

PSF

Chile

1938-<sup>May</sup> 47

CONTINUED

PSF: Chile  
J

file 4

Santiago, September 28, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

No doubt Mr. Welles has reported to you that the conversations between our representatives of the General Staff and those here have concluded to our entire satisfaction, in that we have been promised everything we asked. There were four items with political significance on which the Chilean officers felt incompetent to pass, and these were submitted by me to the President, who, after a clarification of the wording of one, agreed to all.

I have requested the Department to facilitate the delivery of the planes purchased by Chile, since our Air Mission, on which we counted for some prestige, has been in the humiliating position of twirling its thumbs for some months without being able to do anything because of the delay in the arrival of the planes. The Chileans were responsible in part since there was delay both in signing the contract and in making the payment but two months have gone by since Chile met all the requirements.

Much impressed as the Chileans have always been with German military efficiency and with the brisk work of their military missions, the fact that our, here for months, and unable through no fault of its own, to do anything, is exceedingly detrimental to our prestige at a moment when we cannot afford to lose face. The members of the Mission are humiliated by their plight. Our enemies are sniggering about "American military efficiency". I have a very robust opinion that something should be done to end this intolerable situation and to get the planes here so our men can get to work.

We were all, including Agustín Edwards' own son and family, amazed by the interview he gave the press on his arrival in New York, seemingly criticizing the credits extended to Chile by the Import-Export Bank. He has been strongly attacked by the Government press, and his own paper El Mercurio has ought to soften the thing through interpretation. His thought was that trade is better than credits - which is our own view. But it requires credits to create the facilities

for

The Honorable  
Franklin Delano Roosevelt  
The White House,  
Washington.

for trade. I strongly suspect that that which was foremost in Edwards' mind was the possible loss of trade to England through these closer relations between Chile and the United States, and Edwards is notoriously more pro-English than pro-Chilean. The President's only comment on the interview was that it was "unpatriotic".

I have taken the bull by the horns and had a meeting with the representatives of big American interests here and put it squarely up to them that they are primarily the objects at which Nazi propaganda here is aimed, and that it is clearly up to them actively to cooperate in meeting and confuting such propaganda. I reminded them that every German business man in Chile is actually assessed by the German Embassy for the Nazi anti-American and anti-American business propaganda; that every British business man in Chile contributes to the British publicity fund. I am glad to say that our business element here realizes now that Nazism is aimed at them; that a Berlin dominated government here would threaten their investments here; that their country is involved in a grave international crisis and that their interest is with the democracies. They are now forming a committee to cooperate and to assess themselves and we hope through this to get an American hour twice a week on a radio, and to meet the press problem here more effectively.

I note that the great and "just" Franco is about to enter the war (he entered it the day it began, of course) with his allies Hitler and Mussolini. You know, of course, that I fore-saw this as early as the late fall of 1936. Whatever happens, however, I do hope, if we get in, that Ambassador Hammond will not have to surrender the Franco decoration recently given in recognition of his services in the Spanish fight for the extermination of democracy, and that the short memoried public will not recall Ambassador Laughlin's presence on the Franco platforms in the same cause.

I got word to Azaña's family that his request had been acceded to by you and advised him to get in touch with Bullitt. But when they sought an American visa at the consulates the consuls could not communicate with Bullitt, and, without authority could not act. Azaña, gravely ill and in deadly danger, is in a small French town whither he went in an ambulance from Bordeaux with his wife and doctor, and the Mexican Minister to France is there with him. His brother-in-law, Rivas Cherif and his wife, graduate of Wellsley, remained in Bordeaux for a day or so to close things up and the Germans swept in days before expected, took him prisoner and sent him to the vengeance of the "just" Franco. It is not a pretty story.

Congratulations on the Times. Infinitely better that it should ostentatiously be aligned than that it should continue playing independent.

Faithfully yours,

*Edward G. Bowers*

PSF: Chile

*file personal*

Santiago, Chile,  
October 26, 1940

Dear Mr. President:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter to Welles together with a letter covering the point I made to you and to Flynn some weeks ago about the South American slant to the campaign. I am afraid that to take three days in a plane with bad food and no choice, and getting up at 5 a.m. to catch the plane for three days would knock me out completely. The treatment given me, while effective, leaves me a bit lightheaded as I was warned it would, and my bowels are hardly in shape for the plane. I believe the "personal" letter would be more effective than a speech at this juncture. The fact is that the call leaves me with absolutely no time for the preparation of a speech.

I see John Lewis has joined Sloan. How sweet the union of kindred souls! I wonder how much Lewis cost them. His action worries me only about Pennsylvania and Joe Guffey.

Faithfully yours,

*Edward G. Bowes*

The Honorable  
Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
The White House,  
Washington.



EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Santiago, Chile,  
October 26, 1940

Dear Mr. Welles:

I am terribly distressed because of my physical inability to fly tomorrow. The continuous succession of dinner, worse here than most places, has had me feeling rotten for a month but I have dragged myself to these damn feasts as a duty until I had to face the fact that I required treatment. My darn liver is a little congested and digestion for a month has been much out of order. The treatment which is to straighten out the liver makes me lightheaded and easily dizzy, as I was warned in advance. To go by plane, flying for three days, eating anything I could get, getting up at 5:30 to catch the plane, and arriving in New York at 4 A.M. would probably put me out of commission, and certainly would leave me no time for the preparation of a formal speech.

I am sending a letter which I think more effective if it can be used, in that it concentrates in a small space all that could be said in a speech and as it is written as to a friend as if not for publication, it would probably be more effective. I have thought that if Magistrate Frank Oliver, a long time intimate friend were asked by Flynn, - Oliver was in Congress for twelve years under Flynn - he would permit the letter to go out as having been written him.

I am afraid the radio would not work.

If I had received any intimation a month ago that I would be wanted in the campaign, I would have rejoiced in the opportunity and made proper preparations, but hearing nothing, and convinced that the victory is certain, I dismissed it from my mind. Your telegram coming just when I had been put out for a week or ten days makes me literally sick with regret.

Sincerely yours,

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

Santiago, Chile,  
October 26, 1940

My dear Oliver:

Thanks for your comments on the campaign at home. I am afraid I am too close to the firing line of the totalitarian propagandists to be much interested in the usual party issues. There is just one plank in my platform just now - Democracy.

The issue today is world-wide and elemental. On the universal stage today is being shown a life and death struggle between Democracy and Totalitarianism, between liberty and the most cruel tyranny, between civilization and savagery, between a society ruled by law and one dominated by the most rudimentary brute force. The battle front is at the front door of every man and woman in the world.

Inflated by their success in the liquidation of liberty and democracy in the greater part of Europe, the Totalitarians have perfected their organizations in every nation of South and Central America with the view to ending them there, and dominating these nations by their ruthless methods. These methods, devised in the totalitarian capitals, are utterly unscrupulous, and with enormous funds, miraculously acquired, they are conducting throughout South America a campaign of misrepresentation and hate . aimed primarily at the United States. Through the papers they control, and the radio they use, they are pouring into South America the most poisonous propaganda against American interests, the American people, and the American concept of government. This fairly reeks with the most fantastic fabrications aimed at us, and with the most indecent denunciations of Roosevelt.

The reason for concentrating this totalitarian spleen on Roosevelt is quite clear. By them he is hated more than any other public man because he has come to symbolize the cause of Democracy throughout the world; but more especially they hate him because of the faith in him held by the people of South and Central America whose countries are scheduled in the plan for world domination to fall next under the Totalitarian yoke.

They assumed in the beginning that the liquidation of democracy and liberty in these republics would be comparatively easy through their brutal method of economic domination; and they knew that, once these republics could be reduced to economic dependencies, their political domination would follow of necessity.

It is because Roosevelt and Hull saw from the beginning that the only way to prevent the wiping out of democracy in South and Central America is for all the republics of the two Americas to form a common defense front; to pledge themselves to a common defense both economic and political; to sustain each other by mutual aid; and finding this idea echoed in all these sister republics, a common front has been formed.

The hope of us all equally lies in continental solidarity and security - one for all and all for one.

It is because of what has been achieved along this line at the Conferences of Panamá and Habana that the totalitarian propagandists and their organizations in South and Central America are so furiously attacking the United States and the man they hold responsible for this interference with their plans. This builds a wall against their dream of world domination.

It is utterly amazing to listen to the vicious slander

of the President that pours constantly from totalitarian radios. The reason is that this spirit of solidarity against the common menace of totalitarian tyranny has been made possible because our sister American Republics have the most absolute faith in the spirit and the words of Roosevelt and Cordell Hull. Never in our history have any two American statesmen possessed the admiration and affection of the Latin American republics as these two have. By action, not words, they have proved the genuiness of their friendship.

While the faith in them is unanimous, I have heard from some, with memories lingering on former wrongs, that the good neighbor policy is genuine with Roosevelt and Hull, but that it is personal with them and not a reflection of the feelings of the North American people. We of course know that there is no policy of the Roosevelt Administration that has such unanimous support from the whole American people as its policy toward the American republics.

But this suspicion does exist with some, and should Roosevelt be defeated it would generally be interpreted throughout South and Central America as a repudiation of his policy here.

You would be astonished at the keen interest taken here in the coming election. Scores of times I have been asked in tones denoting real anxiety: "There surely can be no possibility of Roosevelt's defeat?" The other day two North American priests traveling through South America told me that in conversation with the Foreign Minister of a neighboring nation, he had said to them that the "defeat of Roosevelt would be interpreted as a repudiation of his good neighbor policy and would put back the relations of the United States and South America for a generation". There is no doubt of it.

And now, at this critical period in world history, it would be incredibly stupid. Now that we are working harmoniously with our sister republics toward a common front against the common danger of totalitarian domination, for the people of our country to repudiate the leadership of the President who is now the leader of the Americas in the fight for the preservation of liberty and democracy, would be unthinkable.

In South America the totalitarians have their organizations, agents and propagandists working covertly and reporting to European capitals on their plans; and working openly and brazenly with high pressure propaganda to undermine confidence in the United States and to destroy faith in Roosevelt and Hull. Listening to their radio denunciations, teeming with the most absurd falsehoods, a stranger from Mars would assume that this man Roosevelt is running for President in South America. The enemies of Democracy know that he is the leader in the fight for the preservation of the democratic institutions and concepts in the New World. So there is no term of opprobrium they do not apply to him. Their hate is quite fantastic. Were he defeated his repudiation would be hailed with delirious joy in every totalitarian capital, and that is enough for me.

The totalitarians know that first they must destroy faith in the United States which stands in the way of their world domination; and to do this in South America they must destroy faith in Roosevelt. That achieved, they figure that their battle for the domination of this continent would be well nigh won. Once convince our sister republics that the United States is insincere in its protestation of solidarity and friendship, and the unscrupulous propaganda of the totalitarians would take root. And the defeat of Roosevelt would be ascribed to the hostility of the North

American people to the American policy of Roosevelt and Hull.

That is the way I am thinking about the campaign - I am thinking about the real issue of Democracy. We are living in terrible times. Party politics at home does not stir me in the least in the presence of this world issue on which the fate of a free society depends. The campaign that interests me is that which is being waged throughout the world, and the issue is liberty or tyranny, independence or slavery, and surely everything should be subordinated to the world issue. That is the reason I feel that the man to whom the democratic portion of mankind looks for inspiration should be given a rousing victory as a token of our faith.

Such a victory would be hailed in South and Central America as a vote of confidence in the Roosevelt-Hull policy of friendship based on a common American front against the forces of darkness.

And Roosevelt's defeat would wreck all that has been accomplished here in eight years of generous cooperation, destroy all that has been done toward building a common front against totalitarian penetration, and immeasurably contribute to the success of the totalitarian propaganda which has reached appalling proportions throughout South America.

Sincerely yours,

PSF:chile

November 9, 1940

Dear Claude:

I have your letter of October 19 and much appreciate your words of encouragement. I may say also that the reports which we have received of the favorable reception accorded my address on Columbus Day in the other American countries is a source of real satisfaction.

The situation of Azana, which you mention in your letter of October 19 to Mr. Welles, came to our attention several weeks ago, at which time it was rumored that the Spanish Government had requested the French Government to return him to Spain. In response to an inquiry from the State Department our Chargé d'Affaires at Vichy reported on September 10 that he could find no confirmation of this rumor, but that the Spanish Government had requested the French Government not to grant exit visas to a certain number of prominent leaders of the former Spanish Government, including Azana. He reported that the French had found this request "reasonable" and therefore were not permitting the persons in question to leave the country.

The situation with respect to political prisoners in Spain was discussed by Mr. Welles

within

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

within the past few days with the Spanish Ambassador, as a result of which the Ambassador undertook to inform his Government of the concern felt in this country at the possibility of political executions in Spain. Mr. Welles mentioned also the report that distinguished Spaniards, such as Azana, who are now refugees in France, might be turned over by the French Government to the Spanish Government and then be executed. A telegram has been sent to Mr. Weddell in Madrid informing him of this conversation, and requesting him to make sure that our message is received by the Foreign Office and to express the hope that it may receive favorable consideration.

I understand that Mr. Welles is writing to you and will let you know what further steps it may be possible for us to take to assist ex-President Azana.

With warm personal regards and best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

/s/ FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

November 4, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

In accordance with your request I am attaching for your signature a draft of a reply to Ambassador Bowers' letter of October 19, 1940. The Ambassador's letter is returned herewith.

As indicated in the draft letter for your signature, I am writing to Mr. Bowers in more detail regarding the points raised in his letter to me of October 18. I believe that we would be justified in bringing the case of ex-President Azaña to the attention of the French Ambassador with the request that he inform his Government of our views.

Faithfully yours,

Enclosures:

1. From Ambassador Bowers, October 19, 1940.
2. Draft of reply.

The President,

The White House.

**Department of State**

BUREAU  
DIVISION

**Eu**

**ENCLOSURE**

**TO**

Letter drafted.....

ADDRESSED TO

**The President**

Santiago, October 19, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter to Welles concerning a matter that interests me deeply as a democrat. I hope something can be done.

You have made a magnificent campaign! - by campaigning for preparedness. No one here doubts the result. We are all arranging to hear the returns here election night. You are too near the election to bother you with a letter, but the enclosed to Welles is something that cannot be long postponed I am afraid. Your speech to South America came over here perfectly, and you had a large audience here.

Warmest regards,

Sincerely,

*Edward G. Bowes*

The Honorable

Franklin D. Roosevelt,

The White House,

Washington, D.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 29, 1940

(B)

MEMORANDUM FOR  
HON. SUMNER WELLES

For preparation of reply.

F. D. R.

Enclosures

fdr/tmb

Letter from Hon. Claude G. Bowers, Embassy of the U.S.A., Santiago, Chile, 10/19/40 to the President, with enclosed copy of his letter to Hon. Sumner Welles , asking that Azana now in France sentenced to death, be aided to leave the country.

PSF:Chile

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

November 14, 1940

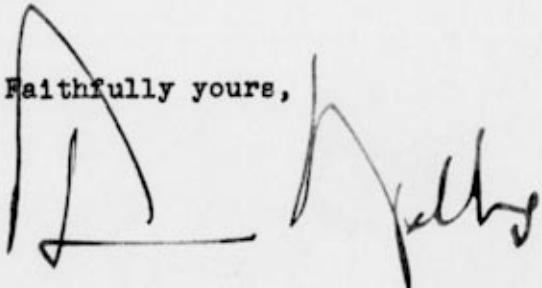
*file personal confidential*

My dear Mr. President:

As you will see, Ambassador Bowers has suggested that the information contained in his letter to me of November 9, of which I am transmitting a copy herewith, would be of interest to you.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,



Enclosure:

From Claude G. Bowers,  
November 9, 1940.

The President,

The White House.

COPY

EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Santiago, November 9, 1940

Dear Mr. Welles:

Since writing the letter which goes by this pouch I have attended the formal greeting by Bianchi of the Diplomatic Corps and an incident occurred that impressed me very much. The Nuncio, at the head of the line, left his place, passing without pausing the German staff, the Columbian staff and the Mexican who have precedence over us, and came directly to me to shake hands effusively. He then shook hands with all the members of my staff, and returned directly to his place at the head of the line. It attracted the attention of the entire Corps. I have been on most cordial terms with the Nuncio, but that alone could hardly explain his demonstration. It probably was due to the election in the States though he said nothing about it. Among so many Catholic countries in South America his action seemed to me very helpful for us. The President might be interested.

Sincerely,

CLAUDE G. BOWERS

Hon. Sumner Welles

Washington.

*file personnel*

*Chile folder*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

March 1, 1941

My dear Mr. President:

I have received your memorandum of February 21, 1941 enclosing a letter of February 13 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. There is also enclosed a draft of a brief personal message which you may wish to send to Cardinal Dougherty.

Faithfully yours,

Enclosures:

1. From Ambassador Bowers,  
February 13, 1941.
2. Draft of reply to  
Ambassador Bowers.
3. Draft of letter to  
Cardinal Dougherty.

The President,

The White House.

**Department of State**

BUREAU  
DIVISION

**RA**

**ENCLOSURE**

**TO**

Letter drafted.....

ADDRESSED TO

**The President.**.....

AIR MAIL

#### THE GERMAN-SPEAKING CATHOLIC COMMUNITY IN CHILE

Strange events have taken place during the last eighteen months among the German-speaking Catholic community. Formerly we had a popular and widely-read weekly paper called "DER SONNTAGSBOTE" - published by the Bavarian-Capuchin mission, which distinguished itself by its manly insistence on the cultural importance of the church, and, full accordance with the spirit of injunctions from the Holy See, warned believers against the neopaganism of the Nazi regime, and bearing in mind the numerous persecutions of the Church in Central Europe, reminded believers of their duties as children of the church militant.

But "DER SONNTAGSBOTE" suddenly exchanged its lay-editor for a priest, and, simultaneously, a sneaking underhand policy was adopted which, by many, was regarded not merely as a capitulation to the Nazi terror, but rather as collaboration in the evil aims of nazidom. Complaints were expressed. The situation showed some improvement, but, however, only for a short period. "DER SONNTAGSBOTE" announced that it must suspend publication. Enquiries elicited the fact that many subscribers of old standing now suddenly objected to the manner in which the paper condemned the overthrow of culture in Germany and encroachment by the State on the domain of the Church. Of course, Nazi propaganda was responsible for all this, but what was said, was the passive attitude of the priests concerned. In some cases, the latter openly supported the Nazi innovations.

Thus, not only did the only Catholic organ in Chile printed in German disappear, but also the only paper in our mother tongue which criticized and explained world events from a Christian standpoint. It disappeared as the result of a wretched and deliberately provoked withdrawal of subscriptions.

The community of German-speaking Catholics in Santiago now issue a small monthly paper called the "BONIFAZIUSBOTEN". This small publication - quite unjustifiably - calls itself Catholic. It reflects the aims of those who control the community. In fact, it is under Nazi control. Under the misleading appearance of a Catholic, religious and constructive publication, one can pass on to the unsuspecting believers almost barefaced Nazi propaganda. This so-called Catholic paper, notwithstanding repeated protests, simply systematically ignores all Papal encyclicals, and, more especially, the last Christmas address of His Holiness, wherein believers were warned against the irreligion of modern totalitarianism. But, this is not all. One cannot but conclude that among the Reverend Fathers who are responsible for Catholic teaching in the highly respected German College in Santiago, sympathy for Herr Hitler and his inhuman policy prevails. The Nazi majority is already in a position to silence the Catholic and religiously disposed minority. The effect of such a state of affairs is, of course, disastrous to the capacity of the Reverend Fathers to educate youth.

The study of these alarming facts has afforded the following explanation - in itself equally deplorable. The different symptoms described above can all be traced back to a common cause - a cause which finds its origin in the Papal Nunciature in Santiago.

AIR MAIL

- 2 -

His Excellency the Nuncio, Archbishop Aldo Laghi, is a good Italian; unfortunately his stomach trouble limits his activities. Consequently his Secretary, Monsignore SIINO, is correspondingly more active in carrying out the duties of the Nunciature. Instead of remaining conscious of his priestly mission and realising that to-day - more than ever - he is a soldier of the Church militant, he behaves as an active and undiluted Fascist - neither more nor less. We are at a loss to understand how he can reconcile his activities with the honour of his priestly garb, or how he can explain his sabotage of the policy laid down by the Holy See. It any case, it is a fact that, as the result of his close relations with the head of the Congregation in question, the changes which we have described were gradually introduced. What is more, sincerely devout Catholics are beginning to be led astray. Surely the sad example of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Vienna and other cases in Europe should be enough. Must we also be faced with a state of affairs in Chile in which the activities of persons in clerical dress actually disavow the most categorical instructions of the Holy Father? What would His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State say if he knew that the last circular pastoral letter of the Holy See to its bishops abroad had simply gone into a pigeon-hole in the Calle Moneda, or that a direct exchange of letters between His Holiness and his friends had been impeded by his own papal representative in the Nunciature? The worst of all this is that the effects of this disobedience of the priesthood is not confined to the German or Italian Catholics living in the country. Quite the contrary. In view of the traditional loyalty of the leading Chilean families to the Holy See and to the Head of the Church, confusion is spread in the most prominent Chilean circles - as is already becoming visible. The activities of Monsignore Siino can really only be described as the subordination of the interests of the Church to foreign political objectives of Nazi-Fascist brand. The consequence is that the Papal Nunciature is degraded to the position of an agent of irreligious, totalitarian propaganda and of a kind of Fifth Column inimical to the state. What a sad picture! Can one envisage, as a possible means of preventing the repetition of such dangers in future, the cancellation of the privilege by which posts in the papal diplomatic service are reserved for Italians?

Ack. 2/26 '41  
RA: RFW: CPT

Santiago, February 13, 1941

Dear Mr President:-

The other night at midnight when I was at Vina to see the Cardinal off ,my butler appeared to my surprise with a letter from Sir Charles Orde the British Ambassador .I am inclosing the statement which accompanied his letter and which explains itself. I am sure the Nuncio is all right and have my doubts about the young secretary being very wrong. He does not seem forceful enough to be damaging. However I did mention the action of the German Catholic paper to Bishop Leech without mentioning the Nuncio or his secretary and he said he would mention it to the Cardinal and that the Foreign Office at the Vatican should know.

The reaction here to the reception accorded the Chilean journalists completely justifies my expectations. All the papers are running as ~~a~~ much as a page from New York and Washington describing the events and recording the speeches. I have a telegram from Michels thanking me for initiating something that greatly helps him. Also a letter from Carl Ackerman to the effect that the experiment is "historic in that it is not only the first attempt to bring the press of this hemisphere into accord and understanding relations , but the most effective thing yet undertaken". I am very happy about it .

You may be interested to know that Cardinal Doughertys visit has been invaluable to us here. And likewise to the Aguirre Cerda Government. To us because it anticipates and pulverizes any Spanish Embassy

Also the cardinal gave an interview on the absolute liberty  
of the Church & Society  
which is answer enough to  
the religious

propoganda about our heritical anti-Catholic prejudices .The fact that I even more than the Nuncio was the host and had all the leaders of the hierarchy here and prominent laymen to dinner ,and that we received the Cardinal with every possible f distinction is a revelation to some who do not know us ,and these are enormously pleased. This,together with my speech at the Catholic University, puts me in most intimate touch with the hierarchy and the Catholics and aids me in the possible counteracting later of Spanish propoganda. It helps the Government since the President went to extremes in giving the Cardinal a distinguished reception. No foreigners has been received with such distinction within the memory of any one here.

I told the Cardinal he has rendred a great service to our country by coming and that I intended to inform you to that effect. May I suggest that on his return the last of the month a brief note from you ,personal of course,thanking him in this sense would please the old Cardinal no end.

I am not easy about the conference of Franco and Suner with Mussolini and the statement issued afterwards to the effect that they all stand for the "new order in Europe" that Hitler has in mind, and against democracy. In this connection I have written Mr Welles concerning reports in papers here on the enormous amount of iron ore exported from Bilboa during the last year. Where does it go? Probably that is known in Washington. I have in mind Hitler's speech during the Spanish war in which he frankly declared that Germany was in Spain because Germany needed iron ore; also the fact that the attack on the Basque country was made on the insistence of Hitler much earlier than planned because he wanted to get these mines as soon as possible; ~~also~~ also the fact that after that region

was taken German ships for a year and more constantly went between Bilboa and Germany bearing iron ore. It might be worth while to ascertain if possible where these heavy exports went during the last year.

A lot of treason is being exported unhappily from the Senate hearings on the bill in which you are interested. The statement of Judge O'Brien of a city court in New York that in case of war we would have a civil war is the kind of statement for which men in Germany, Italy and Spain are stood before firing squads. It was infamous.

I was very sorry to hear of Judge Moores death. I had known him for years and it was a delight to talk with him on early American history from the days of Jefferson.

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,

*Claude G. Bower*

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House  
Washington D.C.

(COPY)

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dear Claude:

I was glad to learn from your letter of February 13 that Cardinal Dougherty's visit to Chile appeared to have such a splendid effect. In response to your suggestion, I am sending him a personal note expressing my own appreciation for his contribution to the development of mutual understanding between Chile and the United States.

Thank you for the other interesting information and comments in your letter and the enclosed memorandum.

Very sincerely yours,

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

Your Eminence:

Ambassador Bowers has written me from Santiago concerning the splendid reception given you there and the large contribution to mutual understanding from your visit.

I appreciate personally your assistance in the development of these friendly relations at a time when it is apparent that the bonds between the United States and the other American republics should be as strong as possible. I hope you enjoyed your trip as much as your hosts in Chile evidently enjoyed having you there.

Yours very sincerely,

His Eminence

Denis Cardinal Dougherty,

Archbishop of Philadelphia.

**THE WHITE HOUSE**

**WASHINGTON**

**February 21, 1941.**

**MEMORANDUM FOR**

**THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE**

**FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY**

**FOR MY SIGNATURE.**

**F. D. R.**

Letter from Ambassador Bowers, dated February 13, 1941, in re Cardinal Dougherty's visit to South America.

**TELEGRAM**

The White House

lpoh 46 CABLE via AAC 8:10am  
Washington

SANTIAGO, Chile, March 13, 1941

NLT THE PRESIDENT.

I am deeply moved with your expression of sympathy. Until her last days my wife remembered with profound gratitude the fine gesture with which you, Mr. President, made possible her return to her country.

Carlos Davila.

Chile folder  
file per usual 1-41

*File  
Personal*

PSF; Chile folder  
(-41)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

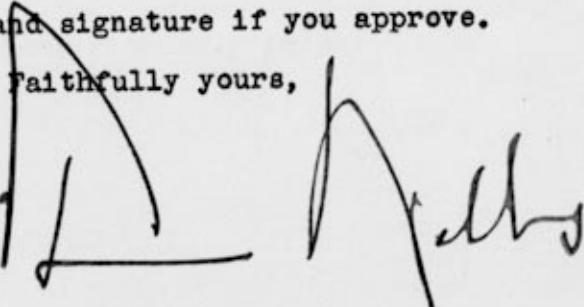
April 3, 1941

My dear Mr. President:

I have received your memorandum of April 1, 1941 enclosing a letter of March 14, with its enclosure, which 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 consisting of stylized initials 'C' and 'E' followed by the surname 'Wilson'.

Enclosure:

Draft.

The President,

The White House.

COPY

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dear Claude:

Your letter of March 14 with its enclosure, consisting of a copy of a letter of the same date which you had written to Mr. Welles, was awaiting me on my return here. Your account of the political situation in Chile and your conclusion that the country is strongly pro-Democratic were most encouraging. The conduct and the results of the recent elections seem strikingly to bear you out in this.

Mr. Welles tells me that on March 28 he sent you a telegram designed to clarify and define our position in the matter of making necessary armaments available to the Chilean Government.

With best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

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

PSF:Chile

Santiago, Chile,

March 14, 1941.

My dear Mr. President:

Your reference in a letter to the difficulties of assisting here because of the uncertain political situation and the instructions sent to Colonel Wooten regarding the Army has lead me to believe that there is some misunderstanding of the actual situation here. I have written Mr. Welles a detailed letter covering these two items. I enclose a copy with the thought that you may want to get this point of view.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

*George G. Bowles*

The Honorable

Franklin D. Roosevelt,

The White House,

Washington.

PSF: Chile

Santiago, Chile,  
March 14, 1941

Dear Mr. Welles:

Some time ago, apropos of certain assistance given and asked down here, the President referred to the difficulty because of the mixed or disturbing political situation, and the instructions sent to Colonel Wooten by the War Department to approach the Army here on whether it would be prepared to prevent the forceful accession of a Government unfriendly to the United States or would dispose of one that might be so. This has convinced me that in some manner there are these two fears which may be operating on our policy, and it occurs to me that a full statement on these points may tend to clear the atmosphere if it is cloudy.

Several months ago the political situation seemed threatening enough. It was the belief of many that trouble would certainly come with the elections in March. It is common knowledge that at the time of the election of Aguirre Cerda there were some Liberals and Conservatives who favored an attempt to take-over the Government by force. However the more sane and patriotic men even then intervened and Agustin Edwards, a leading Liberal, then Ambassador in England, telephoned his associates here protesting against any such attempt on the ground that just such actions had given South American nations a bad name.

The fact that it was commonly known that there had been stout talk in Opposition circles of taking over the Government resulted in the persistence of the talk, and I myself was considerably impressed. When the Opposition parties without just cause announced that they would abstain from participation in the elections it seemed to me a distinctly fascistic gesture and very ominous, as I then reported. I reported my opinion at the time, however, that a way back into the elections would be found by the Opposition parties without their losing face.

The Honorable  
Sumner Welles,  
Department of State,  
Washington, D. C.

AIR MAIL

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The most significant phase of the electoral campaign was its moderation; the courageous demand of the Socialists that the Communists be expelled from the Government group; the resulting increase in the respect of the Conservatives and Liberals for the Socialists; and the fact that the Radicals were saying privately that after the election the Communists would be dropped.

This showed conclusively that the overwhelming line-up was against the Communists who have connections here with the Nazis.

Then came the elections, hailed by the leaders of all parties as the cleanest, most legal and peaceful in Chilean history.

The result was in no sense disappointing to the friends of law and order and property. The Radicals made the most notable gains in their parliamentary representation, the Socialists made slight gains in theirs, the Communists gains were entirely out of proportion with their strength because of their connection with the Radicals, the Conservatives did not lose a seat in House or Senate, and the Liberals lost most heavily because of an imperfect organization and their inheritance of the unpopularity of Alessandri and Ross.

This gives the Government control in both House and Senate but by a margin so slight that the Conservatives and the conservative minded among the Radicals and Liberals can prevent any legislation detrimental to legitimate property rights.

The small coterie of the Radical party under the leadership of Castelblanco, who insisted on the alliance with the Communists and against the socialists demanded the resignation of the Socialists Ministers, who are among the ablest and most respected in the Government and Aguirre Cerda sternly rebuked them and said he would not tolerate any interference with his constitutional right to chose his own Ministers.

This lead instantly to a sharp controversy between the Radicals and the demand of a large part for the resignation from party management of the Castelblanco group, and Castelblanco was forced to issue statements in praise of the President denying that any one was hostile to him. There are indications now that these Radical leaders will be condemned for their action and may have to resign, and in that event the leadership would fall to either Senator Duran or Labarca, who are reasonable and conservative men.

Now none of these Chilean parties impress me as in any sense unfriendly to us. The Radicals and Socialists certainly not. Neither the Liberals, I am sure. I did at one time suspect

WILLIAM R. A.

- 3 -

AIR MAIL

suspect the Conservatives of Totalitarian leanings, but Senator Horacio Walker, leader, made a speech which I heard, at a dinner for Lord Willingdon which was fundamentally the most pro-Democratic and pro-Ally that has been heard in Chile. Unquestionably he is pro-democratic. Señor Cruchaga is not an active leader but has been President of the Senate, an elder statesman, and unquestionably on most cordial terms with the German, Italian and Spanish Embassies, but I have come to the conclusion that his intense Catholicism accounts for two and his former service in Berlin for the other.

So far is the political situation from threatening now that there appears to be a possibility if not probability that there may be a new Government group composed of the Radicals, Liberals and Socialists. Señor Luis Subercaseaux, Conservative leader and former Ambassador to Peru, told me at his house the other day that he would not be surprised were this to eventuate, and he said it would be wholesome.

So, as far as the political situation in Chile is concerned, I am sure it is entirely satisfactory and probably more so than in any other South American country with any pretence to democratic forms. The President's popularity has never been greater and among the Opposition never so general as it is today. He consults with Opposition leaders and they with him and there is cooperation within bounds.

II

As to the Army there have been suspicions about its attitude in the present war, thus involving us, and this has been due to the following reasons.

(1) The fact that the Army was trained for years by German officers.

(2) That because of this most of the Chilean officers have a high regard for the efficiency of the German Army.

(3) And because there are some officers, minor officers among those in service, and some few higher officers in retirement, are known to sympathize with the Nazis.

As against this we have the fact that all the heads of the Army are pro-Ally, pro-American and pro-Democratic, and the men suspected are known to the Government which has them under constant eye and it has not fears whatever from that quarter. The greater part of the Army comes from the Middle Classes.

It is commonly thought that the only thing that could possibly cause the Army to turn against the Government would be some utterly subversive anti-social act, something communistic. It is generally thought that rather than permit this subversive element to get control the Army would act - and that is not to

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VIA AIR MAIL

AIR MAIL

- 4 -

out disadvantage.

In the elections, please note that the President gave the entire responsibility for conducting or permitting a peaceful lawful election to the Army, which denotes his complete confidence in it; and the Army has been enormously pleased by this public proof of his confidence.

For us to approach the Army with such a proposition as that in Wooten's instructions would have a very bad effect; it would without question be carried at once to the Government and the President. The effect would be wretched. And all the more so because I can assure you that the President and the Government are decidedly pro-American. The Government properly in power, staunchly pro-American, has pledged us that the Army will play its part in our plan of continental defense and the Army has sanctioned that pledge.

We cannot well afford to do anything that will create the impression that we doubt the Government's word or integrity. We already have the pledge we are asked to ask - the combined pledge of President and Army.

If therefore we are holding back on any possible assistance along the line asked on the ground that the political situation is threatening or that the Army is unreliable as to our common plans we are acting on false assumptions.

I know, of course, that elements not connected with the Embassy or our Government give free advice to the Government in Washington and my experience has been that this advice is too often inspired by purely selfish motives, and is usually remote from the realities. Some of our people were convinced I recall, that if the Government of Azaña under which they had no serious trouble, could be supplanted with the aid of Germany and Italy, by a Fascist state they would be happy! They are all wishing to God now they had back the democratic regime of Azaña which respected property rights.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

CLAUDE G. BOWERS

PSF: Chilo Faber  
1-411

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 7, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR  
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY  
FOR MY SIGNATURE.

F. D. R.

Letter dated March 29, 1941  
to the President from Ambassador  
Bowers.

**THE WHITE HOUSE**

**WASHINGTON**

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April 7, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY

FOR MY SIGNATURE.

F. D. R.

Letter from Hon. Claude G. Bowers, Santiago,  
Chile, 3/29/41 to the President, in re rejection  
by the Import-Export Bank of Chile's request  
for credits of about \$350,000 for the purpose of  
making a survey and investigation into the  
petroleum resources in Chile.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

April 11, 1941.

Chile folder  
1-41  
file  
forward.

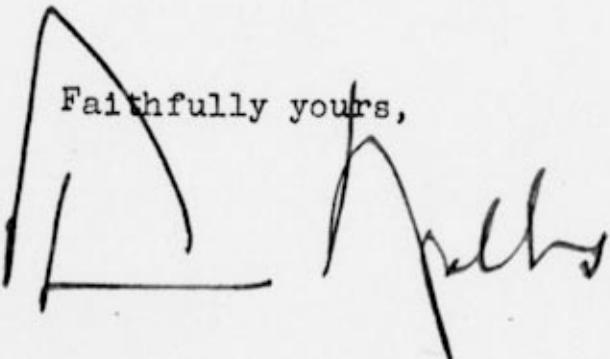
My dear Mr. President:

On March 17 you sent me a letter which Claude Bowers had addressed to you under date of March 7. In accordance with your request, I am returning the letter herewith and I am also sending a suggested reply for you to make.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

Enc.

A handwritten signature consisting of two stylized initials 'A' and 'E' connected by a horizontal line, followed by the surname 'Pillsbury' written in a cursive script.

The President,

The White House.

Santiago March 7, 1941

Dear Mr President:-

Permit me to express the appreciation of one democrat for your selection for the post in London of a real convinced democrat, whose democracy is undiluted with snobbery, and who represents in a sense the mass of the people of England upon whose labor everything depends. It would have been happier had Churchill sent us some one like Lloyd George or Sir Archibald Sinclair who was seriously under discussion. He has been a friend of mine since 1925 when he wrote a review of "Jefferson and Hamilton" for the London Times which disclosed a perfect knowledge of the fundamentals of American politics.

The elections which alarmists thought would precipitate a nazi rising has come off without one incident, and conducted with such perfect propriety that the leaders of all parties have voluntarily openly congratulated and thanked the Minister of the Interior. It is probably the cleanest election ever held in South America and reveals again the essential and sound democracy of this country.

The communists gain is not unnatural to a degree because of the misery of so many people. But in large degree it is

due to the fact that the Radicals took them in on the Popular Front and the communists voted for their man on the coalition ticket and for none other, while the other parties voted for the entire ticket. There is ample evidence too that the Nazis voted for the communist candidate in many sections, particularly in Valdivia where the communist candidate lead the ticket, despite the fact that there are very few communists there. The Socialists who refused to join the Popular Front with the communists and fought alone made the greatest numerical gain of any party and increased their representation in both House and Senate. Had they entered the combination they would have gained many more seats.

The action of the Radicals is easily explained. Their leaders are small bore politicians who wanted the communist vote in their own constituencies, and were not deterred either by principle or international relations. The President has properly refused the resignations of Schnake and the other Socialist Ministers and when the petty Radical leaders called on him and asked him to accept the resignations he told them he would not be dictated to and would maintain his constitutional right to name his own Ministers.

The Leftset majority is happily not too heavy and in every way I think the elections turned out fortunately.

I have just written Mr Welles about the instructions to

Colonel Wooten for a renewal of conversations with the General Staff here. We are all startled by the nature of this proposition and are not taking it up with the Government until the Department can give it consideration. If we are not careful I am afraid we shall lose all we have gained in the matter of continental defence as far as Chile is concerned--Chile the best friend we have in South America. I hope you can discuss it with Mr Welles. The instructions come from the War Department and I do not know that they have the approval of the State Department.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

*Franklin D. Roosevelt*

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt

Washington D.C.

Dear Claude:

I acknowledge with thanks your letter of March 7 and note with pleasure your views about our new Ambassador to Great Britain with which I am in complete agreement.

Your account of the elections in Chile is highly interesting and it affords me great satisfaction to learn that the democratic form of government in our sister republic continues to function smoothly in these difficult times. These elections constitute another evidence of the loyalty of the American peoples to the fundamental principles of self-government.

Mr. Welles has called the attention of the War Department to your comments on the renewal of the conversations between the Chilean General Staff and our officers. I am confident that this will correct those portions of the instructions to Colonel Rooten to which you perceive objections.

Very sincerely yours,

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

PSF: Chile

April 26, 1941

My dear Mr. President:

I have received your memorandum of April 18, 1941 enclosing a letter of April 10 which 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,

Sumner Welles

Enclosures:

1. From Ambassador Bowers,  
April 10, 1941, with  
enclosure.
2. To Ambassador Bowers.

The President,

The White House.

Chile Fletcher

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COPY

April 26, 1941

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dear Claude:

I was interested in your letter of April 10, 1941 commenting on indications of opinion in Chile regarding defense developments in our country. It is encouraging to learn that most of these indications are favorable.

With best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Franklin D. Roosevelt

The Honorable  
Claude G. Bowers,  
American Ambassador,

Santiago.

Original sent to Hon. Sumner Wells for  
delivery by pouch 4/26/41  
JMR

PSF: Chile

FCK. 4 -22-41  
RAJFM: CBT

Santiago, April 10, 1941

Dear Mr President:-

I am inclosing an editorial leader from El Mercurio in warm support of our reply to the notes of the German and Italian Ambassadors concerning the ships. The popular feeling here, which Augustin Edwards who came to call last evening tells me is shared in the Rightest party and aristocratic circles, is openly and militantly pro-American, and, in the war, pro-British. This week in the news reel you are shown making the speech -- "England needs ships, we will give her ships" etc--and while the speech was delivered in English each sentence was flashed on the screen in Spanish. And every single sentence brought down the house with cheers. The new tank was shown in the same news reel and the enthusiasm was pronounced. The Government here is in accord with the general feeling.

I have written Welles that while I believe this is general among the people in South America I am not satisfied with the attitude of some of the Latin-American diplomats here. They say too little even in familiar conversation and they impress me as opportunists ready to jump in either direction.

The German, Italian, and Spanish and Japanese embassies work in close cooperation, under the direction of the Germans. And to this must be added the French, since Vichy sent a man to displace Count Sartige. The French Minister came to see me at my house this morning. He impresses me as second rate in ability, and very pleasant socially. He has a sense of humor and he stayed miles away from the war. #

No one is paying any attention to him here but the Germans, Italians and Spanish who have had him to small dinners. Four-fifths of the French here are against Vichy militantly and the real French Ambassador is a rich French merchant who is the head of the French Society here.

Two things have been disadvantageous to us here, I find in conversation. It was rotten in Wheeler and his group to hold off so many weeks on the Loan-lease bill. The papers here published the debates through all these weeks. The impression some received was that there is powerful opposition in the States, because they do not know that one man can indefinitely hold up legislation in the Senate.

The strike which has just been settled did us harm. Again the impression was created that there is very powerful opposition to our policy, and that we will not be able to make ourselves the arsenal of Britain because of the strikes. I understand of course how necessary it is to move with care in these labor matters since nothing would be so fatal as the alienation of the workers. But I have no doubt at all that Nazi agents have been behind some of these strikes

The German, Italian and Spanish propagandists, however, busily make the most of these incidents in conversation. The El Mecurio this morning has an unsigned article on the editorial page criticising Wallace on the ground that no one nation has the right to speak authoritatively for all the American countries. Just what ground there is for the complaint I do not know as I shall not read the speech until this evening. I think however that care should be taken not to ruffle the wings of South American sensibility, and that the impression should be given that no one nation dominates the rest, but that all move together as a result of close collaboration after full deliberation.

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House.

With warmest regards,  
Sincerely  
*Claude G. Bowers*

PSF: Chile

AIR MAIL

ENCLOSURE NO: \_\_\_\_\_  
DESPATCH NO: \_\_\_\_\_  
AMERICAN EMBASSY  
SANTIAGO, CHILE

TRANSLATION:

From: EL MERCURIO,  
Santiago, Chile,  
April 6, 1941.

THE REPLY OF THE UNITED STATES

The reply which the Government of the United States has just sent to the Italian and German Embassies in Washington, in answer to the notes received from the representatives of the Asix powers with reference to the precautionary occupation of Italian and German merchant vessels and in which they insisted that the measure be revoked, constitutes a peremptory refusal of their claims. It could be taken for granted that Washington would seize the opportunity for a definite refusal, and the Embassies must have realized this when they presented their notes in accordance with their instructions, for Germany and Italy would have done exactly the same if United States vessels were to remain in their ports and threaten the security of their bays, rivers and port constructions.

Secretary Hull explains very clearly the scope of the nation's legal provisions bearing on this case, citing the power which enables the Government to take possession and control of any vessel, and to disembark its officers and crew, when such steps are considered necessary to protect the vessel itself or United States bays and port constructions from damage.

In the note to the Embassy of the Reich, Mr. Hull states that he is unaware of any principle of international law which permits the commission of destructive acts violating local laws and hospitality by the owners, captains or crews of foreign vessels refuged in the ports of another nation. With marked emphasis, the Secretary of State expresses surprise that any civilized nation should subscribe to a principle of international law which would permit such acts against the sovereignty and security of another nation.

In effect, though a given State might not have enacted a law expressly authorizing the taking of precautionary steps with reference to foreign vessels which abuse hospitality and threaten real danger, there is nothing in international law to hinder a sovereign State from safeguarding the continuance of normal conditions in its territorial waters. Property rights in regard to vessels, as in regard to real estate, are limited by the rights of others; and the owner of a house, or of a ship, commits a crime if through fire, destruction or other acts he harms other parties or the State. Such rights are even more limited in the case of vessels which, after seeking protection in foreign ports, avail themselves of this protection to further plans in connection with the belligerent activities of the nation whose flag they fly. We would even go so far as to say that the right of occupation and preventive control might well

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AIR MAIL

- 2 -

be exercised with respect to foreign war ships which for some motive admitted by international law remain in the waters of another nation and may be suspected of threatening local security.

If the German and Italian vessels refuged in United States ports feared that confiscation might result from the continuing trend of that nation away from neutrality, they should have sought refuge in another place, knowing as they did that if the owners of the ships wished to avoid ultimate capture they were following the wrong plan.

According to the information we have received hereto and to the tenor of Mr. Hull's notes, it appears that in this case the usual procedure of interning the vessels did not suffice and it became necessary to proceed to the enforcement of local laws, though it can not be said that said laws conflict with international law.

PSF: Chile

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

April 26, 1941

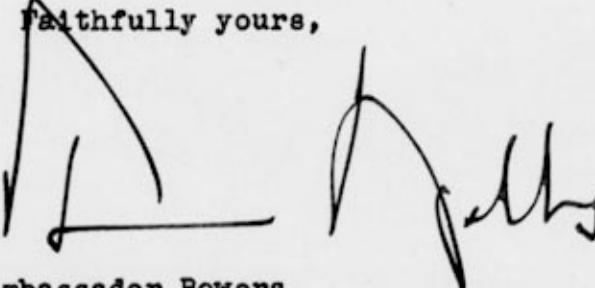
My dear Mr. President:

I have received your memorandum of April 18, 1941 enclosing a letter of April 10 which 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,

Enclosures:

- 
1. From Ambassador Bowers,  
April 10, 1941, with  
enclosure.
  2. To Ambassador Bowers.

The President,

The White House.

PSF Chile folder  
1-41

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 18, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR  
HON. SUMNER WELLES

To prepare reply.

F. D. R.

**Enclosure**

Letter from Hon. Claude G. Bowers, Santiago, Chile, 4/10/41 to the President, enclosing translation of editorial which appeared in El Mercurio, 4/6/41 supporting U.S. reply to the notes of the German and Italian Ambassadors concerning the ships.

Chile Fielder  
1-41

COPY

May 5, 1941

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dear Claude:

The article published in the Santiago newspaper La Hora in which Joaquín Muirhead describes his attendance at my press conference was most helpful. It was a real pleasure to receive these young newspaper men and I am constantly hearing nice things about the impression they made up here. You have every reason to be pleased with the results of your initiative.

With best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Franklin D Roosevelt

The Honorable

Claude G. Bowers,

American Ambassador,

Santiago.

PSF: Chile

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Santiago, April 17, 1941

Dear Mr President:-

I am inclosing as further evidence of the value of the experiment with Chilean journalists in the United States an article which has just appeared from La Hora, man who is with the Washington Post regarding your reception of the visitors. That reception did more than any other one thing to favorably impress these men.

The other day, on my initiative, General Escudero, head of the Army, spent an hour and a half with me at my house in a very confidential conversation in which he told me frankly of his feelings, with the understanding that his remarks should be absolutely confidential but might be conveyed to you and Welles. I have written Welles in detail of the conversation and he may show you the letter but I am inclosing a copy. He does not fear the German nazis here so much as some political attempt against the Government on the part of some such adventurer as General Ibanez, who, under the amnesty law recently passed over the President's veto, because of the stupidity of five Socialists in the Deputies, acting without authority of their party, may now return from exile. I understand that the Government is refusing him a visa --as it should. The Commander in Chief does not fear the enmity of the real party opposition, and I am sending the Department an interview with

Cruchaga ,president of the Senate,"elder statesman" and most conspicuous member of the Conservative party,in which he speaks out against the Nazis ,speaks of us with friendship . This is gratifying, since there have been persistent reports that he is with the Nazi conspirators .I have reported these rumors,always with the statement that it seemed incredible to me, and that it was based probably on the fact that on his return from his Embassy in Germany before the war he accepted the honorary chairmanship of the "Friends of Germany". This interview seems to bear this out. Since Cruckaga is also the outstanding layman of the Catholic Church here which he advises, the interview is all the more significant .

I have just heard that the Spanish authorities are removing from the sacks of flour or wheat we are sending them the paper on the sacks saying they are from the American Red Cross, and that the Spanish press is not permitting the people to know these come from us. It may not be true but my information seems reliable. This is precisely the game played in Franco territory during the Spanish war when we sent things to be distributed by the Quakers. Many correspondents assured me then as I reported then, that the Franco authorities stoutly denied to them that any assistance had arrived from the United States. As the old darky lady said "too much is enough". If that is true, straight talk to the Spanish authorities is in order from our Embassy in Madrid.

Hon.Franklin D.Roosevelt  
Washington,D.C.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

*Edward G. Bowes*

TRANSLATION:

From: LA HORA,  
Santiago, Chile,  
April 15, 1941.

## MR. ROOSEVELT AND THE JOURNALISTS

By: Joaquin G. Muirhead

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New York, April, 1941.

Recent events in old Europe and the importance of United States intervention in regard to them have placed the White House in a key position. To Journalists this position is extraordinarily significant, for it is from the White House that the most important resolutions issue - the very resolutions which may foil the plans of the European dictators. In fact the world's attention is centered on that simple building which is flanked by impressive Lafayette Park. The turn of events has brought all eyes to the White House.

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The White House, usually quiet and peaceful, is a very beehive for two days of each week. Men and women who serve the most important dailies and news agencies of the United States, together with foreign correspondents from the most remote regions of the world, hear every Tuesday and Friday the official statements of the President of the United States of America. President Roosevelt, in the cordial and friendly manner which is so characteristic, satisfies the curiosity of the newspaper men. He knows, and admits, that the journalist is insatiable and always has a question on the tip of his tongue. President Roosevelt understands the reason for this curiosity; he realizes that the men and women who appear in his study twice a week have the task of informing their fellow citizens and all the inhabitants of the globe as to what is happening and what may happen at any moment. And the man on the street always wishes to be well informed; to know of the latest events.

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Thanks to the unusual kindness of the head of "The Washington Post", I have attended several of the so-called "Press Conferences" which President Roosevelt holds twice a week. With two companions from the "Post", I walk toward the White House. One of them, Mr. Bookman - who is charged with White House Affairs - is making an interesting dissertation. He refers to the turn of European events. He has a deep understanding of international politics and his constant contact with the President of this nation allows him to keep well informed. On the way he writes in his notebook the questions which he will shortly put to the President of the United States. Some of them are quite involved. I ask him if the President of the United States usually answers all questions. He answers in the affirmative and reminds me of the bond of good understanding which exists between Mr. Roosevelt and the journalists. The words "Off the Record" and "On the Record" immediately come to my mind. I am no longer in doubt, and I

realize that the President of the Republic has no need to keep back any detail, knowing that the journalists will keep within the bounds of that good system which has made it possible for the press to enjoy his full confidence.

We arrive at the White House at a moment when it is a whirlwind of human beings. In the hall more than a hundred journalists anxiously wait to be received by the President. Each has ready the question he will put to Mr. Roosevelt. We join a group which is holding a lively conversation. I do not need to be introduced for the American journalists, like ours, sets aside all formality. He has learned to be a good companion at all times; he is neither reserved nor contentious.

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One minute before the agreed hour, the doors of President Roosevelt's spacious office are thrown open. The group breaks up and each man tries to get a good place. The President of the United States greets us with his warm smile. Some of the journalists are very well known to him; with them he exchanges cordial greetings. To the rest he makes a friendly gesture with his right hand, and smiles as usual. For a moment he looks at the compact group, then moves his hands, as if to say: "Well, here I am. Questions?"

There is no need to repeat the gesture. A man in a corner puts the first question. The President of the Republic listens attentively and before replying warns that what he is about to say should be considered "Off the Record". The President's answer is concise. The inquirer is satisfied and the other journalists are no longer bewildered as to a specific matter. Another asks the President what position the United States may find itself in if it helps England freely. Mr. Roosevelt, friendly but precise, defines the policy which his Government is following in regard to the European conflict. Having given his answer, he asks if all have understood his remarks thoroughly, or if anyone wishes to clear up some doubt. A very small but extraordinarily dynamic man is in doubt. In a well modulated voice he puts his question. He says: "Mr. President, do you not believe that the form in which aid will be extended to Great Britain may bring serious consequences? The German press has already made known Hitler's official views in regard to aid tendered by our nation...." The question ends at that point. The President looks searchingly at the journalists and replies: "My Government will always be capable of maintaining its views. As for the comments made by the German press, this is a matter to be regarded calmly, for no one knows to what extent they reflect German public opinion." The small journalist is content with this answer. There is a short pause. The President avails himself of the opportunity to stress the point that if England needs machine guns, tanks, airplanes, in short any of the war material which is essential to warfare, or if it needs provisions and clothing, the United States will always find a way to get them there.

Other questions arise. Some one is interested in knowing the official attitude of the United States toward the Far East. Mr. Roosevelt makes the appropriate reply. At times he says the already familiar words "Off the Record" before answering; at other times he says his words are "On the Record".

The words of the President of the Republic cannot always be attributed to him. The American journalist understands perfectly the procedure in this regard and thus the papers may give information on a certain matter by simply stating "An official spokesman of the Government yesterday stated to the press that.....". But this is not always the case. The President of the Republic himself advises the journalists when his personal formula should be printed in their papers: "The President of the Republic, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, yesterday stated to the foreign correspondents that.....". The following phrase is also used: "In circles usually well informed it was said that.....".

All this has a purpose: to avoid problems which might affect the President of the Republic. All the journalists know that tact must be used, that there are times when it is not expedient to say who uttered this or that statement; when it is better to use, instead of a name, one of the many phrases used by journalists the world over. Naturally when a matter is of special importance and it is fitting to give the author of a certain statement, the name is printed; but first the person concerned is consulted to ascertain whether this suits him or whether he prefers not to be mentioned by name. These methods, seemingly so simple, are of great significance. Nobody wishes to hinder the authorities; all the newspaper men agree that a feeling of confidence should exist between them and the authorities, and the best method for attaining this situation is to abstain from saying that which might give rise to difficulties or hinder the work which the authorities have undertaken or plan to undertake.

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The personality of the President of the United States of America, Mr. Roosevelt, is well known in Chile. To unusual attraction is added enormous intelligence. He answers the questions calmly, but precisely. There is no hesitancy in his replies and when a question may have special significance he gives a fitting answer promptly. This means that one question does not give rise to another and yet another, as is the case when replies are vague, lacking common sense and logic.

Mr. Roosevelt's popularity is extraordinary. A short time ago I witnessed something at which I marvelled. In a public place an orchestra was playing a piece called "Happy Days are Here Again". When it was finished, everyone clapped frantically, with mad enthusiasm. With the clapping I could hear cries of "Long live Roosevelt". This led me to believe that the President of the United States had appeared in person. I asked a friend what it all meant, and he replied: "These people clap because the orchestra has just played Mr. Roosevelt's hymn. It is the music he used in his first electoral campaign. In 1932 the country was burdened with the depression which was felt throughout the entire world. The atmosphere was pessimistic: everyone believed that disasters would continue to fall on the United States and that the happy days of the past would never return. To fight this pessimism, this song was composed and later became very well known. But it became considerably more familiar when President Roosevelt, then a candidate, adopted it as the official music for his electoral campaign. The American people

know that President Roosevelt's triumph marked the beginning of a prosperous period; all regained confidence and business prospered. In other words: happy days were here again."

*La Hora*  
A.D. 15

3

F: Chile

## MR. ROOSEVELT Y LOS PERIODISTAS

por Joaquín G. Muirhead

Nueva York, abril de 1941.

Los sucesos que se están registrando en la vieja Europa y la importancia que tiene en ellos la intervención de los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica, ha hecho que la Casa Blanca cobre extraordinaria importancia. Esta importancia es muchísimo más significativa para los periodistas, pues desde ese recinto parten las más importantes resoluciones, esas milagrosas resoluciones que pueden dar al traste con las pretensiones de los dictadores de Europa. En la actualidad, toda la atención del mundo está concentrada en ese sencillo edificio que tiene a su norte el imponente Parque Lafayette. El giro de los acontecimientos ha hecho que la Casa Blanca sea el punto hacia el cual convergen todas las miradas.

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La Casa Blanca, de ordinario tranquila y apacible, se transforma durante dos días de cada semana en un verdadero colmenero. Hombres y mujeres que prestan sus servicios en los más importantes rotativos de los Estados Unidos y Agencias Informativas de este país; Corresponsales Extranjeros que pertenecen a los más apartados rincones del mundo, escuchan todos los martes y viernes la palabra oficial del Presidente de los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica. El Presidente Roosevelt, con esa cordialidad y ese gesto amable que le son tan característicos, satisface la curiosidad de los trabajadores de la prensa. Sabe, y esto no lo oculta, que el periodista es insatiable, que siempre tiene a flor de labios una pregunta. El Presidente Roosevelt comprende el porqué de tanta curiosidad; se da cuenta que esos hombres y mujeres que acuden a su "Despacho" dos veces por semana, tienen la misión de informar a sus conciudadanos y a los habitantes del mundo de lo que está ocurriendo, de lo que puede ocurrir de un momento a otro. Y el hombre de la calle desea estar siempre bien informado; estar al tanto de los últimos sucesos.

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Una conferencia especial del Director del "The Washington Post" me permite asistir a varias de las llamadas "Conferencias de la Prensa", que da dos veces por semana el Presidente Roosevelt. Con dos compañeros del "Post", nos dirigimos hacia la Mansión Presidencial. Uno de ellos, Mr. Bookman, que atiende todos los asuntos relacionados con la Casa Blanca, va haciendo una interesante disertación. Se refiere al giro que han tomado los acontecimientos en Europa. Es un conocimiento profundo de la política internacional y su constante contacto con el Presidente de esta nación, le permite estar bien informado. Durante el trayecto va anotando en su libreta las preguntas que formulará momentos más tarde el Presidente de los Estados Unidos. Algunas de ellas son bastante complicadas. Le pregunta al Presidente de los Estados Unidos "escuchando" y sin decir las preguntas. Me sitúa afirmativamente y me verifica el pacto de buen entendimiento que existe entre Mr. Roosevelt y los periodistas. In-

mediatamente vienen a mi memoria las palabras "Off the Record" y "On the Record". Como yo, todas mis dudas se desvanecen, comprendo que el Presidente de la República no tiene por qué ocultar ningún detalle, pues sabe que los periodistas mantienen un buen sistema que ha hecho posible que la prensa goce de su completa confianza.

Llegamos a la Casa Blanca en los precisos momentos en que ésta parece un verdadero torbellino humano. En el hall, hay más de cien periodistas que esperan con ansiedad el momento en que el Presidente les recibirá. El ambiente está saturado de electricidad. Cada cual tiene lista la pregunta que le esperará al señor Roosevelt. Nos incorporamos a un grupo que conversa animadamente. No necesita ser presentado, pues el periodista yanqui, como el nuestro, prescinde ordinariamente de todo formalismo. Sabrá, en todo momento, ser un buen camarada; no tiene reticencias ni pensamientos encontrados.

• • •

Faltando un minuto para la hora convenida, se abren las puertas de la amplia oficina del Presidente Roosevelt. El grupo se dispersa y cada cual trata de marcar la mejor colocación. El Presidente de los Estados Unidos nos recibe con su acogedora sonrisa. Algunos de los periodistas le son muy conocidos; con ellos cambia un cordial saludo. Al resto le hace un gesto amistoso con la mano derecha, al que acompaña su acostumbrada sonrisa. Durante algunos instantes mira al compacto grupo, después hace un movimiento con sus manos, como queriendo decir: "Bueno, aquí estoy. Preguntén!"

No necesita repetir tan significativo gesto. Inmediatamente surge uno de un rincón que espera la primera pregunta. El Presidente de la República lo escucha atentamente y antes de dar la contestación advierte que lo que va a decir debe ser considerado "Off the Record". La respuesta del Presidente es concisa. Su interlocutor queda satisfecho y el resto de los periodistas se libra de una preocupación sobre determinada materia. Otro le pregunta acerca de la situación que se le puede crear a Estados Unidos si apoya desembocademente a Inglaterra. Mr. Roosevelt, con amabilidad, pero con precisión, define la política que está desarrollando el Gobierno frente al conflicto europeo. Después de su contestación pregunta si todos bien entendido bien sus palabras, si hay alguno que quiera aclarar alguna duda. Un hombrecito pequeño, pero de extraordinario dinamismo, tiene sus dudas. Con voz bien timbrada formula su pregunta. Dice: "Sr. Presidente, ¿no crees Usted que en la forma como se hará la guerra a Gran Bretaña, puede haber serias complicaciones? La propaganda alemana ha emitido ya el pensamiento oficial de Hitler respecto a la ayuda de nuestro país..." El resto de la pregunta se pierde en puntos suspensivos. El Presidente mira atentamente a los periodistas y responde: "Mi Gobierno sabrá mantener siempre los puntos de vis-

## Mr. ROOSEVELT Y LOS PERIODISTAS...

(De la página tres)

tas. En cuanto a las aclaraciones que ha hecho la prensa de Alemania, este es un asunto que hay que tomar con calma, pues nadie puede precisar hasta qué punto ellas reflejan la opinión pública alemana. Esta contestación deja satisfecho al diminuto periodista. Se establece un pequeño compás de espera. El Presidente aprovecha la oportunidad para recalcar que si Inglaterra necesita ametralladoras, tanques, aviones, en fin, todo el material bélico que se precisa en una guerra; si necesita provisiones o vestuario, Estados Unidos siempre encontrará los medios para proporcionárselos.

Brotan otras preguntas. Alguién tiene interés en saber el pensamiento oficial de los Estados Unidos frente al Lejano Oriente. Mr. Roosevelt da las contestaciones del caso. En algunas oportunidades, antes de responder, pronuncia las ya conocidas palabras "Off the Record"; en otras ocasiones dice que sus palabras están "On the Record". No siempre las contestaciones del Presidente de la República pueden ser puestas como en boca de él. El periodista norteamericano sabe perfectamente cómo debe proceder y es así como cuando los diarios informan sobre algún asunto dicen simplemente: "Un vocero oficial del Gobierno, declaró ayer a la prensa que..." Pero no siempre sucede esto. El propio Presidente de la República hace notar a los periodistas cuándo deben estampar en sus diarios la fórmula personal: "El Presidente de la República, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, manifestó ayer a los corresponsales extranjeros que..." También se usa la expresión: "En círculos ordinariamente bien informados se dijo que..."

Todo esto tiene una finalidad: no crear problemas al Presidente de la República. Todos los periodistas saben que hay que proceder con tacto, que en algunas oportunidades no conviene decir quién formuló tal o cual declaración; que es preferible reemplazar el nombre por uno de esas tantas expresiones que usan los periódicos del mundo ente-

ro. Claro está que cuando alguien tiene especial importancia y conviene destacar al autor de tal declaración, ésta es estampada en los periódicos, pero antes se consulta a la persona que la formuló si así lo desea, o bien, si prefiere que su nombre sea silenciado. Estos métodos, tan sencillos y simples en apariencia, tienen un enorme significado. Nadie trata de crear dificultades a las autoridades, todo los trabajadores de la prensa están acordados en que siempre debe existir una corriente de confianza entre ellos y las autoridades y la mejor manera de crear este estado de cosas es abstenerse de decir algo que podría sacarrear dificultades o entorpecer la labor que éstas realizan o piensan realizar.

\* \* \*

La personalidad del Presidente de los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica, Mr. Roosevelt, es bastante conocida en Chile. A una simpatía extraordinaria hay que agregar que posee una mentalidad prodigiosa. Responde las preguntas con calma, pero con precisión. En sus contestaciones no hay vacilaciones y cuando se encuentra con alguna pregunta que puede encerrar algo especial, sabe decir con prontitud lo que conviene. Esto hace que una pregunta no lleve aparejada otra y otra, como sucede cuando las respuestas son vagas, sin sentido común ni lógico.

La popularidad de Mr. Roosevelt es algo extraordinario. No hace mucho, tuve la oportunidad de ver algo que me dejó maravillado. En un recinto público, una orquesta ejecutó un trozo musical llamado: "Happy days are here again". Al término de la ejecución, todas las personas aplaudieron frenéticamente, con un entusiasmo enloquecedor. Pude escuchar que junto con los aplausos surgían algunos "Viva Roosevelt". Esto me hizo creer que el Presidente de los Estados Unidos había hecho su aparición en ese mismo lugar. Pregunté a un amigo el significado de todo esto, quien me respondió: "Esta gente aplaude porque la orquesta acabó de ejecutar el himno de Mr. Roosevelt. Con esta misma pieza de música él hizo su primera campaña electoral. En 1932, el país se encontraba congestionado por el período de depresión que se sintió en todo el mundo. Había entonces un ambiente de pesimismo; todos creían que las calamidades continuarian desatándose en los Estados Unidos y que jamás volverían los días felices anteriores. Para alejar este pesimismo, fue compuesta esa canción que llegó a alcanzar gran fama. Pero su fama aumentó considerablemente cuando el Presidente Roosevelt, entonces candidato, la adoptó como la música oficial para su campaña electoral. El pueblo norteamericano sabe que con el triunfo del Presidente Roosevelt se reinició una época de prosperidad; todos volvieron a tener confianza y los negocios prosperaron. En otros términos, volvieron los días felices".

J. M.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

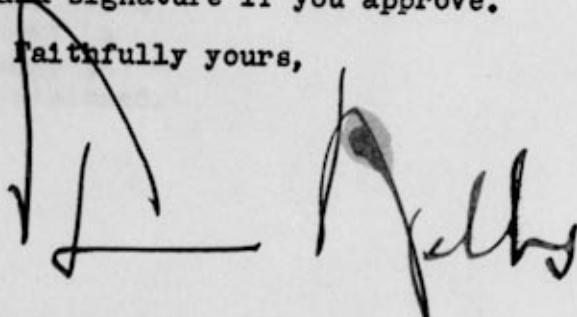
May 3, 1941

My dear Mr. President:

I have received your memorandum of April 29, 1941 enclosing a letter of April 17, with its enclosure, which 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 black ink, appearing to read "Charles E. Wilson". It consists of a stylized "C" and "E" followed by "Wilson".

Enclosure:

Draft.

The President,  
The White House.

**Department of State**

BUREAU }  
DIVISION } **RA**

ENCLOSURE

TO

Letter drafted

ADDRESSED TO

**The President**

Chile Folders  
1-41

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 29, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR  
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY  
FOR MY SIGNATURE.

F. D. R.

Letter to the President  
from Ambassador Bowers, dated  
April 17, 1941, enclosing news-  
paper clipping and translation  
of article which appeared in  
"La Hora". Copy of letter to  
Secretary Welles not enclosed.

Original sent to States for delivery 5/2/41  
LW

PSF: Chile Folder  
1 - 41

May 12, 1941

Dear Claude:

I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of April 23, 1941, and am distressed to learn that the President of Chile has so misinterpreted the arrangement worked out last fall between the Export-Import Bank and the Minister of Fomento for a credit of \$5,000,000 to the Central Bank. The Export-Import Bank \$5,000,000 credit was a part of arrangements worked out with Mr. Schnake which also included the purchase of very large amounts of copper and nitrates. In all of the discussions the Chilean Minister took the view that it was important to liquidate existing exchange arrears in order that Chile be in a position to go forward in its economic development. The Bank's offer was, consequently, originally designed to take care of such arrears and to do nothing else.

After the return to Chile of the Minister, the Bank was informed that the Chilean Government through various means, and partly as a result of the improved exchange situation due to United States Government purchases in Chile, had arranged for the liquidation of a large measure of the exchange arrears. The Bank thereupon agreed that any amounts of the \$5,000,000 over and above non-liquidated arrears might be used for general exchange purposes. In accordance with the Bank's usual policy, such purposes and uses for the remaining portion of the credit were to be subject to the specific approval of the Bank. In this respect the conditions are entirely parallel to arrangements in effect with Colombia, Brazil, Peru, and numerous other countries.

In the broader sense, we now feel that due to strong markets for her principal products Chile should now enter upon and enjoy a period of improved exchange conditions. The Export-Import Bank offer was purely an emergency proposal made last fall when the Chilean situation looked very dark. Now that matters have improved considerably this Government can only

welcome

welcome the fact that the exchange situation no longer requires the type of credit arrangement requested by the Minister of Fomento last fall. If the Government of Chile has some other type of credit arrangement which it wishes to propose, I am confident that the Export-Import Bank will give it careful and sympathetic consideration.

With respect to the question of financial arrangements for needed war material for defense purposes, you are of course aware of the discussions currently under way at Washington.

As to the matter of transporting material purchased by the Fomento Corporation with funds provided by the Export-Import Bank, I believe that we all sympathize with the desire of Chile to utilize Chilean vessels. The matter goes back to a resolution of the Congress in 1934 that such shipments be transported, if possible and convenient, in American bottoms. As a matter of fact, the question is being studied by the appropriate agencies at the present time. It appears, however, that the Chilean insistence on this point arises more as a matter of principle than as a matter of practical fact, as I am informed that a rather important percentage of the total amount of goods shipped to Chile in connection with the Export-Import Bank credit has in fact been shipped on Chilean vessels.

I note your suggestion that the Export-Import Bank reconsider the request for \$350,000 for petroleum exploration. I am informed that as the matter now stands, a United States company is seriously considering carrying out such an exploration, and that the State Department and the Export-Import Bank are awaiting further report from Santiago prior to determining upon any new action.

With best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Franklin D. Roosevelt

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

PSF: Chile

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

May 10, 1941

My dear Mr. President:

I have received your memorandum of April 30, 1941 enclosing a letter of April 23 which 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,

Enclosures:

1. From Ambassador Bowers, April 23, 1941.
2. To Ambassador Bowers.

The President,

The White House.

PSF: Chile

arhd  
5/19/41

Santiago, April 23, 1941

Dear Mr President:-

I have just come from a forty five minute conversation with Aguirre Cerda during which I found him in a very angry state of mind for the first time since I have been here. For the first time he was prone to find fault with our Government. He began by saying that the plan evolved by the Import-Export Y Bank for the five millions for the Central Bank here is wholly unacceptable. He said that the money is to remain in the States and that conditions have been made which can only mean that the Government of the United States has no confidence in his Government or in him; that rumours concerning these are abroad and are being used by his enemies to strike at his prestige and weaken his Government. And then he added something that I know to be absolutely true--"These enemies of mine are your enemies here in Chile".

This Embassy is completely in the dark as to the nature of the conditions referred to and of course I could say nothing. Nothing beyond stating that I had not seen the proposition. He called the Central Bank on the phone and instructed that we might be shown these and I am having Brooks, Commercial Attaché go over this afternoon to see.

He then frankly expressed his displeasure because of the dragging out of the discussions regarding the credits for needed war material for defensive purposes. We have given credits of \$50,000,000 reaching over three years, and have let it be known that \$5,000,000 independent of the Lease-Lend appropriation now available. I urged this Government to name its negotiators with the war department in Washington at once to get the advantage of the five million. We know nothing here of the

PSF: Chile

arhd  
5/12/41

Santiago, April 23, 1941

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course of the negotiations ,whether there is a stalemate ,or whether anything has been done ,but I gather that the President does know. General Escudero talked with me more than an hour ten days ~~ago~~ ago about the pressing need of some material to meet an emergency which might arise and to meet which the Chileans have pledged themselves to the United States. The President referred to landing fields that need extensions etc and the General said than some tanks were needed badly to keep roads open for us and to take care of any trouble in the two cities.

I most respectfully urge that negotiations be hurried so that something tangible may reach Chile as soon as possible.

He evidently thought that the failure of the Government to proceed drastically against the Communists has created a prejudice against his Government. He said to me "very confidentially" that the reason the Government is moving with ~~caution~~ caution is that in the mines and major industries there are communists who are not only able to stir up a strike and stop operation, but to practice sabotage etc. Until the army has been strengthened with essential material it would be ill advised to invite a contest. I think there is much to be said for this point of view. The Communists here are with the Nazis and the Fifth Column .

He then referred with some sarcasm, I thought, on the insistence that material bought by the Fomento Corporation in the States with money furnished on credit by the Import-Export bank must be sent on American ships only. He said the money was borrowed but since it was to be paid back with interest it was Chilean money that was being spent ,and he could see no justice in a provision that Chilean material bought with Chilean money cannot be carried at all on Chilean ships.

I understand the general arrangements between the two companies of 75-25 ,but do not personally know what provision has been made about these goods bought by the Fomento Corporation. But it does seem to me that while the agreement in general is all right, the Grace people might well be asked in the interest of the good neighbor policy to consent to a 50-50 division on this.

I have sometimes wondered if ,as in Spain, large business interests in the States

with investments here ,who always,as in Spain,are arrayed against a liberal Government such as this, are informing our Government ,as they did in the case of Spain , when they poured an unsavory mess of misinformation ~~xxxish~~ into the ears of our people. I am puzzled to understand why Chile,which has responded more readily to our plans than any other country in South America;which is from Government down to people pro-American where so many are not;and which is more democratic than any other,should be suspected .I do not know that it is, but I suspect it is.

I suggest that--

- (1)That the rejection of the request for \$350,000 for an oil survey here, rejected by the Bank, be reconsidered .
- (2) That everything possible be done to hurry some of this war material to Chile.
- (3)That an effort be made to divide fifty-fifty the fomento corporation shipments which are for the Chilean Government between our line and the Chilean line.

The totalitarians here are using the Spanish Embassy more and more and it is resorting to methods that neither the German or Italian would adopt. The Spanish Ambassador had the impudence to send a Note to the Foreign Office reflecting on the Chilean Government and to give this Note to the papers before it reached the Foreign Minister .I asked the F.M. if he had given it out. He told me what happened and said,"He will have his answer". This mornings papers have this answer. Of course Madrid should have been notified that the Ambassador is no longer persona grata.

The Minister acted promptly on our ship proposition ,and he tells me that Chile has prohibited the sale of oil ,lubrication etc to the German and Italian ships here. The fact that the totalitarian Governments and Embassies so actively hate the Government here is pretty good evidence that the Government here is our friend, but I am afraid that through procrastination in some directions ,and, perhaps, unnecessarily humiliating conditions in some others,we may forfeit our advantages.

I must add that the President said he was convinced of the friendliness of yourself and Mr Welles ,but the friendship of other forces he clearly questions.

I am sending the substance of this to Welles.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

*Claude G. Bowes*

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House.

Chile Folder  
1 - 41

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 30, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR  
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY  
FOR MY SIGNATURE.

F. D. R.

Let to FDR 4/23/41 from Amb. Claude Powers  
re his conversation with Aguerre Cerda  
in which for first time Cerda finds fault  
with our Govt.