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South and Central America

PSF: South america

OFFICES BRECKINRIDGE LONG 726 JACKSON PLACE, NORTHWEST WASHINGTON

November 18, 1938

The President The White House Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

I am enclosing herewith the original of my Secret Report. There is only one other copy, and that is being delivered to Mr. Summer Welles for the Secretary. I talked with the Secretary and with Mr. Welles, and I shall hope to have the opportunity to present the matter to you at a little greater length upon your return from Warm Springs.

This is probably my last act in my capacity as Special Ambassador, so I take this opportunity to thank you again for the confidence placed in me for this purpose and to assure you of my constant support.

Respectfully 3hd Affectionately,

Two copies. This is #1.

Aboard S.S. Brazil November 3, 1938

Oswaldo Aranha, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, asked me to meet him at the Foreign Office in Rio de Janiero this morning at eleven o'clock. I was accompanied by the Charge d'Affaires, Mr. Robert Scotten. Ambassador Caffery had departed on leave some days ago.

Minister Aranha opened the conversation by saying that he had attended at the call of the President yesterday afternoon an extraordinary meeting of the President's particular advisers, consisting of the Minister of War, Minister of Navy, Minister of Communications, and himself; that the President thought the United States Government ought to be intimately and fully advised of the subject matter of the conference; and that he had directed the Minister of Foreign Affairs to take the opportunity of my presence in Rio de Janiero to lay the whole matter before me with the request that I carry a complete oral report of it to the Secretary of State and that, at the request of President Vargas, President Roosevelt also be informed.

Aranha said that for some time there had been evidences of activity of a political nature on the part of the German Government. The case was mentioned of Ambassador Ritter, who was declared persona non grata, and who went to the party congress at Nuremburg during the summer, and who was ordered by the German Government to return to his post, and who started to his post in spite of the Brazilian protest, but who was finally recalled from his ship at Gibraltar. And he mentioned also two Attaches at the German Embassy, one by name Koenig, who were offensive to the Brazilian Government and who had been returned to the Embassy there and each of whom was known to be active organizers interfering in the political and economic life of Brazil. He said that they had had many minor evidences of coordinated political activity; that the revolution of last May, in their opinion, had been sponsored by the activists of the German Embassy in Rio de Janiero; that the attempt to murder Vargas was foreign in conception, different from Brazilian psychology; and that since that time many minor evidences had appeared. Particularly, there had come to light on the 30th of October an intercepted message written by a general officer of the German Army, now in Brazil, reporting direct to Von Ribbentrop

the activities for organization and political insurrection of forces opposed to the Government. The letter in question was sent on its way and delivered to the German Embassy through the regular channels, but a copy of it was retained. The report was dated October 28, and it was intercepted on the 30th. He said that it dealt with the State of Sao Paulo and with the results of his organizing activities there. The General had proceeded from there to the State of Parana, and in the letter he stated that on or about the 14th of November he would make an additional communication concerning the State of Parana.

Aranah laid great emphasis upon this letter and mentioned it as indicating the direct complicity of the German Government in that it was directed to Von Ribbentrop through the German Embassy in Rio de Janiero. The German General writing the letter had not entered Brazil in the capacity of a General but in a private capacity and under an assumed name. He had no official status with the German Embassy. He also laid emphasis upon the thoroughness with which the report was prepared and the complete coverage of the German population in the State of Sao Paulo. A very large proportion of the German population in the States of Sao Paulo, Santa Caterina, Rio Grande del Sud, and Parana, and the continuing German character of those populations, was alarming to the Brazilian Government. The Brazilian Government was convinced that the German Government aimed at a secessionary movement en bloc of those four States with the idea of setting up an independent government.

He continued by saying that in the State of Santa Caterina there was a very good harbor at San Francisco. The Brazilian Government had built a railroad leading through the mountainous country from the port to an inland point on one of the tributaries of the River Uruguay; that this railroad connected the ocean routes with the river routes to the inland, leading through this rich section of Brazil and laying the path for economic as well as political connection between it and the River Platte and the country of Uruguay; that the ocean routes, the railroad and river routes were susceptible of being used to create a state of political and economic unity extending outside the southern limits of Brazil, and that they had information to the effect that German steamers had recently landed considerable quantities of cement in the harbor at San Francisco but not in the city. The Brazilian Government was at this moment quietly trying to locate the supposed cache of cement.

Aranha continued with the statement that the German elements of the population who were engaged in business and the German business houses located in Brazil were practically agents of the German Government and that the whole German population and every economic and financial German element was part of an organized effort.

Steps were being taken to counteract the activities of the German Government and further steps would be taken to centralize Federal control and supervision. They were getting ready for any eventuality. An individual was being selected by the President to be given great authority under the President. He would not be a prominent official of the Government but would be a strong trusted man outside of the Government. Aranha himself had suggested to the President the appointment of Joao Alberto Linz de Barros, at present Minister of Brazil at the League of Nations, now on leave in Brazil, but the President had decided not to appoint him because he speaks no German. While Aranha did not say so, my belief is that the President will select another man by the name of Barros, not of the same family, at present Interventor in the State of Sao Paulo, having been appointed to that position following the revolution of last spring when the Governor was replaced. This Interventor Barros does speak German fluently. He also speaks English, French, Spanish, and Italian. He is also a very active man but has not been in official life long enough to have built up a history of success in public activity. He served one term as a Deputy in the Congress, but prior to that was an active practitioner in the medical profession. The President is understood to have considerable confidence in Interventor Barros and to be in constant communication with him, particularly since he represents the interests of the Vargas administration in Sao Paulo, which is the richest and most populous State in Brazil. However, whoever is selected for this particular work will not be announced as such but will be the secret agent of the President, and will continue in closest collaboration with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, War, Navy, and Communications.

Aranha continued, however, that Brazil needed the help of the United States; that Brazil was not equipped even from the point of view of secret service and military intelligence to cope with the efforts which Germany was making there. Every precaution within their power was being taken. New cards of citizenship were being required. The time limit was gradually approaching. Many Germans

were proceeding back to Germany, but hundreds of thousands of them remained and formed a very complicated problem, because they speak German, and the Portuguese do not speak German. He had two requests to make of the United States:

First, that they consider a careful supervision of the German Embassy in Washington for information leading to steps in Brazil. Except for the present activities of the German General in Brazil, who was reporting direct to Von Ribbentrop, their information was that the activities of the German Embassy in Rio de Janiero were directed through the Embassy in Washington. In support of that he handed me a paper, which may be identified as "X" attached hereto. A number other such evidences have been discovered which indicate that instructions proceed through the German Embassy at Washington. The Brazilian Government would like the American Government to help them with the information proceeding from the German Embassy in Washington directed to the German Embassy or other agencies of that Government in Brazil.

Second, the Brazilian Government would like the American Government to consider whether it will send to Brazil four or five secret service operators to help the Brazilian Government organize and coordinate their work and to direct what might be done. If the American Government would consider favorably that request, every facility and opportunity will be given to its agents to become acquainted with the situation in Brazil and to accept their advice and direction. If they should be sent, he would expect them to come not in a body but separately and to be identified originally by the American Embassy.

Aranha said that the Italians were not giving them trouble like the Germans. He attributed it to the fact that the Italians were susceptible to amalgamation. The Italian language was similar to the Portuguese, and they could easily learn, and did learn, the Portuguese language; their native language newspapers were not thriving; they were not in a social bloc as were the Germans; and there was little difficulty as far as he knew with the Italian population or with the Italian Embassy. I asked him if General Longo had been in Brazil. Scotten interrupted to say that General Longo was the Italian Air Attache at this time and was at present off somewhere on a trip in the Amazon country. I remarked that I thought the Brazilian Government would be justified in keeping a very careful watch on Longo; that he was one of the able and trusted

agents of the Fascist Government and was invested from time to time with unusual authority and power and that his very presence as Air Attache to my mind would be of some significance because he was one of the very ablest of their confidential agents and one of the most trusted advisers of the military group.

The recently retiring President of Argentina, Justo, has recently been in Europe and had returned on a German liner to Buenos Aires. En route he had stopped at Rio de Janiero and had had a long intimate conversation with President Vargas. During the course of this conversation Justo had expressed to Vargas some of his fears for Argentina and the German and Italian influences which were being exerted there. He had told Vargas that the Government succeeding him in Argentina, (that is the present administration under Ortiz), could be trusted by the Brazilians just as they had trusted Justo with whom they had been on very friendly and intimate terms. Aranha said that Justo had made it plain to Vargas that Argentina was united with Brazil in its effort to prevent any intrusion in either of those two countries, and as far as possible in Uruguay also, of European influences, particularly those of Germany and Italy. Aranha continued that the Governments of Argentina and Brazil were now in constant communication on the subject and that they were arriving at what was practically a defensive alliance; that they would cooperate in their efforts for political and military intelligence and that they would stand together and if necessary fight together.

Aranha was also very much concerned about the situation in Uruguay, which is contiguous to the four southern States of Brazil so heavily populated by the Germans, and said that they were expecting in the near future definite information about the development in Uruguay of a situation similar to that which they had uncovered in Brazil. They feared a coup in Uruguay. He, himself, had no confidence whatever in Guani, Minister of Foreign Affairs at Montevideo.

I asked Aranha if his communications with Buenos Aires could be considered perfectly safe. I called attention to the German airplanes which carried mails between Rio de Janiero and B.A. He said that he thought their codes were safe - that they had been recently changed and that they would communicate with Argentina only by their code or if by mail over Pan Air. He said that the German airplane situation caused them a good deal of concern. Brazilian law required all the employees to be Brazilian, but Hitler had granted to the Germans in the service the right to assume dual nationality and to take out Brazilian citizenship papers, which they had done, but he (Aranha) was not misled

by that fact, for he was sure that they would have no allegiance to Brazil and that they were to all intents and purposes German citizens. I asked him whether they could cancel those papers in case of emergency, that is, whether his Government had the power so to do. He replied that his Government had the power and could exercise it. In connection with the German airplane service he remarked that the indignity suffered by the Pan Air in the recent destruction of their float and approach was due to German influence, and he regretted it exceedingly.

Aranha suggested that only a brief outline of this conversation be made in Brazil by the Charge d'Affaires and that it be sent to Washington by airmail to reach the Department of State shortly before my arrival. He said that he would keep the Embassy informed, but he wanted to impress upon the American Government the importance he attached to the communication he was making and to ask their very serious consideration of the intelligence he was directed by his President to make on this occasion.

This completes the report of the conversation I had with Aranha. It may not be amiss, however, to report several other incidents which may and may not have a corroborative bearing upon the subject matter of that conversation.

November 6, 1938 - On the S.S. Brazil traveling Tourist Class was a young man, Calvin Gail Cragun, 2135 109th Avenue, Oakland, California. He is a Mormon missionary and has lived in the four southern States of Brazil for two and a half years, associating only with the German community and speaking only German. I thought it would be a good side-light on the subject matter of my conversation in Rio de Janiero if I talked to him.

He said that he had lived in the States of Sao Paulo, Parana, Rio Grande del Sud, and Santa Caterina; that he had associated exclusively with Germans and had been with them for two and a half years and had spoken nothing but German during that time. He said the Germans generally were resentful at the Rio Government; that they were not openly active but were susceptible to organization, which is being carried on by agents from abroad. He said that they felt that the revolution of last spring was really just a "feeler" and that they expect another and successful one to appear soon. They resent that the German language has been prohibited in the schools and that only Portuguese is taught now. They also resent the requirement that each foreigner must have new citizenship papers and feel that

that requirement is directed principally at them. The cost of the new papers is not excessive but is considerable from the point of view of living conditions and income in Brazil. New papers can be procured, if the applicant is eligible, at the present moderate cost until December first. After that until January first the cost will be double. Everyone is required to have his papers by August first next, which he thought might be the outside date limit for a new outbreak, because not later than that date the Federal Government must begin to enforce the provisions of the law pertaining to citizenship and cards of identification. The Germans are now refusing to pay the cost for the new cards and declare that they will not pay it. Many are leaving for Germany to reside, as they are informed there is a lack of workers there and that the cost of repatriation is practically paid by the German Government out of funds confiscated from the Jews. Many hundreds have left and many more plan to go. Those remaining are resentful, angry, and opposed to Vargas and are easily led by their local captains and are organized by visiting Germans and are apparently getting ready for a revolt which all of them expect and which they will welcome. Their object is the independence of the three southern States and possibly also of Sao Paulo, but they are not sure that they can successfully carry Sao Paulo, because the Germans do not form a majority of the population there.

My informant says he knows well San Francisco and its harbor in the State of Santa Caterina. This was the town mentioned in my confidential memorandum where Germans are reported to have deposited cement. He says it is a small Portuguese town. There are no Germans living in the town; that it is on a large enclosed harbor with a narrow entrance and fine anchorage. It has deep water shoaling toward one end but that vessels must use a channel to approach the town. From the town there is a railroad across the mountains to a larger town on the plateau, and then on to the cultivated land from which herbe mate is the principal export to Germany and to Argentina, mostly in German ships and in Greek ships. They also export hearts of palm to the United States. Santa Caterina is very mountainous but there are many good fertile lands, most of which are owned by the Germans. German officials visiting from Germany are very much respected and are treated like overlords.

My informant has finished his service as missionary and is returning to reside in California.

#### - ARGENTINA -

At Buenos Aires Cantilo is Foreign Minister. He had been my colleague at Rome, and during the three years of my incumbancy there in the American Embassy Cantilo was the Argentine Ambassador. We became rather good friends and had a very pleasant diplomatic association. Consequently, he was prepared to meet me not as a stranger but as one whom he considered to be on a basis of good personal friendship as well as on one of a pleasant official association. I saw him on three or four occasions during my stay in Buenos Aires. He was present with President Ortiz and presented me and the members of the Mission to him and was present during my interview with Ortiz. I saw him also in his Foreign Office for a lengthy visit, and on board the Brazil when he came to dine, and I also saw him on one other occasion. During these meetings the conversation was largely on economic matters, but there was constantly running through what he said the thought, which he did not openly express, that their desire for economic and financial cooperation with the United States was something devoutly desired by Argentina but a state which was being prevented of realization by the action of other Governments, notably those of Great Britain, Germany, and Italy. Each of those Governments has made arrangements to purchase definite quantities of Argentine products and to provide for exchange there. England, of course, has an enormous financial investment in Argentina. Germany and Italy are using their large populations and their penetrating commercial activities to secure advantages and to force Argentina into closer economic and financial association with them. The thought always recurring in the conversation of Cantilo was that the activities of those other Governments was such and the situation between Argentina and them was such, that it was a very difficult practical matter for Argentina to fulfill her desire to have closer economic and financial ties with the United States, coupled with the thought that political ties and contacts must surely, under the system pursued by Germany and Italy, lead to difficulties for the Argentine Government in the future and particularly in its relations with the United States. He is friendly to the United States. He advocates the American political ideals. The rate of exchange now prohibits an increase of commerce. He desires very much a trade agreement which would help Argentina pay a larger part of her purchases from us. He asks I take a personal plea direct to President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull to do something concrete to save Argentina's commercial ties with us. They are in a

critical condition. They will not press the matter until January or February 1939, but then they will be prepared to make serious requests for agreements and failure to agree will be dangerous for future trade betterment and harmful politically, because there are influences at work against interests of the United States. (From information otherwise obtained I understood part of the influence was that of Savaadra-Lamas and part that of Pinedo, formerly Minister of Hacienda, now retired, but still very influential. While in office he built an organization of able young men whom he left in key positions in the financial structure of the Government and who are committed to his policies, which are anti-United States.) In other words, he fears the consequences of the present trend but is not able to escape at this time or without help.

On October 28 I was received by President Ortiz. He was very earnest in his hope that the new ships would help relations between Argentina and the United States but was very definite in the thought that ships alone were insufficient; they needed a trade agreement, a better exchange rate, more exports to the United States. He felt most seriously a commercial accord was necessary - and soon -; otherwise Argentina might be thrown under the influence of European countries with which they will be forced to have larger economic and financial ties. He asked that President Roosevelt be given this message direct from him as an expression of his real judgment and as his serious opinion.

Even though Cantilo talked rather fully, he did not talk as freely as his wife. I had known her very well in Italy. She is a friendly, sociable, affable person who likes the United States. She told me in a lengthy conversation of her particular dislike for the German and Italian communities in Argentina. She said that they were treating citizens of German and Italian extraction and more recent immigrants from those countries as Germans and Italians rather than as Argentinians and were proceeding to form groups and blocs in the various communities and training them to look to Rome and Berlin rather than to the Government at Buenos Aires. She said that she felt very bitterly about the Germans and the Italians as far as their activities in Argentina at that time were concerned. And she said very frankly that her husband felt "Just the same as I do." Cantilo himself was more guarded in his statements in that respect, and while I am not in the habit of taking the bubbling social expressions of ladies to have deep political significance, yet in the case of the Signora Cantilo, considering the very pleasant association she and the members of her family had with members of my family in Rome and our quite friendly personal association, I am

inclined to accept at their face value the statements she made. She also was very positive in her understanding that Italy and Germany were sending agents into Argentina to organize their citizens of German and Italian former nationality into different groups and blocs to be segregated from the general run of Argentinians and to have ambitions, in groups, at variance with the best interests of the Argentine Government. She said that the commercial and industrial activities of the citizens of each of these countries were being treated in the same way and were, together with the national groups being formed, obstacles to the intergral development of Argentina and a menace to her political future and to the relationships existing between Argentina and the United States.

Before reaching Rio de Janiero on my second visit, on the return voyage, I met at Santos Interventor Barros of the State of Sao Paulo and motored back from Santos to the city of Sao Paulo with him. On the way out of Santos our automobiles stopped at a control gate. Upon my inquiry it developed that controls were established on every road leading into the State of Sao Paulo from any direction; that the occupants of every car were examined and that they were checked in and checked out if they should return. Their papers and their baggage was examined. Barros told me it was a precautionary measure against the German activists whom they suspect of planning to bring about a repetition of the uprising of last spring. He said that he had 300,000 Germans in his population and that they were more or less segregated and that they were being visited and organized. He was having considerable difficulty with the German Consul, who was very aggressive and causing him a lot of trouble. (At Rio de Janiero I was informed later by the Embassy that the American Consul at Sao Paulo had been advised by Barros of the situation which was developing there and that the Consul had sent a messenger to Rio de Janiero to inform the Embassy orally).

BRECKINGIDGE LONG

Ambassador on Special Mission.

This page represents a secret document which was delivered in person to Undersecretary Welles.



Excelentísimo Señor Franklin D. Roosevelt,

Presidente de los Estados Unidos de América.

Washington, D. C.

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Guatemala, 12 de diciembre de 1.938.

Muy estimado Señor Presidente:

Tengo el honor de ofrecer a Vuestra Excelencia un ejemplar de la edición inglesa del "Libro Blanco", en que el Gobierno de Guatemala publica la documentación relativa a la controversia con la Gran Bretaña respecto a Belice.

Esa documentación, en su mayor parte británica, es en sí un relato de las vicisitudes de la República en la lucha por hacer valer sus legítimos derechos.

De un simple permiso que otorgó España para cortar madera, se originó, sin otro título, el establecimien to de Belice. Para contener los constantes avances en su teritorio y en vista del Tratado Dallas-Clarendon que se suscribió en 1856 entre los Estados Unidos de América y la Gran Bretaña, la República de Guatemala convino en suscribir la Convención de 1859, cediendo una parte importante de su territorio a cambio de la cooperación que el Gobierno de la Gran Bretaña se comprometió solemnemente a prestar para la construcción de un camino entre la capital de Guatemala y su costa atlántica.

Pero, el Gobierno Inglés, si bien desea obtener todos los beneficios que le concede la Convención, se ha negado siempre a cumplirla en la parte compensatoria que le corresponde.

Guatemala se ha esforzado en lograr el cumpli

miento integral de la Convención, y, con plena confianza en el inquebrantable fervor de Vuestra Excelencia por el acatamiento del derecho y la justicia en las relaciones entre débiles y fuertes, y persuadido además de su leal amistad hacia Latino América, tan constantemente manifestada, no vacibó en proponer a Vuestra Excelencia como árbitro para dirimir esa vieja contienda. Sin embargo, la propuesta no fué aceptada y en cambio se le manifestó posteriormente que el Gobierno de Su Majestad considera que a nada conduciría seguir tratando el asunto, y por eso no tiene más opción que considerar como constitutivos de la frontera los límites de Belice, unilateralmente trazados por ingenieros británicos.

Confronta, pues, Guatemala, el caso doloroso de que una nación poderosa se niegue a cumplir en todas sus partes un Tratado formal, y desprecie los compromisos solemnemente contraídos, faltando así, en perjuicio de una nación americana, a la santidad de los Tratados que tan decididamente ha sostenido en otras circunstancias.

Creo, Señor Presidente, que en los momentos en que Plenipotenciarios de América consideran en Lima la defensa de los derechos de este Continente contra las amenazas procedentes de otras partes del mundo, hallará Vuestra Excelencia de interés la exposición del caso de Guatemala en su controversia con la Gran Bretaña.

Aprovecho esta oportunidad para saludar muy cordialmente a Vuestra Excelencia y reiterarle las seguridades de mi consideración más alta y distinguida.

Juliag

(f) JORGE UBICO, Presidente de Guatemala.-

### [Translation]

Executive Office of the Republic of Guatemala Central America

Guatemala, December 12, 1938.

Mr. President:

I have the honor to offer Your Excellency a copy of the English edition of the "White Book" in which the Government of Guatemala has published the documents relating to the controversy with Great Britain in regard to Belize.

The documentation in question, which is mostly
British, constitutes a narrative of the vicissitudes of
the Republic in the struggle to assert its legitimate
rights.

The founding of Belize had its origin in the simple permission, without any other title, granted by Spain to cut timber. In order to check the constant advances into its territory, and in view of the Dallas-Clarendon Treaty which was signed in 1856 between the United States of America and Great Britain, the Republic of Guatemala agreed to sign the Convention of 1859, ceding an important part

Franklin D. Roosevelt,

President of the United States of America,

Washington, D. C.

part of its territory in exchange for the cooperation which the Government of Great Britain solemnly bound itself to give in the construction of a road between the capital of Guatemala and its Atlantic coast.

But the English Government, while it wishes to obtain all the benefits which are granted to it by the Convention, has always refused to fulfill it as regards the obligations imposed on it by the Treaty.

Guatemala has endeavored to obtain the complete fulfillment of the Convention, and with entire faith in Your
Excellency's constant fervor for the observance of the
principles of right and justice in relations between the
weak and the strong, convinced as it is, moreover, of
your loyal friendship toward Latin America, which has so
often been manifested, did not hesitate to propose Your
Excellency as arbitrator in this dispute of long standing.
However, the proposal was not accepted and instead it was
informed, later, that His Majesty's Government is of the
opinion that continued discussion of the matter would be
to no purpose, for which reason it has no choice but to
consider the frontier to be the limits of Belize, which
were unilaterally drawn by British engineers.

Guatemala is therefore confronted with the regrettable case of a powerful nation which refuses to fulfill in its entirety a formal Treaty, and rejects the obligations which

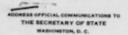
were solemnly undertaken, thus failing to observe, to the detriment of an American nation, the sanctity of Treaties which it has so decisively supported in other circumstances.

I believe, Mr. President, that at the time when Plenipotentiaries of America are considering in Lima the defense of the rights of this Continent against the threats coming from other parts of the world, Your Excellency will find the exposition of the case of Guatemala in its controversy with Great Britain of interest.

I avail myself of this opportunity to extend very cordial greetings to Your Excellency and to renew the assurance of my highest esteem.

JORGE UBICO

President of Guatemala.



J. america - 1939



## DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON

June 14, 1939

My dear Mr. President:

I am enclosing herewith a personal letter addressed to you by the President of Colombia which has been sent to me by the Ambassador of Colombia with the request that I see that it be placed before you. President Santos' letter is a reply to the letter which you sent him in connection with the anniversary of the commencement of aviation communications between our two countries. For your convenience I am likewise attaching a translation of the letter from President Santos.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

Encs.
Letter from
President Santos;
Translation.

The President.

The White House.



Al Excelentísimo Señor

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,

Presidente de los Estados Unidos de Norte América,

Washington, D. C.



Bogotá, mayo 22 de 1939.

Señor Presidente:

Con tanto interés como agradecimiento lef la amable carta de Vuestra Excelencia destinada a commemorar en forma tan grata para Colombia los éxitos del correo aéreo que ha acercado de manera ex traordinaria a nuestros dos países, y constituye entre ellos un vínculo de eficacia creciente para el mejor conocimiento de los dos pueblos y para la intensificación de sus relaciones. En el término de veinticuatro horas llegó a mis manos la carta de Vuestra Excelencia, demostración perfecta de lo que se ha conseguido con los progresos de este maravilloso invento que cada día aminora las distancias que nos separan.

Gracias a vuestra política, tan leal y provechosamente realizada, avanza cada día en América el concepto del buen vecino, y los desarrollos de la aviación están lógrando que seamos no sólo buenos vecinos sino vecinos cercanos, ligados por comunicaciones fáciles y rápidas. Cuanto se haga para lograr que todo ésto se consolide y mejore cada día y que nuestros pueblos se acerquen material y espiritualmente cada vez más dentro de normas de sincera amis tad y de inteligente y creciente cooperación, encuen tra la mejor acogida en el pueblo de Colombia y en su Gobierno.

Muy sincera y cordialmente comparto las esperanzas de Vuestra Excelencia en los buenos efectos que ha de tener la colaboración de ciudadanos de los Estados Unidos y de Colombia para los progresos de la comunicación aérea y de las relaciones de todo orden, y aprovecho la oportunidad para presenter a Vuestra Excelencia mis votos por su completo bienestar y las seguridades de mi más alta consideración.

aduardo Santos

Al Excelentísimo señor FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Presidente de los Estados Unidos de Norte América, Washington, D. C.

### [Translation]

REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA

[SEAL]

Bogotá, May 22, 1939.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

### Mr. President:

I have read with both interest and gratitude Your Excellency's kind letter intended to emphasize, in a way so agreeable to Colombia, the successes of the air mail which has brought our two countries nearer together to an extraordinary degree and constitutes a bond of increasing efficacy, the effect of which will be better acquaintance between the two peoples and a great stimulus to their relations. Your Excellency's letter reached my hands in twenty-four hours; this is a perfect demonstration of what has been achieved by the progress of this marvelous invention which daily shortens the distance which separates us.

Thanks to your policy, so openly and fruitfully realized, the idea of good neighborhood advances daily in America, while the development of aviation is making us not

His Excellency

Franklin D. Roosevelt,

President of the United States of North America, Washington, D. C.

not only good neighbors but near neighbors, united by easy and rapid means of communication. Whatever is done for the purpose of consolidating and improving all this and bringing our peoples nearer together, both materially and spiritually, in relationships of sincere friendship and intelligent and increasing cooperation, is cordially welcomed by the people and the Government of Colombia.

I very sincerely and cordially share Your Excellency's hopes for the good effects which will attend collaboration between citizens of the United States and of Colombia in advancing progress in communication by air and in our relations of every order, and I avail myself of the opportunity of offering to Your Excellency my good wishes for your well-being in every regard, and the assurances of my highest consideration.

EDUARDO SANTOS

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON, D. C. 5. amirica -



In reply refer to PR 810.79611/34

### DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON

June 17, 1939

My dear Miss LeHand:

With reference to the communication recently addressed by the President to Dr. Mosquera N., the President of Ecuador, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the establishment of a direct air service between the United States and Ecuador, I am enclosing herewith Dr. Mosquera's reply, together with a copy of the transmitting despatch and its enclosures from the American Minister at Quito. Apparently no further action is necessary.

Sincerely yours,

THOLarles Skruks

Acting Chief of Protocol.

Enclosures:
From Quito, May 19, 1939,
with enclosures;
Letter from Dr. Mosquera.

Miss Marguerite A. LeHand,

Private Secretary to the President,

The White House.

No. 489

Quito, May 19, 1939.

Subject: Tenth Anniversary of the Establish-

ment of Direct Aviation Service Between the United States and Ecuador.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State, washington.

Sir:

No. 117 of May 10, 1939, and to my telegram No. 38 of May 18th, regarding the presentation of the President's letter to the President of Ecuador on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the establishment of a direct air service between the United States and Ecuador by the Pan American Grace Airways, I have the honor to transmit herewith the original letter of Dr. Mosquera N.,

1/ the President of Ecusdor, in reply to that of President

2/ Roosevelt. A translation thereof is also duly enclosed.

El Comercio on May 19th published on its front page, an account of the interview with the President of Ecuador, a translation of President Roosevelt's letter, the text of President Mosquera's reply, and two photographs. The clippings, which are enclosed, have not been translated, as the account of the interview is substantially as contained in my telegram under reference.

El Dia published nothing whatsoever regarding the

Respectfully yours,

Boaz Long

Enclosures:

anniversary of Panagra.

 Original letter of President of Ecuador, and translation.
 Glippings, as noted.

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Original and three copies to the Department.



Enclosure No. 2 to despatch No. 489 of May 19, 1939 from the American Legation at Quito, on the subject of Tenth Anniversary of the Establishment of Direct Aviation Service Between the United States and Equador.

### Translation.

May 18, 1930.

Distinguished Mr. President:

A road has always been, on every occasion, the best tie to unite two peoples. Therefore the progress of lines of communication always precedes the progress of the World. By means of them, knowledge of men is clarified; just as cultures are compared like landscapes; establishing in a more real manner, judgments of systems and institutions; distant interests are bound together, and there begin to arise common ideals, aspirations and hopes, which unite all in a single future of human happiness.

And what means of communication is more perfect then the air, which makes possible the conquest of distance in a manner which, only yesterday, would have seemed a miracle to us? Melcome, therefore, be the aerial service of communication, and especially that which unites our two countries in such a satisfactory way, for it is strengthening, even further, the old friendship of the United States and Scuador, happily unchangeable, based on the multiple common aspects of their national activities, maintained through their always happy commercial and political relations, and reinforced by the same continental ideal of peace and justice.

Dr. Aurelic Mosquera N.
Gonstitutional President of the Republic

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

GG: owa

# BUREAU DIVISION ENCLOSURE TO Letter drafted ADDRESSED TO Miss LeHand

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Mayo 18 de 1939

Distinguido señor Presidente:

Un camino fué siempre y en toda ocasión, el lazo mejor para juntar dos pueblos. Por eso el progreso de las vías de comunicación precede siempre al progreso del mum do. Se aclara, mediante ellas, el conocimiento de los hombres; al par que los paisajes se comparan las culturas; establécense, de modo más real, juicios sobre los sistemas y las instituciones; se vinculan los intereses distantes, y empiezan a surgir ideales, aspiraciones y esperanzas comunes que juntan a todos en un solo porvenir de ventura huma na.

¿ Y que vía de comunicación más perfecta que la del aire, que vuelve posible el vencimiento de la distancia en forma tal que, ayer no más, pudo parecernos un milagro?. Bien haya, pues, el servicio de comunicación aérea, y especialmente el que une en forma tan satisfactoria nuestros dos países, porque viene a estrechar más aún la vieja amistad de los Estados Unidos y el Ecuador, feliz mente inalterable, fincada en los múltiples aspectos comunes de sus actividades nacionales, mantenida a traves de sus siempre felices relaciones comerciales y políticas, y reforzada por un mismo ideal continental de paz y de justicia.

Vuestro, sinceramente,

Dr. Aurelio Mosquera N. Presidente Constitu**c**ional de la República

Al Excelentísimo Señor Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidente de los Estados Unidos de Norte América Enclower No. 1. to despatch no. 489 of may 19,1939 brom the american Legation at Quito.

Al Excelentísimo Señor

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Presidente de los Estados Unidos de Norte América

# MENSAJE DEL PDTE. ROOSEVELT FUE ENTREGADO A DR. MOSQUERA N.

CON MOTIVO DE CONMEMORARSE EL DECIMO ANIVERSARIO DE SERVICIO AEREO ENTRE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS NUESTRA REPUBLICA

Ministro norteamericano con el representante de la Panagra y el capitán John Muller acudieron al Palacio para entregar dicho mensaje al que contestó el Dr. Mosquera

En la tarde de ayer tuvo lugar en la Presidencia de la Repúblien la Presidencia de la Republica una significativa e interesante ceremonia a la que concurrieron el Ministro de Estados Unidos en el Ecuador, Mr. Boaz Long, el capitán John Muller, piloto de la "Panagra", el Coronel Carlos Flores Guerra y el señor Leopoldo Rivas, representantes de la Panagra en Quito. Visitaron al Presidente de la República del Ecuador para entregarle un mensaje especial del Presidente Roosevelt, relacionado con la conmemoración del X aniversario del establecimiento de las relaciones aéreas de transporte entre Estados Unidos y el Ecuador.

La ceremonia tuvo lugar en el Salón Amarillo de la Presidencia, donde el Ministro de los Estados Unidos entregó al Dr. Mosquera N, la referida carta.

El doctor Mosquera Narváez agradeció al Presidente Roosevelt por intermedio de su representante al li presente e hizo vates. ca una significativa e interesante

gradeció al Presidente Roosevelt por intermedio de su represen-tante, alli presente, e hizo votos por el progreso de la "Panagra" a la vez que encomió el celo que el personal de dicha Companía ha puesto siempre para la seguri-dad y la eficiencia del servicio aéreo internacional, circunstan-cias a las que debe su elevado prestigio.

prestigio.

El señor Leopoldo Rivas manifestó que la referida carta la había portado el capitán Muller porque es uno de los más antiguos y conocidos pilotos que ha volado en Sudamérica y lleva ya en su vida profesional quince mil horas de vuelo. El mismo piloto fue condecorado con la medalla "Abdón Calderón" por el Gobierno del Ecuador.

Finalmente el doctor Mosquera, Presidente del Ecuador, entregó al Ministro de los Estados Unidos una carta en contestación de la que le envió el Presidente Roosevelt.



## Mensaje del Pdte.

(Viene de la 1ª página) de ferrocarril con aeroplano.

Gracias a la aviación, las Repúblicas del norte y del sur se acercan, las unas a las otras, más y más cada día en amistoso intercambio; y es mi deseo que en el desarrollo del futuro la cordial cooperación entre el pueblo del Ecuador y el de los Estados Unidos pueda ser constantemente reforzada y sea así mutuamente más benéfica.

Vuestro muy sinceramente. (f.) Franklin D. Roosevelt. Mayo 18 de 1939.

Distinguido Sr. Presidente: Un camino fué siempre y en toda ocasión, el lazo mejor para juntar dos pueblos. Por eso el progreso de las vías de comuni-cación precede siempre al progreso del mundo. Se aclara mediante, ellas, el conocimiento de los hombres; al par que los paisajes, se comparan las culturas; establécense, de modo más real, juicios sobre los sistemas y las instituciones; se vinculan los intereses distantes, y empiezan a surgir ideales; aspiraciones y esperanzas comunes que juntan a todos en un solo porvenir de ven tura humana.

¿Que vía de comunicación más perfecta que la del aire, que vuel ve posible el vencimiento de la distancia en forma tal que, ayer no mas, pudo parecernos un milagro? Bien haya, pues, el servi-cio de comunicación aérea, espe-cialmente el que une en forma tan satisfactoria nuestros países, porque vienen a estrechar más la vieja amistad de los Estados Unidos y el Ecuador, felizmente inalterable fincada en los múltiples aspectos comunes de sus actividades nacionales, mantenida al través de sus siempre fe lices relaciones comerciales políticas, reforzada con un mis-mo ideal continental de paz y de justicia.

Vuestro sinceramente,

(f.) A. Mosquera N.

### [TRANSLATION]

MRE

Bogota, Colombia

Dated September 1, 1939.

His Excellency Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt,

President of the United States of America,

Washington.

In view of the extreme gravity of the events which are developing in Europe, I wish to reiterate to you the firm resolution of the Government of Colombia, unanimously supported by its people, to proceed in close agreement with the Governments of America and on the basis of the principles of solidarity proclaimed at the Pan American Conferonces, in defense of the essential goods which are common to us: the fullness of our independence and sovereignty. the normality of our economic development, the essential features of our democratic Governments, and peace within whose fertile shade the peoples of this hemisphere desire to attain their destinies. It will be for my Government a pleasure and an honor to proceed in constant accord with Your Excellency's Government and to cooperate by whatever means are within its power to render American solidarity effective and to bring about all the good things which we have the right to hope from it and to have, in these most bitter

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### -2- [Translation]

bitter hours for mankind, the joint action of America exerted in behalf of the ideals which animate it, and in such a way that it may serve to avoid, reduce or remedy the threatening catastrophe.

EDUARDO SANTOS,
President of Colombia.

TR:JWP:IML

### [TRANSLATION]

MRE

San Jose

Dated September 1, 1939

The President

The White House

I have the honor to communicate to Your Excellency that, seconding the noble proposals on which your pacific action is based, I have addressed a cablegram to His Majesty the King of Italy supporting and upholding Your Excellency's action which meets with unanimous favor of America.

Your Excellency's good friend,

LEON CORTES

TR: JWP: IML

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From RIO Dec 6 1939

Hon. Cordell Hull Washington

Have never enjoyed hearing warmer, more sincere or more straight from the heart references made respecting any man than those voiced by Minister Oswaldo Aranha today referring to President Roosevelt as one of greatest men of epoch in spontaneous unprepared address during ceremonies for delivery Roosevelt photograph to new Brazilian press association building kind regards.

Jay Rice

6:43 am Dec. 7

5. america - 1939

DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON

December 8, 1939

My dear Mr. President:

In reply to your memorandum of December 1, I take pleasure in enclosing a translation of the letter of November 16 addressed to you by President Vargas of Brazil and flown back from Brazil by the flight of bombers commanded by General Emmons.

Since this letter is merely an acknowledgment of your letter of November 4 to President Vargas carried by General Emmons and delivered personally by him to the President of Brazil on November 16, no further action would seem indicated.

Believe me,

Fithfully yours,

Enclosure:

From President of Brazil, November 16, 1939, with translation.

The President,

The White House.

### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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ENCLOSURE	
то	
LETTER DRAFTED	****
ADDRESSED TO	
The President	

#### TRANSLATION

President of the Republic

Rio de Janeiro, November 16, 1939.

Mr. President:

I wish to express to you my great satisfaction upon receiving through General Delos Emmons the letter which Your Excellency addressed to me sending to the Government and people of Brazil the compliments of the Government and people of the United States of America on the fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic.

There exists, Mr. President, in our country the same very affectionate sentiment of cordial friendship which Your Excellency has expressed. This happy state of mutual feeling shows how close the collaboration between our two friendly nations in all fields of international relations has been and remains.

The Brazilian people are highly grateful for the reference which Your Excellency made to the way in which Brazil has been able to work out its political destiny without violence. That line of conduct practical in the internal life of the nation also guides our foreign relations and therefore we may be always found on the side of the supporters of peace and of those who realize the necessity of resolving peacefully questions of any nature.

My Government and the people of Brazil cherish the recollection of the visit of Your Excellency and we welcome with warm sympathy the envoys of the American Government and representatives of its glorious military institutions.

Please accept, dear Mr. President, the best wishes of the people and the Government of Brazil for the happiness of Your Excellency and the United States of America.

GETULIO VARGAS

His Excellency

Franklin Delano Roosevelt,

President of the United States of America.

This message was flown back from Brazil by the flight of bombers commanded by General Emmons. It was delivered to General Marshal who in turn directed Colonel Hill to have it flown directly to the President at Warm Springs, Ga.



## THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

December 1, 1939.

NISION OF PERSONNEL

NINGENESION AND MANAGEMENT

MEMORANDUM FOR THE

STATE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEC 2 1939

For translation.

Has it been acknowledged?

F.D.R.



Rio de Janeiro, 16 de Novembro de 1939

Senhor Presidente,

Venho expressar-lhe a minha viva satisfação pelo recebimento, por intermedio do General Delos Emmons, da carta que Vossa Excelencia me dirigiu, enviando ao Governo e ao povo do Brasil os cumprimentos do Governo e do povo dos Estados Unidos da America do Norte, pela passagem do 50° aniversario da proclamação da Republica Brasileira.

Encontram, Senhor Presidente, no nosso paiz a mais afetuosa correspondencia os sentimentos de cordial amizade que Vossa Excelencia lhe testemunha. Essa feliz reciprocidade mostra como tem sido e se mantem estreita a colaboração das duas nações amigas em todos os campos das relações internacionais.

Sente-se altamente reconhecido o povo brasileiro

pela referencia de Vossa Excelencia à maneira por que, sem violencia, tem sabido conduzir a sua evolução política, atitude que, praticando na sua vida interna, lhe norteia os atos externos, levando-o a formar sempre ao lado dos adeptos da paz e da necessidade de resolver pacificamente as pendencias de qualquer natureza.

Como meu Governo, o Povo do Brasil guarda a recordação da visita de Vossa Excelencia e acolhe com
simpatia calorosa os enviados do Governo Americano e re
presentantes das suas gloriosas instituições militares.

Queira aceitar, caro Senhor Presidente, os melhores votos do Povo e do Governo do Brasil pela feli cidade de Vossa Excelencia e dos Estados Unidos da America.

A Sua Excelencia o Senhor Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidente dos Estados Unidos da America



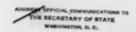
A Sua Excelencia o Senhor

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Presidente dos Estados Unidos da

America do Norte

Washington, D.C.





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## DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON

January 8, 1940

My dear Miss LeHand:

I am enclosing for the information of the President a copy of a note which has been received from the Ambassador of Venezuela, in which he conveys to the President his respectful and cordial wishes for the happiness of the President and his family during the coming year. An appropriate expression of appreciation has been sent to the Ambassador.

Sincerely yours,

Chief of Protocol

Enclosure: Copy of a note.

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

#### Department of State

BUREAU ] DIVISION PR

ENCLOSURE

TO

Letter drafted 1/3/40

ADDRESSED TO

Miss LeHand

Sir:

I have the honor to ask you to be so kind as to convey to His Excellency President Roosevelt my respectful and cordial wishes for his happiness and that of his family during the forthcoming 1940.

I also beg Your Excellency to accept my very best wishes on the occasion of the New Year, which I respectfully extend to Mrs. Hull.

And I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, Sir, the assurance of my highest consideration.

DIOGENES ESCALANTE

His Excellency Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States of America, Washington.

PSF: South America in In america

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## DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON

August 5, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

I am enclosing, as of possible interest, a copy of a despatch of July 23, 1940 from Ambassador Armour in Buenos Aires regarding Argentine press comment on your nomination by the Democratic National Convention at Chicago.

Fathfully yours,

Enclosure:

From American Embassy, Buenos Aires, no. 988, dated July 23, 1940.

The President,

The White House.

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CLOSURE
TO
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esident

1-1553

BUENOS ALRES

Buenos Aires, July 23, 1940

No. 988

NOMINATION OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT BY THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION: COMMENT IN THE ARGENTINE PRESS

The Honorable

The Secretary of State, Washington.

Sir:

1/

I have the honor to report that the nomination by the Democratic National Convention of President Roosevelt to fill a third term of the Presidency has been extensively commented upon by the Argentine press and that the majority of these comments are of a favorable nature. I enclose clippings from several of the more important newspapers of Buenos Aires containing editorials on the subject.

Most

Most of the press comment places emphasis upon the tradition in the United States by which a President is not expected to serve more than two consecutive terms, but points out that President Roosevelt was freely chosen as his Party's candidate by almost all of the delegates at the Convention and that the unprecedented conditions prevailing in the world have created a situation that is of an emergency character. Several of the leading papers take occasion to commend the President in vigorous terms for his outstanding success in the field of international relations.

LA PRENSA in its leading editorial on July 19 said that it was not the President that had departed from tradition, but the Democratic Party "and therefore a large part of public opinion". The editorial commented at some length upon the President's efforts to maintain peace and later to limit the scope of the war in Europe. The paper declared that "the President of the United States is the most outstanding champion of the democracies", and later it stated:

"The democracies do not believe in providential men, nor have the members of his Party applied such an epithet to President Roosevelt, who, on his part, has not given evidence of believing himself predestined for the mission which he is fulfilling. But the democracies can consider certain men very necessary in certain circumstances and if the institutions do not prohibit their services being utilized for a long time there are no reasons for refraining from using them at difficult moments in the life of countries.

"Moreover--and this is fundamental--the third candidacy of Mr. Roosevelt has been made in an atmosphere of complete liberty. The work of this leader has been severely attacked by his adversaries in the legislative halls, in the political assemblies, in the press, and in radio broadcasts. No one can speak of an imposition. Far from that: the convention began without it being known whether the candidate would accept the third 'nomination' or not.

"Therefore--and this is the most important thing--it will be the people of the United States that will decide at free voting precincts whether it is or is not desirable that "r. Frenklin D. Roosevelt be the President of the Republic for a third consecutive time. And if their decision should be favorable it will be the same people that will have decided to depart from the normal tradition of the country. But that will not be a departure from their constitution."

EL MUNDO (British controlled), which is reported to have the largest daily circulation in South America, concluded an editorial on July 20 as follows:

"America should feel satisfied that Roosevelt is on the way of winning again the high seat of honor. His name is synonymous with confidence and tranquility for the 21 countries which compose it. From 1933, and now with greater reason, he was the creator of the policy of the 'good neighbor' which succeeded in erasing old antagonisms and expelled certain fears which were as a dark cloud of past administrations; he forged a greater understanding among the various countries in order that these could create, within the shelter of the identity of their political systems, a harmony which Europe never knew in all the periods of its history. Finally, we see him working with optimism, although without reward, for settling the European conflict, for avoiding the entry of Italy into the war, which, however, was decreed a long time before those efforts were made, and when all that failed he undertook the task of increasing the Pan American movement, already suggested at the Conference of Buenos Aires and strengthened at the Lima Conference, in order to save this Continent from any danger. Now it remains only to be hoped that the almost unanimity which he obtained in the Convention of his Party is no more than an anticipation of the majority which, in accordance with the most apparent indications, his people will give him in the next elections."

LA NACION, in a leading article on July 19, although somewhat more reserved, pointed to the fact that President Roosevelt was nominated for a third term of office freely and by a large majority of the delegates of his Party, and that the United States electorate in free elections will determine the election. LA NACION also placed emphasis on

the gravity of existing conditions in the international field in relation to the third-term tradition and said:

"There is indeed needed all the dangerously exceptional character of the present conditions in order that there may be made a decision such as that which has just been made. Only these considerations can explain an act which at other times would constitute an assault upon the well-established reputation of the United States as a bulwark of the representative and democratic institutions."

In the international field, LA NACION commented that there was little difference in the platforms of the Democratic and Republican Parties:

"Those circumstances of an international character, were naturally considered in both the present Democratic Convention meeting at Chicago and the Republican Convention, previously meeting at Philadelphia. Both agreed in the desire, which is that of the entire North American electorate, not to intervene with arms in the European conflict, unless the United States should be directly attacked. Both expressed their unequivocal sympathies for the countries which are struggling against the totalitarian regimes. Both agreed on the need to aid meterially those countries within the framework of the internal laws and of international law in a form that will not place the country's own defense in danger.

"Thus, by the organ of its two great political parties, the United States has defined its international position. The differences between Democrats and Republicans are more in the way of detail, of shade, than of basis. What essentially divides them is the appraisement of the position assumed by Mr. Roosevelt from the time of his famous Chicago speech of October 5, 1937. While in Philadelphia he was accused of leading the country directly into war, behind the back of Congress, in the city in which that speech was delivered he was given a full vote of endorsement for the past and of confidence for the future."

EL DIARIO devoted editorials on July 19 and July 21 to the nomination of the President. The latter article commented that the break from tradition was fully justified and concluded with the following sentences:

"Like an apostle he carries his cross, and he is prepared to travel over a true calvary.

"A man like that should triumph despite all obstacles, even despite this supreme obstacle, which, with respect to the aforementioned maintenance (i.e., maintaining the United States safe from the prevailing dangers), would seem to anyone else an impossible obstacle."

The only adverse comment that has come to the Embassy's attention appears in the German-subsidized papers, EL PAMPERO and CRISOL, which, as the Department is aware, are consistently anti-United States.

Respectfully yours,

NOBMAN ARMOUR

Enclosures:

As stated.

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JWG: MRD



# CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM ON INTERNAL CONDITIONS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF VARIOUS LATIN AMERICAN REPUBLICS

JANUARY 7, 1941

#### REPUBLIC OF PANAMA

The personality of the secretary of the President of the Republic appears to be the chief worry here with regard to pro-Nazi activities. Every person interviewed expressed some alarm over this gentleman, who apparently is very close to the President. The President's secretary served in the Panamian consular service in Germany and it appears that he took an active part in the Youth Movement there. There are reports that he is definitely linked to Germany both by his political beliefs and by some sort of financial arrangement. We found no one who was willing to vouch for the authenticity of such reports.

The attitude of the President himself could not be called pro-North American. It would seem that he is a political opportunist who still adheres to the outmoded idea that he can make his position with the people more secure by damning the Yankees. His ammunition in this campaign has been the ability to make a comparison between the rather sumptuous life of North Americans working in the Canal Zone and the unsatisfactory conditions of life for the Panamanians. There are indications that he is nationalistic to a degree and he has a good weapon for stirring up nationalism in the system of employing labor on the Panama Canal and other U. S. work projects in the Zone. Most of the common labor and practically all of the skilled labor in the Zone is non-Panamanian. The U.S. Government, naturally, uses U. S. Nationals for its skilled labor and mostly Jamaicans and the Trinidad negroes for common labor. The latter are used for the very logical reason that Panamanians have little practical interest in hard work.

The general conclusion of the writer is that the U. S. Army has the Panamanian situation well in hand, although it might, at some future date, become necessary to use a firm hand with some of the Panamanian Government officials, who are more interested in politics than in anything else. If such steps became necessary, political opportunists, no doubt, would make capital of it by claiming violation of the Good Neighbor Policy.

The Panamanians - outside government circles - seem to be supporters of democracy and definitely opposed to Fascism, Naziism, or any of its kindred creeds.

#### COLOMBIA

Colombia appears to be one of the real danger spots as far as Nazi influence is concerned, for two reasons: 1. The concentrated activity of the Nazi propagandists, and; 2. The proximity of the country to the Panama Canal and the Caribbean countries.

The Nazi organization in Colombia appears to be one of the most efficient in Latin America. Reliable sources estimate that there are some 5,000 organized Nazis in various groups in the country. Many Colombians are members of the groups and the movement appears to be growing. The Nazi organizers have concentrated, during recent months, in converting Colombian women to their cause and their success has been considerable.

The Nazis, it appears, are not only well organized but they have succeeded in arming certain action groups within their ranks. They own, usually through a puppet Colombian, radio stations in several parts of Colombia, and they control at least one Bogota newspaper - El Siglo. In Colombia, as in several other Latin American countries, the conservative political parties have definite pro-Nazi leanings.

Credit for the excellent organization in Colombia belongs to the Nazi leader (a German) who makes his home in Barranquilla and to Walther Von Simons, a German propagandist, who now travels on an Argentine passport. He is connected with the Transocean News Service as a blind for his real activities and his Argentine passport permits him to escape passport restrictions against certain European nationals. He is based in Buenos Aires but for the past year has concentrated a great deal of effort in Colombia and in the West Coast countries.

The Colombian Government, while apparently anti-Nazi and rather pro-American, is trying to avoid any conflict with Germany and pro-Nazi leaders in the belief that it might be economically sound to retain the friendship of all parties. This belief probably springs from a similar one in Argentina.

In Colombia, as in other countries of Latin America, many U. S. manufacturers still retain German firms as their agents and distributors, and this is a little confusing to Colombians who are trying to combat the Nazi influence. The excuse for this seems invariably to be that Germans are the best agents and distributors.

#### ECUADOR

Ecuador seems to be another of the key countries for German Nazi agents, but their efforts have been less successful there than in Colombia and possibly Venezuela. They are well organized in Ecuador but their organization is small as compared with other Northern South American countries. They have succeeded in placing a certain amount of propaganda in local newspapers in Quito through the Transocean News Service, and they have been buying space in Quito newspapers on an out-and-out advertising basis. In Ecuador, as in almost all the other South American countries, the people have been impressed by the success of the German military campaign in Europe and this has brought about respect if not an admiration for the Nazi cause. The invasion of France, however, did a great deal toward offsetting the pro-Nazi reaction to the military successes in other European countries.

The greatest blow to the Nazi cause in Ecuador was dealt recently when Pan American-Grace Airways was able, after a long campaign, to get permission to operate a local airline in Ecuador. The permission was obtained through the joint efforts of the U. S. Government and Pan American-Grace Airways and the purpose of the line is to eliminate, through competition, the Sedta German Lines, which was one of the key lines in the German efforts to surround the Panama Canal-Caribbean area with German airlines.

In Quito a small weekly German newspaper called "Intereses Comerciales" is distributed throughout the country by the Sedta Airlines. Transocean has its own radio station in Quito, as in several other South American cities, and all German "news" is received, mimeographed and distributed by German nationals in Quito, who are compelled to contribute a certain amount of time to the work. Germans operate a school and a club in Quito and North Americans have recently established a school in the same city.

The Ecuadorean Government has requested an aviation commission from the U. S., but this has been held up due to their inability to pay what seemed to me like a small amount of money, toward the maintenance or salaries of the men who were to come down. It seems important that some basis be found in order that this mission may be sent as quickly as possible, even though Ecuador does not make good on the required financial arrangements.

Ecuador has also asked, on numerous occasions, for a financial adviser from the U. S., and this too is very important from our standpoint and should be acted upon.

#### PERU

There are indications that in Peru the Germans, Italians, and Japanese are cooperating in a common front in behalf of Naziism. Peru, for years a totalitarian country, has a large number of Germans, who are extremely active in local commerce and in local politics.

The Italians have a grip on banking and the financial side of Peru, and the Japanese have made great strides in their campaign to dominate the agricultural life of Peru. At least one of the great newspapers of Lima is sympathetic to the cause of the Axis and Germans have been able, through personal bribes, to get control of certain important newspapermen.

The situation in Peru seems to have improved with the appearance of certain U. S. missions, particularly the naval mission, and there are indications that the Italians have lost control of the Peruvian military aviation corps.

For many years the Italian missions to Peru have controlled the aviation corps, through a Peruvian commander-in-chief, whose sympathies were 100 per cent Italian. He has been replaced by an officer friendly to the U. S., and a U. S. Army Colonel seems to be the real chief of the corps.

The President of Peru appears to be definitely on the democratic side, although he was placed in power by Oscar Benavides, former dictator, and a dyed-in-the-wool totalitarian. Censorship of the press in Peru is probably tighter than in any country in South America with the exception of Brazil. In the days of Benavides no newspaper could publish a story that appeared to be unfavorable to a totalitarian government. With the change from Benavides to Prado in the Presidency, it would have seemed logical that this censorship would be relaxed. It has not been to any great extent, largely because of the

chief censor, Clement Araoz, seems to be definitely anti-North American and certainly pro-totalitarian. He is a carry-over from the Benavides government.

The people of Peru seem to favor democracy as against Naziism and Fascism, and there are indications that President Prado wants to establish himself as a liberal.

#### CHILE

Pro Nazi activities are better organized and more successful in Chile than in any other country in the southern part of South America. The country has hundreds of thousands of Germans, most of them second or third generation Chileans, but still Germans at heart. In addition to that, field men from Berlin have worked hard in Chile. They have organized secret bunds and they have made deep inroads into politics through the old established political parties.

One of the leaders in the pro-Nazi movement in Chile is the Hucke Chocolate Company. For years Hucke has been Chile's leading manufacturer of chocolates, crackers, biscuits, etc., and its organization is a powerful one throughout the country. Hucke owns and operates a radio station which is the main outlet for German propaganda. The Hucke organization makes no effort to hide its feelings and it has been able to influence a great many Chileans.

Germans, with funds collected from their nationals in Chile, have been able to buy radio time on such outstanding radio stations as Radio Vitalicia, both in Santiago and Valparaiso. German nationals in Chile contribute time and money to the campaign and all cooperate with the reception, translation, and distribution of Transocean News.

Pro-Nazi propagandists have been able to make the most of the failure of the Chilean Popular Front government. The Popular Front government, headed by President Aguirre Cerda, is definitely leftist and it has failed to make the most of its opportunities.

When it went into power, it had the support of the masses, and of almost all the Chileans, save for a comparatively small group of aristocrats. Its consistent failures swung its supporters toward the other side. The attitude of the people seems to be, "Give us anything but this."

Rightist leaders, most of them opportunists, have leaned sympathetically toward the pro-Nazi groups in the belief that such groups could and would aid them to regain the power in Chile. The name of Ibanez, once a Rightist dictator in Chile and now in exile in Argentina, is continually mentioned in connection with Nazi efforts in Chile.

To offset the Nazi propagandists, Americans living in Chile have organized a campaign of pro-North Americanism. Through voluntary contributions the members of the North American colony are buying time on Radio Vitalicia, which is one of the weapons used by German propagandists.

The North Americans have set up a sort of unofficial intelligence service to watch the Germans and try to counteract their activities. The wisdom of such a plan is still debatable. Certain people believe it unwise to condemn Germans for propaganda activities while engaging in the same activities in behalf of the U.S., which after all is just another foreign nation to the average Chilean. Still others believe that, as propagandists, North Americans are amateurs, compared with Germans, and that in any fight along those lines, the North Americans are bound to lose. When North Americans engage in propaganda campaigns and undercover activities, they give the Germans material for further anti-North American work.

#### ARGENTINA

the controversy over naval bases in Uruguay as the basis for a bitter anti-North American campaign. They have succeeded in convincing thousands of Argentines that it is just another indication of the revival of "Yankee Imperialism." On the other hand, most of the intelligent Argentines have been able to realize that the Germans are obviously looking for any excuse to damn North Americans and that there is nothing sincere about the German statements that Argentina is about to be swallowed up by the Octopus of the North. Argentina will always remain the great stumbling block for the U. S. in its efforts to bring about continental solidarity. There will be no great friendship between Argentina and the U. S. until the United States does something about improving

its trade relations with Argentina. Sending a hundred million dollar credit to Argentina won't buy the nation's friendship.

The U. S. must buy Argentine beef, even if only in small quantities, in order to give Argentina a chance to save face. For years Argentines have boasted that they would force the U. S. to buy its beef and they must win that fight, or Argentine-U. S. relations will never be satisfactory.

In Argentina, as in other countries, the Germans are buying time on radio stations and there have been some re-transmissions from Berlin. Germans control the newspaper "Pampero" and it is rabidly anti-North American. Its influence is small.

#### BRAZIL

Although Germans in Brazil are more numerous than in any other country of South America, the Brazilian people are not greatly impressed by the propaganda efforts of the Nazi forces and the Brazilians are definitely friendly to the U.S. Brazil has some two million Germans, including Brazilians of German blood, and the propagandists have been working hard. Great trade gains made by Germany in past years have suffered tremendously through the recent trade efforts in the U.S.

Recent acts on the high seas by the British have created a bitter anti-British feeling in Brazil and this feeling appears to be a serious threat to British interests, which are many, in Brazil. The United States has not suffered in this controversy because it has kept its hands off the matter.

As far as the German Nazi threat in Brazil is concerned, there is a general feeling among Brazilians and North Am-ericans residing in Brazil that the Brazilians themselves are capable of meeting any such threats. Meanwhile, Germany goes on, apparently trying to get control through Brazilian politicians. President Vargas appears to be straddling the fence politically, with a view of holding the friendship of Germany as well as the United States. We were told, for what it is worth, that there is a feeling in certain reliable quarters in Brazil that Vargas is not pleased with all the North American honors bestowed upon Foreign Minister Aranha. The President feels that he himself has been shunted aside by the U. S. in its efforts to maintain the friendship of Aranha.

One of the most powerful influences in Brazil is Lourival Fontes, Director General of the Department of Press and Propaganda. It would be well for the U. S. to win his friendship. He seems to be eager to make a visit to the U. S. and an arrangement of this kind would prove to be very worthwhile.

#### CUBA

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Cuba seems in safe hands with Batista in the Presidency, and the fact that about 90 per cent of the Cubans are pro-United States. There appears to be no serious German, Italian, or Japanese threat in Cuba, but the Spanish Falangistas are strong.

They dream of the day when Spain, through some sort of deal with the Axis, will get Cuba back as a colony. Such dreams are absurd because Cubans are a patriotic people and they love their independence more than they love their own lives. Batista hates the Spanish Falangistas. Their activities are under observation at all times by members of the Cuban Army Intelligence unit.

The recent United States reaction to Cuba's request for a \$50,000,000. loan has been far from helpful. Obstacles have been put in the way and at this moment the thing seems doomed. The Cuban in the streets asks why the United States finds it easy to grant huge loans to certain South American countries whose loyalty to the United States is doubtful, and cannot find a way to grant a loan to a country that has always been loyal to the United States.

#### Supplementary Report Covering Countries Not Visited

Information through conversations with qualified observers who have been in these countries recently

#### VENEZUELA

Germany's pro-Nazi, anti-North American campaign in Venezuela undoubtedly has had some success, much more than in some of the other countries in Latin America.

Venezuela, which lives on its oil exports, has been made to believe that if it doesn't sympathize with Germany now, it will never sell another barrel of oil after Germany wins the war. The Germans have worked hard in an effort to win over Venezuelan newspapermen, using bribes or subsidies in the campaign. Newspapermen who a few years ago were definitely on the democratic side are now saying they are not so sure about democracy as a cure for all ills. German victories in Europe have impressed them - and so has Nazi money.

Venezuela is one of the few countries in Latin America where the people seem to be swinging toward Naziism. There are thousands of Germans in Venezuela and they are the fanatical type. They control much of the retail business in Venezuela and they are close to the politicians.

#### DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Here again the Germans have been working on the press.

Newspapermen who are democratic at heart say confidentially that they are under constant pressure from their superiors for a better press for the German and Nazi cause. These men say the attitude of their superiors is understandable because the newspapers are faced with the loss of heavy advertising revenues from Germans unless they cooperate.

Anyone who knoes Trujullo well knows that everything that has been done in Europe meets with his own ideas of how to run a world. He tried the same thing on a smaller scale a few years ago when he ordered the murder of thousands of Haitians, whose only crime was their nationality. Trujillo is one of the most brutal rulers in the world, and he is thoroughly unreliable. He and his agreements have about the same value as Germany's accords with many of the small European countries. Trujillo knows only one language — brutality.

#### CENTRAL AMERICA

The German Minister in Guatemala continues to run
the show in Central America. He is one of the most active Nazi
agents in Latin America, and one of the most dangerous. He enjoys
protection in Guatemala, where Ubico remains as one of Latin
America's real dictators. He has done a great deal of work in a
fight to win the press of Central America to the Nazi cause and
he has been one of the most prolific pamphleteers in Latin America.
These pamphlets are distributed by air mail all over Central America,
as are news releases and other propaganda. Some radio stations in
Central America have been using German propaganda. Some of it has
been out-and-out bought time and some of it has been propaganda.

Fortunately, the peoples of all the Central American countries are very pro-democracy in their personal feelings.

PSF. South america
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 9, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR THE

SECRETARY OF STATE:

Private and Confidential

Please let no one see this. Please talk to me about it, at your leisure.

F.D.R.

## EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OFFICE OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS

WASHINGTON D. C.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

January 8, 1941

#### MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT:

Excerpts from a confidential letter from a mutual friend who has exceptional connections in South America:

"Latin America does not believe in the United States as a military and naval power; it does not believe that we are a force minded people; it does not believe in democracy or the ability and power of a democracy to organize itself quickly and effectively on a war basis — so they very frankly do not believe that in a pinch we could ever do a really effective job in looking after them. That goes emphatically for the army and, in part, the navy people of Brazil, Argentina and Chile—and if Brazil, Argentina and Chile go Nazi or Axis, all of South America is kerput."

"The people of most of these S. A. nations are democratically inclined—the people, God bless them, generally are—most of the editors are because they know a newspaper cannot hope to thrive under a dictatorship, but the power boys in the army, navy and the political cabal, are pro Hitler because under Hitler the army, navy and the big muscle men get the money"

"My advices are that Brazil will go Hitler within two weeks if Britain falls and that the Argentine and Chile will tumble after and that Hitler will be able to secure landing bases in Brazil as fast as he wishes to send his planes over—and it's about five hours from the head waters of the Amazon to Panama. Vargas is pro Hitler. His chief censor Mueller is so pro German that he makes no real effort to conceal it and he so controls the press right now that he not only prevents the people of Brazil from knowing the facts of the situation but he prevents Vargas from knowing anything that he does not want him to know. Aranha, who is presumed to be a friend of the U.S., in my opinion is a three card monte Brazillian diplomat and his only interest in the U.S. is to kid us out of as many loans as he can get; plus utilizing us to his own passing advantage. He would not stand out for the U.S. in a show down with the Hitler crowd for five seconds—not if he could duck quicker."

"In the Argentine and Chile the army clique is the depository of power and they are for the despots because under their regime the army gets the money and get the power. Nowadays, regardless of the state of the popular mind, you cannot pull off an old fashioned revolt against selfish power, because the experts have the tanks and the air craft. So nations go the way the armies want to go. And despite

Memorandum to the President - 2 - January 8, 1941

visiting delegations of generals, the army, especially the old and more powerful officers who are getting tired of service and want some of the flesh pots, are ready to go overboard in a minute if Hitler shows up."

"I know that picture is not exactly the State Department picture but I have known about the State Department's pictures in the past, too. Our boys, as a rule, know the better key holes."

Lowell Mellett

### THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

January 9, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR THE

SECRETARY OF STATE:

## Private and Confidential

Please let no one see this.

Please talk to me about it, at your leisure.

#### F.D.R.

Memo to the Pres. from Lowell Mellett dated 1/8/41 outlining excerpts from a confidential letter from a mutual friend who has exceptional connections in South America. Expresses belief that Brazil would go Hitler within two weeks if Britain falls and that Argentine and Chile would tumble after. Says Latin America does not believe in the U.S. as a military and naval power; it does not believe that U.S. is a force-minded people.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER DIRECTOR PSF: South america of Entral

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Feveral Bureau of Investigation United States Department of Instice Washington, D. C.

January 31, 1941

Personal and Sorveils conjugated

Major General Edwin M. Watson Secretary to the President The White House Washington, D. C.

Dear General:

I am transmitting herewith a map which I thought would be of interest to the President and you. It, of course, is a very confidential map in that it indicates the coverage which this Bureau has established in Mexico, Central America, South America, and the Caribbean for intelligence purposes. These contacts include not only our regular Special Agents assigned in this area, but FBI Special Employees; FBI Informants; and FBI Contacts, such as business concerns, et cetera. Through this coverage we are able to obtain important and confidential information pertaining to the political, economic, financial and subversive conditions in these various areas.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Inclosure

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#### THE WHITE HOUSE

June 7, 1944

THE HONORABLE

JOSE ALBERTAZZI AVENDANO,

PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS,

SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA.

Please convey to the Costa Rican Congress my
thanks for its message of encouragement and support
sent in connection with the initiation of military
operations for the liberation of Europe. Though the
campaign may be difficult I have faith in the victory
of the United Nations.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

PSF South & Central America

#### COPY FOR WHITE HOUSE

## THE WHITE HOUSE

June 7, 1944

HIS EXCELLENCY

TIBURCIO CARIAS A.,

PRESIDENT OF HONDURAS,
TEGUCIGALPA, HONDURAS.

I am happy to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram expressing the fervent hopes and prayers of the Honduran nation that victory will crown the attack of the United Mations upon the fortress of Europe. The battle will be hard but I am confident the outcome will be a triumph for the forces of liberation.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSLYELT

# COVERAGE BY THE SPECIAL INTELLIGENCE SECTION OF THE FBI IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

