as I found to the fact that the British Ambassador had just poured out on him all the rumours afloat, some of them fantastic. The Ambassador afterwards told me he thought it good to throw a scare into then Government. I do not think it necessary. It is thoroughly disturbed .

The arrogance of the Germans here is increasing all the time. When the Government paper, La Nacion recently published, the day after my first call on Seanz, an editorial denunciation of the Fifth Column, in which Germany was not mentioned, the German Ambassador appeared promptly with a blustering protest.

From every source I know, official and unofficial, I am safe in saying that it is commonly thought here that the Germans, who are numerous, are thoroughly organized with the view of a coup d'etat , and that while something of the sort may be attempted in several South American countries the first attempt will be made here for reasons I have previously set forth.

The South American countries are looking to us for leadership if I may judge by the conduct of ~~their~~ their diplomats here. Both the Brazilian Ambassador, Gracie, pronouncedly pro-American, and Labougle, the Argentine

constantly come to the house to discuss the outlook and both insist that their countries are prepared to follow us wherever we lead.

The danger of cooperation with the Nazis from the Rights is not so great now as it would have been five months ago. Augustin Edwards, one of their brainiest men, with whom I have close relations, and who served as Ambassador in London for many years and but recently returned, is militantly pro-Ally and opposed to any truck with the Nazis.

Cruchaga, whom you know, has been represented as pro-German at heart. This is due to the fact that having been Ambassador to Germany he accepted the presidency of the German-Chilean Society before the war. He recently said he is a friend of Germany but quite as much a friend of France. He is a devout Catholic, what we would call a "professional Catholic", and it is incredible that a Catholic should favor the extension of Nazi rule.

I asked Seqnz if in view of the menace to Chilean independence the Government is taking any steps to draw the patriotic Rightest into a common front. He replied that such efforts were being made. He said the Government's bill increasing the pay of army and navy men was introduced for the purpose of leaving these men with no grievance. He said that this was being held up in the Opposition Congress. He implied that Rightest leaders who can be trusted as Chileans have been called in and the cards put on the table. He recently -- the President I mean -- had a secret meeting with some of the Rightests. I am told that my Byrd dinner when I got them together for the first time has been very helpful in getting them together.

Wierd tales are told of the great amount of war material in the hands of the Germans. They seem fantastic. However I should feel better about resistance to Nazi attempts if the Chilean army at this juncture had more machine guns and artillery and some more planes. All this, I have no doubt, will be talked out at the coming conferences.

I shall keep the Department constantly informed of all developments and shall write you personally of anything that I think you may want to have.

With warmest regards,  
Sincerely,

*Claude G. Powers*

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House.

Dear Claude:

Your letter of June 1 has been very interesting. As the days pass I see more and more indications that the governments of the other American Republics are increasingly desirous of the closest cooperation and understanding with us here. The secret military and naval conversations have progressed so far without hitch and, I am glad to say, without publicity. Sumner Welles has told me of the valuable information with regard to German activities in Chile and in other places on the continent which you have sent to the Department and I hope you will telegraph up everything of this kind which may, in your judgment, be of any significance. We must all of us be on the lookout and keep the closest watch of developments.

My best regards and believe me

Yours very sincerely,

The Honorable  
Claude G. Bowers,  
American Ambassador,  
Santiago.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 14, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR  
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

What are we doing  
about this?

F. D. R.

Dispatch from Ambassador  
Bowers from Santiago in re request  
from Azana, the Spanish Premier  
and President now ill in France, for  
permission to cross in American ship  
sent to evacuate Americans, with  
Mexico as destination.

PSF  
check  
4

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

*file  
confidential*

June 15, 1940

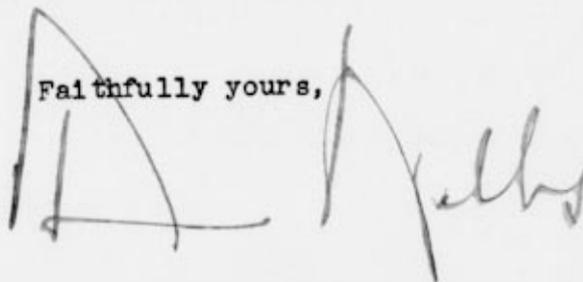
My dear Mr. President:

In reply to the inquiry contained in your memorandum of June 14, I am enclosing copies of two telegrams sent on June 12, which show the action taken by the Department in this case.

Under present conditions, of course, I do not see, as a practical measure, how former President Azana can get accommodations on any American ship unless a ship is later sent to evacuate such additional Americans as desire to leave Europe and can get to Lisbon.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

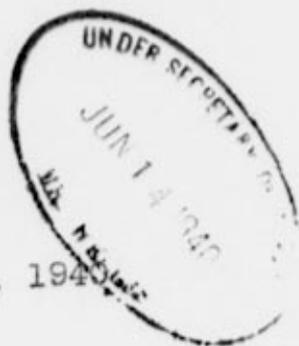


The President,

The White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 14, 1944



MEMORANDUM FOR  
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

What are we doing  
about this?

F. D. R.

JT

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (br)

SANTIAGO

Dated June 11, 1940

Rec'd 5:40 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

120, June 11, 4 p.m.

~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL~~ FOR THE PRESIDENT.

I have a request from Azana, the Spanish Premier and President now ill in France, for permission to cross in any American ship that may be sent to evacuate Americans, with Mexico as destination. Were he taken by Hitler it would mean a concentration camp and certain death. In view of his unfaltering championship of liberty and democracy and his constant services to us and our interests in Spain, I respectfully urge that consent be given and Bullitt be instructed accordingly. Azana's is a most exceptional case.

BOWERS

NPL

TELEGRAM SENT

OK

GRAY

June 12, 1940

5 p.m.

AMERICAN EMBASSY

PARIS

654.

Bowers has requested that Azana, the former Premier and President of Spain who is now in France and is ill be permitted as a matter of comity to cross on an American ship in order to proceed across the United States to Mexico. In case another American ship should be sent to Europe for repatriation work, you may as a matter of comity authorize Azana to board ship as a passenger for New York and to have his passport documented to permit passage across the United States to

Mexico.

852.001 Azana/27

A-L:BL:SRW EU RA U

HULL  
(SW)

TELEGRAM SENT

CK  
This telegram must be  
closely paraphrased be-  
fore being communicated  
to anyone. (Br)

June 12, 1940

6 p.m.

AMEMBASSY

SANTIAGO.

97.

Your 120, June 11, 4 p.m.

The request you make on behalf of Azana is gladly  
acceded to and Bullitt is being instructed appropriately.  
There are at present no plans for sending another  
vessel to Europe but if one should be sent as a matter  
of comity facilities will be extended.

HULL  
(SW)

852.001 Azana/27  
A-L:BL:SRW EU RA U

PSF:  
Chile  
H

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 19, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR  
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

TO READ AND RETURN

F. D. R.

Letter to the President from  
Ambassador Bowers, Chile, in re  
his talk with President Aguerre  
Cerdas.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

June 20, 1940

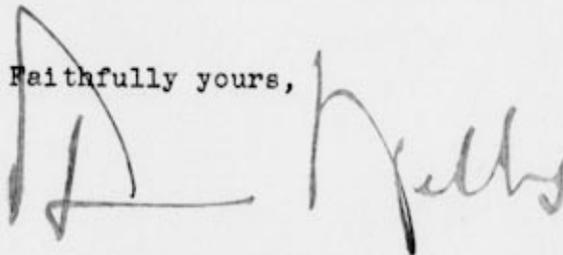
*File  
Bismarck  
Confidential*

My dear Mr. President:

In accordance with the request contained in your memorandum of June 19, I am returning herewith Ambassador Bowers' letter to you of June 12 which I have read with a great deal of interest.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,



Enc.

The President,  
The White House.

Santiago, June 12, 1940

Dear Mr President:-

No doubt you have seen my telegraphic report of President Aguerre Cerdas assurance to me, apropos the military mission that has just left here. Let me add that during the conversations there was not one jarring note; that the President and Minister of Foreign Affairs were delighted that this step should have been taken and cooperated fully and with enthusiasm; that the officers here selected for the conversations were the highest in the army and navy and air; that the agreement was complete.

After the military men had agreed on all points not political and beyond their jurisdiction, the President who had been informed invited me to the Moneda where I saw him in the residential part in his study and he went the full length, giving this pledge:

- (1) If Chile is attacked she will defend herself to the utmost.
- (2) If the United States is attacked Chile will go to her aid to the utmost if asked.
- (3) If a third American Republic is attacked that the United States wishes to protect Chile will aid her to the utmost.
- (4) If Chile should start a war of aggression against any nation she would not expect assistance from the United States and vice versa".

He spoke with intense earnestness, clipping his words, speaking slowly, and emphasising the words "to the utmost" by striking the palm of his left hand with the clinched fist of his right. He is absolutely

honest and a clever man with plenty of "guts" whatever you may have heard to the contrary.

I saw the Foreign Minister today and he too is delighted .

The President said one significant thing to me that I am passing on to Welles but I think you should have it also. He said that German diplomacy had been far superior to that of the British or the French and that no one would have thought eight months ago that an understanding on anything could have been reached between Stalin and Hitler. He then went on to say that German diplomacy would seek in every way through its agents and Fifth Columns to ~~mk~~ sow dissensions among the American Republics to prevent solidarity in action. He said that the Fifth Column people in various South American countries having access to the press are doing all they can to stir up suspicions, jealousies and hates. I thought perhaps he had reference to the strange stories we have heard about the Canal arbitration between Chile and Argentina, all of which he insists were plain lies. I have been told by a journalist returning from Brazil that the Brazilians have a notion they may be attacked by the Argentinians. I know nothing of this. But there it is. I have no doubt that the President has good grounds for saying what he said. And he added that the United States through its diplomatic agents should follow this very carefully and combat it with the various Governments.

I wrote you about Azana because Azana asked it and because I look upon him as one of the greatest ,most intelligent, and courageous champions of Democracy in Europe. If his life is endangered I am sure we cannot

justify ourselves in refusing him permission to cross enroute to Mexico in an American ship. He is sick, as I know. If he should fall into the hands of the brigands it would mean his death. He fought our present battle first to prevent the hideous line up of the totalitarians in preparation for what we have today and time and again in truly great speeches during the war he pointed out that this present thing then in preparation was being tried out in Spain. I hope that he will not be refused.

Your speech at the University of Virginia has created great enthusiasm and a profound impression here. I note from the radio noises that it was applauded there. I am so glad things are changing. In 1927 Nick Butler made the Founders Day Address--God how Jeffersons bones must have rattled--in which he pointed out how fine after all facism was working out and how badly democracy, but leaving the impression that there was a lot to be said for facism. The next year I made the Founders Day Address on Jeffersons principles and said that "facism and communism are but the reverse sides of the same base medal", that both stood for the end of liberty, human rights and the freedom of the human spirit", and went after the fashionable apologists of Mussolini. It was looked upon as quite extreme. The Charlottesville paper said editorially it was high time an old fashioned Jeffersonian speech were heard on Founders Day and Alderman wrote me a beautiful note to the same effect. He was ill and absent at the time. So good to hear 'em cheer the same ideas after twelve years.

Since I began this note the A.P. correspondent has brought me the

speech of Vargas on the battle ship. The text is precisely that of  
Mussolini. I have never trusted that man's democracy. He certainly is  
no such democrat as Aguerre Cerda. It smacked of Hitler too. I hope  
we make no such mistake as the Europeans made in Europe. They even  
banked on Hitler and Mussolini and banked on Franco whose waters  
will bear watching. Too many submarines in that region. Things don't  
happen,--they are made to happen.

But our men who are doing the eastern coast and visit Brazil and  
Argentine should get the feel of things.

Your speech was grand. I liked the fighting words. The  
"hand that held the dagger" was classic.

Warmest regards,

Sincerely,

*Claude G. Bower*

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
The White House

PSF; Chile - 1940

June 25, 1940

My dear Claude:

I want to thank you for keeping me so well posted regarding developments in Chile. Your recent letter of June 7 contains information of extraordinary importance. I was particularly interested in the views of the President concerning the Nazi influence in the Army and in his belief that in the main the Army can be relied upon in case of any attempt to upset the Government. I hope that the President meets with success in persuading the Rightist leaders to put the defense and welfare of their country above their personal ambitions. It is hard for me to believe that Senator Gruchaga is not in sympathy with the President's policy in this regard.

x429  
x429-A

x1173499

I have also read with interest your cables concerning the defense conversations between our military and naval officers and those of the Government. We could hardly have wished for better assurances of collaboration. I am sure that the happy outcome of these discussions was in no small part the result of your own patient and tactful efforts. You have my congratulations.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Franklin D. Roosevelt

The Honorable  
Claude G. Bowers, <sup>x117730</sup>  
American Ambassador, <sub>x303</sub>  
Santiago.

x335

x463-6

x G. F. State European War

x198

x87

Original sent to State for delivery 6/20/40  
fm



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

June 25, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

In accordance with your request, I have been pleased to prepare the enclosed suggested reply for your signature to the letter which you received from Ambassador Bowers.

Faithfully yours,

Enclosures:

1. Reply.
2. Letter from  
Ambassador Bowers.

The President,  
The White House.

Miss Geiger:

Here it is--I have checked  
it out of my files.

PTL

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 15, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR  
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY  
FOR MY SIGNATURE.

F. D. R.

Letter to the President,  
dated June 7, 1940, from Ambassador  
Bowers in re Nazi activities in  
Chile.

Santiago, June 7, 1940

Dear Mr President:--

I have kept Welles informed largely through personal letters with the situation here which is serious because of the minute organization of the German Nazis who are numerically important and because of a certain pro-German tendency on the part of numerous army officers because the army here for years was trained by German officers. I inclose a despatch covering this phase.

The other day I was with the President alone for an hour .He is a clever and charming man ,admittedly honest and liberal, and pro-Ally and pro-American and we talked with the utmost frankness apropos the coming of our officers for consultations today. He tells me that there are pro-Nazi officers in the army ;and he surprised me by saying that while the greater part of the General Staff are pro-Ally there are men on the General Staff who are pro-Nazi. He knows that the Nazis have their agents and spies in various departments .He apparently believes that in the ~~na~~ case of an attempt by the Nazis to take over the Government he can depend on the army while realizing that there are some officers who would be disloyal. He thinks the Government will prevail unless there is a disposition on the part of the disgruntled, discredited and defeated Rightests to join in regardless of the effect on their country. I had previously inquired whether in

view of the circumstances if any communication pitched on the plane of country had been had with Rightest leaders who are primarily patriotic. I find since that the President has called in the Rightest leaders in Senate and House and put all cards on the table and appealed to them to subordinate party politics for the moment to the good of the country. I have learned from another source that some of the Rightest leaders were deeply and most favorably impressed with the Presidents sincerity and patriotism .One or two die-hard Tories thought he was merely playing politics. Among those with whom the President is conferring is Augustin Edwards ,for many years Ambassador in London,a Liberal(Rightest) who intellectually looms higher than any perhaps ,along with Cruchaga with whom you are probably acquainted. There had been a political feud and I broke the ice and paved the way for these conversations by breaking all precedents and inviting both the President and Edwards to my dinner and ball for Dick Byrd.

The communists here are pro-Nazi ,decidedly so,and they are in very bad odor with the Government. My call on the President brought much publicity and speculation,and in view of the fact that the press here had just carried a story about Welles conversations with the Argentine,Brazilian and Uruguan Ambassadors and Minister concerning the continental security against European aggression and the menace of the Fifth Column it was assumed that my conversation was along the same line. The communist paper alone today carries an editorial predicated on the thought that it was some kind of an infringement on the sovereignty and independence of Chile for me to talk with the

President .The German Ambassador runs down to see the President once or twice a week usually with some arrogant protest which appears to be all right with the communist organ.

The Argentine and Brazilian Ambassadors ,both high grade and able men and both anti-Nazi ,the latter decidedly pro-American and the other certainly not anti,talk with me frequently and all look to the United States for leadership. The Argentine is rather critical of the Government here because of its hesitacy in the sinking of the Argentine ship.I try to cool him off a bit by calling his attention to the very delicate situation here which requires cautious handling.

Our army and navy men arrive by plane today ,and the President here on their arrival will designate the men with whom they are to confer.

There is another matter that is causing us considerable concern. There are many copies of the "Whaley-Eaton Service" received regularly here. It is "news" furnished to Big Business men in foreign countries and probably in the United States ,and of course is always unfair to and critical of o your domestic policies ,but since it circulates almost exclusively among the die-hard Tories that does not harm. But the Military and Naval Attaches this morning call my attention to the last Letter which is headed "Actual A Status of the Army"and carries questions and answers before the congressional committee when General Marshall was before it . I presume this committee meeting was in executive session though Id do not know. The nature of the questions and answers is calculated to create the impression that we are in

a very serious state . These local representatives of American Big Business talk among themselves and to others of the contents of these letters ,but ,more serious, some Chilean business men subscribe for the service ,and the effect on them is very bad. It tends to undermine confidence in our capacity to do anything and consequently increases the feeling that the Germans will dominate the world. We all feel that the inclusion of this matter in this Service intended largely for foreign consumption is unpatriotic or worse. I think it possible you may decide it worth while to have some one give a heart to heart talk with the editors. At any rate you ought to see it.

The military and naval attache are drawing up a war plan for Chile in the event conditions force us to intervene here to prevent the establishment of an arrogantly and blatantly Nazi Government under the direction of Berlin. Gestapo agents are here from Germany. Letters to Berlin have been intercepted and are in possession of the Government here showing that the whole movement here is directed from headquarters in Berlin. We are told that these Nazis have arms sent from Germany to Buenos Aires and slipped in from there and that uniforms of the Carabaneers are here to be donned as in Holland. If Hitler strikes in the Americas I am still persuaded it will be first here rather than Uruguay which Washington seems to favor, though of course I am not familiar with the situation there .

It looks bad in Europe though the elimination of Chamberlain and Deladier, the heroes of Munich and Spain, is promising at least a resistance. Churchills spirit is --Churchills spirit which is praise

enough. And where is Baldwin? We hear so much in Bankers Clubs and Chamber of Commerce meetings about how well Governments would be run if in the hands of "business men". Have you ever thought of this? For the first time in the history of Britain she has had in succession two business men at the head of the Government--Baldwin and Chamberlain. The policies of these two pompous asses has brought Britain down to its lowest point of prestige and power since the days of Elizabeth. "Nuff sed" .

Regards and best wishes,

Sincerely,

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House.

*Claude Y. Bowles.*

P.S. Since writing the above a Dr Fuchs, German-Chilean since the World War in which he fought, and said by himself to be at the head of an anti-Hitler organization has called on the Military Attache and furnished important information--if true. To the effect that the Germans have 7000 regular trained men ready for action with 20,000 others, also with arms, ready to help ; that nine Nazi officers are now on their way here; that every American business here with honeycombed Nazi agents in positions instantly to sabotage; that the Nazis plan to strike here very soon. He also says that our friend Cruchaga is a prominent member of the Fifth Column. I have often heard this and always discredited it as did the President in my conversation with him

this week. He certainly is the head of a German cultural society here, which has come to be pro-Nazi but I have assumed that he accepted the presidency before trouble came and was offered it and accepted it because he had been Ambassador to Germany. But these reports on Cruchaga come thickly and this man says he is on the pay roll. Am telegraphing all this today and you will have seen it before this letter reaches you.

*ccB*

PSF: Chile - 1940

COPY

July 1, 1940

Dear Claude:

The information and observations you sent me in your letter of June 19 were very interesting. I am encouraged by the indications of growing inter-American solidarity which you reported, and I hope that this tendency more than balances the other developments you mentioned. x87

In view of the emphasis of your recommendation that naval vessels be sent soon to visit Chile, it was possible to arrange for a visit by the Phoenix, as you were informed. Other demands on the fleet made it impossible to send more than one ship at this time. As you know, it is considered generally unwise to reduce the strength of the fleet by sending too many of its important units off on independent operations.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

The Honorable  
Claude G. Bowers, <sup>x PP7730</sup>  
American Ambassador, <sub>x303</sub>  
Santiago.

x G. F. State European War  
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Department of State

RA

BUREAU  
DIVISION

ENCLOSURE

TO

Letter drafted .....

ADDRESSED TO

The President



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

July 1, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

I have received your memorandum of June 26, 1940 enclosing a letter of June 19 you have received from Ambassador Bowers in Santiago, Chile.

In response to your request, I am enclosing a draft of a suggested reply to Ambassador Bowers for your consideration and signature if you approve.

Faithfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "C. Hull", written in dark ink.

Enclosure:

Draft.

The President,  
The White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 26, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR SUMNER WELLES: <sup>220</sup>

B

For preparation of reply.

F.D.R.

Letter from Hon. Claude G. Bowers, Embassy of the U.S.A., Santiago, 6/19/40 to the President, stating that the Sociolists of Chile have formally determined to go along with the U.S. one hundred percent in all matters relating to the international situation and to support continental solidarity to the limit. Also refers to Nazi activities in Chile.

Santiago, June 19, 1940

Dear Mr President:-

I have just written Welles on our recent developments in Chile regarding the Nazi plans and activities and he may mention them to you. My purpose in writing now is to tell you that for the first time in the memory of man the Sociolists are lined up here with the United States. Schnake, the Minister of Fomento, and the intellectual of the sociolists, assured me of this some time ago. He has just reiterated it to a member of my staff. But more significant is this: Marmaduke Grove, the popular leader of the Sociolists, and reputed by the ultra-conservatives to be a dangerous man asked to see me and I lunched with him the other day. He has the appearance and manner of a gentleman and he has a good mind. He is the idol of the sociolists rank and file, their favorite orator. The substance of his conversation can be summed up in a sentence: The Sociolists have formally determined to go along with the United States one hundred per cent in all matters relating to the international situation and to support continental solidarity to the limit. His sincerity was made manifest that very night when he addressed a mass meeting of the sociolists in the plaza before the Moneda Palace in which he said with great emphasis and to great applause that "Chile stands for continental solidarity in the face of present dangers UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE NORTH AMERICAN REPUBLIC".

That the Nazis are prepared to strike here there can be no doubt. I need not reiterate what I have previously written. There are between twenty and thirty German officers here now and numerous Gestapo from Berlin. We hear that the Nazis are in possession of arms, principally light machine guns, smuggled in from Germany. The method pursued here is an exact repetition of the method adopted in Spain. The one missing feature is now reported--an increasingly large number of German "settlers" have appeared at Aysen, proposing to settle on the sound behind the Isla de Cisnes which is long and deep, running northeast from the Canal de Gay in the southern section which may become of vital importance to us and our defence plans. The Government is cognizant and is now going into the land grants in search of irregularities on which an expulsion can be based. It has no doubt that these "settlers" are financed from Berlin.

I was greatly disappointed over the cancelation of the visit of the four ships. The moral effect would have been great. I still hope there may be a reconsideration and that at least two can be sent

We hear now that the coup is slated for July. It may be mere speculation. It may not come at all. The international situation will probably determine.

I note--with a shy smile behind my hand,--that Franco is in on the carving up of Spain. He has been in all the time. The Spanish Charges here told the Yugoslavian Minister that of course Spain would be in with the Nazis since "Franco is too deeply indebted in gratitude to Hitler and Mussolini to hesitate". If not Franco, then Franco's boss,

Suner.

What a world. And yet so plainly outlined by events for the last three or four years. The treachery of Leopold was deliberate, timed, planned and dictated by Mussolini. The French army puzzles me. Yet I was told for two and a half years when at San Jean de Luz that the French Government stood for so many outrageous things because the French army was so crowded with facists that it could not be trusted. I wonder.

The Republican convention is not so much as mentioned down here even among the American business men.

Regards ,

Sincerely,

*Charles G. Rowles*

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House.

file  
personal

PSF: Chile

chile  
f

Santiago July 2, 1940

Dear Mr President:-

Congratulations on the nomination of the Big Butter and Egg Man of the Utilities, financed by Wall Street, and indorsed from Berlin by Hitler. Some people have all the luck. I note that the distinguished Roy Howard has captured the nominee on the fly and presume that the U.P. which I have observed for three years to be pro-totalitarian will support him.

At his palace at Vina del Mer the other day President Aguirre Serda walked me in a drizzle in the garden for forty minutes talking about the Habana conference. These people here have acted promptly and I think wisely on the conference and I have written Welles some suggestions regarding the character of the delegates for the use of Hull. While six delegates are named and this may seem more than necessary it appears wise to me because for the sake of national solidarity in an international crisis it is especially important here that all the major political parties be represented. The President has named a distinguished Conservative party Senator and a brilliant Liberal international lawyer along with Radicals and one Socialist. Schanake, Minister of Fomento, and a socialist, is chairman. This in a way is unfortunate, but only because of possible prejudices, since he is more familiar with the economic phase to be discussed than any one else, and he is pronouncedly pro-United States and is a reasonable and conciliatory man.

We have two decided ill wishers and enemies here--the German Nazis and the Spanish embassy which resents "the unnatural influence of the United States". Now that the Sociolist party has formally and official-ly voted to go along with us 100 per cent we are in the best possible position. Our popularity was never greater I am sure. The University of Chile celebrates our Fourth ~~on~~ this evening when I speak; the Catholic University on the 5th when I speak; the leading public school on the morning of the 4th ; the Boy and Girl Scouts come to the Embassy Garden on the morning of the 4th with a band; on the 6th the working classes have arranged a big observance at the Municipal Theatre when Fedegral among others has been asked to speak, and it is expected that the President and Minister of Foreign Affairs will attend.

All this does not popularize us with the Fifth Column which we believe may attempt something soon. Last Saturday night when I gave a dinner for the Minister of Foreign Affairs , having thirty two , and most all South American Ambassadors and Ministers, the Government , having heard that Gustavo Ross was arriving by plane here had taken vigorous measures. The leading officers of the army had been summoned by the President and instructed. Soldiers were at the landing field. But Ross who was supposed to arrive with Ibanez, the Nazi hope, failed to appear. Today's papers say he has left New York by plane for Argentine. It is not improbable that the easy money the Nazi or Fifth Column people seem to have comes in goodly measure from Ross. There is a story that the Fifth Column and the Nazis may make an attempt between the 10th

and 15th,--but the gossips were equally certain it would be between the 15th and 20th of June,so it may be mere "conversation".

It must now be clear that the Fifth Column did its work in France and that Petain himself was part of the fascist Fifth Column along with other officers as I had heard while in France. Laval the notorious corruptionist and confessed traitor in that he was in close communication with Mussolini after the war began is a symbol of what happened in France,now that he is in power.

The special N.Y.Times correspondent,Porter,was just in .having come from Brazil,Argentine and Uruguay. He reports that the British Embassy in Rio is completely inactive while the Nazi forces are exerting themselves to the utmost. Here,apropos of this,is something that might possibly be passed on discreetly to the British in Washington. It has been arranged that Sir Charles Bentinck,the Ambassador here for several years,immensely popular here,entirely familiar with the situation here,and very active here,shall be displaced next month by a man who never had a post until very recently when he was sent to the country where John Wiley is our Minister. This man was an office man dealing with papers and not men all his life. Wiley reports that he is very weak,very sick ,frail,and not at all active. To send a man like that here where the Nazi problem is acute at this time and to displace a man who is effective and popular seems to me incredibly stupid. Bentinck is to be retired but he is willing to stay on. He is cooperating with us fully. Would be be a breach of protocol and whatever they call it to pass a hint to London that this is a bad time to swap horses in Chile? It may be impossible but I pass on the suggestion

feeling sure it is justified under the circumstances.

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,

*Claude H. Bowles*

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House.

*F. J. P. ...*

PSF: Chile

Santiago, July 20, 1940

Dear Mr President:-

The inevitable, long foreseen, has come, and while it may mean discomfort for you it is manifestly necessary for the country in the present crisis. Like Napoleon your record has meant that you are "doomed to grandeur", and nothing can change it. I congratulate the country, not you.

Events of the week here are of such a character that I feel you should have a birds eye view of them. The boorish, blackguardish, bullying facist act of the military gentleman who stumbles around in the Foreign Office in Madrid in breaking off diplomatic relations with Chile, without any warning and without any reason that would be recognized as such in any really civilized regime, and with the statement that because of the liberal government and the democracy here, Chile is in a state of anarchy, has unified all parties here in magnificent support of the Chilean Government.

Having observed, not without intelligence I can say on the record, the serpentine trail of the totalitarians in Spain, it seemed clear as crystal to me the moment I heard of the act of Madrid that it had been dictated by Mussolini and Hitler, one or both, with one of two objects in view. One may have been the hope that this would interfere with the harmony at Habana; the other, more probable, that it would furnish the typical facist excuse for the rising of the Fifth Column.

The attack on the regime here as "anarchitic" because it is of the

popular front, on the regime because it is democratic, was intended for international consumption and was probably planned with the idea the Rightests would say: "See to what depths we have fallen! The savior of civilization and christianity in Spain in his purity, sweetness and light, can no longer afford to permit his spotless garments to touch ours, and we must in self respect rise now with the Fifth Column, under the direction of the Nazi nobility, and overthrow this government". But alas for the best laid plans of mice and men the Chileans in Rightest circles only laugh at the action of Madrid as stupid; and the Rightest parties lead the praise of the attitude of the Chilean Government and in denunciation of that of Spain, and serve notice that all Chileans are one in resentment of Francos insolent action. I have sent the editorials of the leading Rightest papers to the Department. El Mercurio, Edwards paper, says bluntly that the Spanish note is an insolent attack on Chilean sovereignty and on its democracy which Chileans will defend.

So much for that.

The other event is most important. I think I wrote you that Aguerre Cerda recently called in Rightest leaders in the Opposition Congress, laid the international situation before them, and appealed for a common front. This apparently has had effect, for on the 17th the national chairmen of the Conservative and Liberal, or Opposition parties, and the Radical party, the leading Government party, met and signed an agreement based on five propositions on which the Opposition Congress agrees to discontinue its policy of delay on Administration measures, and to work in close cooperation with the

President. Among these propositions, all sent the Department, there are several which represent great concessions on the part of the Conservatives, such as the agreement to appropriate largely for housing, to consent to the organization along union lines of the peasants, and to agree to a minimum wage scale for the farm workers. The Leftists have agreed to another proposition to stop the constant interference in industries of non-governmental committees that have been inspired I am afraid very much by the Nazis and communists. The Sociolists are not entirely happy about it but have announced their willingness to go along.

If this plan is adopted it will mean a greater unification of forces than has been known or possible in Chile for a very long while. Incidentally it will probably mean that our friend Pedegral may become Minister of Finance.

The press here is most laudatory over your renomination, papers of all parties except the Communists. Any other result in the Convention would have had a very bad effect in South America. I suspect it would be difficult to convince our own Fifth Column of this, but the fact is that South America has confidence in our intentions for the first time ever, and it is due to complete confidence in you. Had you passed out of the picture at this juncture it would have been a dash of cold water on the warming up of South America toward us. We need twelve years to undo all the stupid things we have done in the last hundred. And twelve years should do it.

The Phoenix made a great impression. What a beautiful and powerful

boat! The officers were wined and dined at Valparaiso, and they came here and I accompanied them to the Foreign Office and the Ministry of Defence and had thirty two to dinner for them, including the Admiral of the Navy, Minister of Defence and a number of other Chilean officers. The next day I went to Valparaiso to a luncheon on board with Chilean naval authorities where "water flowed like champagne" but a good time was had by all. Then we paid homage to Arturo Prat, the great naval hero of Chile, by placing a wreath on his monument in the presence of a great crowd. Chilean soldiers and sailors were lined up when we arrived and a little later our boys headed by the band made a dashing appearance, and our band played the Chilean anthem with more fire and dash than I have ever heard it played before, to the delight of the Chileans. After the ceremony the Chilean armed forces and our boys marched by in review. It all did much good.

Wallace nomination offsets McNarys with the farmers; and it also gives an all-American touch to the picture. With Wallace on the ticket and Stimson and Knox in the Cabinet why don't you spend the campaign fishing in Chile. ?

With warm personal regards ,

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House.

Sincerely,

*Claude B. Rowles*