

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT'S
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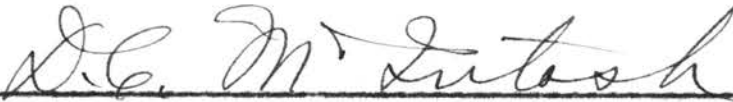
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PREFACE

Franklin D. Roosevelt on becoming President of the United States on March, 1933, proclaimed a new Inter-American policy, that of the "good neighbor", to the world. An effort has been made to portray the outstanding results of this policy. In order to appreciate the accomplishments of this policy, a brief background consisting of the important contributions, which were made during the time Herbert Hoover was President of the United States, paying special attention to the work of the Washington Conference of 1929 and the Montevideo Conference of 1933, as related to the policy of the "good neighbor", are reviewed.

The work, of the Inter-American Conference for the maintenance of Peace, which convened at Buenos Aires on December 1, 1936, has been briefly reviewed, giving the accomplishments of the Conference. Further, the "fruits" of the "good neighbor" policy, as evidenced by the improved inter-American relationships, political and commercial, (bearing in mind that the task has not been completed) have been set forth.

Grateful acknowledgment is made for the kind counsel and guidance of Dr. T. H. Reynolds, Head of the History Department, and other members of the Department of History.

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Byron Dacus

Stillwater, Oklahoma

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FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT'S "GOOD NEIGHBOR" POLICY

A definite change in Latin America policy appeared under the Hoover Administration. Although, according to some observers, the vigorous disagreements over the intervention at the Havana Conference further weakened Pan-Americanism, a number of events occurred after 1928 which seemed to lessen the discord between the United States and its neighbors to the South. In the first place, a number of concrete disputes between the United States and Latin American States were settled. After supervising the elections in Nicaragua in 1928 and 1932, the United States withdrew all of its marines from that country in January, 1933, thereby terminating an intervention which had lasted continuously, except for a short period, for twenty-one years.¹ As a result of two agreements concluded in 1931 and 1933 the United States surrendered its administrative control over Haitian government, except with regard to finances, and agreed to withdraw from that country within one year. Secretary Stimson also revised the "constitutional" doctrines of President Wilson by promptly recognizing the revolutionary governments which arose in South America, Panama, and the Carribean. The only exception to this rule was in Central America, where the United States was committed to a non-recognition policy by virtue of a treaty with Central America.

¹

1912.

Another indication of a new attitude came when the United States acquiesced in the action of the Dominican government in suspending sinking-fund payments on its foreign debt, despite the fact that such action violated a treaty that was in force. Finally, the State Department declined to exercise its right to establish a customs receivership in Salvador when that government went into default (in February, 1932). In general, the United States made no move to intervene for the collection of defaulted debts in many Latin-American countries. Furthermore the United States tried to remove the fear that it claimed the right to dictate peace in the Western Hemisphere by agreeing to the establishment of Pan-American peace machinery, and by acquiescing in the intervention of the League in American disputes.²

Further evidence which indicated that under President Hoover's administration the policy toward Latin America began to move in a new orbit,³ was the 1929 Arbitration Conference.

A Pan-American Arbitration Conference was held at Washington, at which compulsory Arbitration and Conciliation treaties were signed, covering every type of dispute. The Conciliation treaty supplemented the Gondra Conciliation Convention of 1923. The Gondra Treaty had provided

² Foreign Policy Reports, (New York, March, 1933, Feb., 1934), vol. ix, p. 219.

³ John Holladay Latane, American Foreign Policy, (New York, 1934), p. 672.

for submission of all controversies not otherwise peacefully settled, to a commission for investigation and report, with the exception of disputes involving constitutional questions of arbitration and questions already settled by other treaties. The three senior diplomatic officers accredited by American states to Washington and Montevideo were designated as members of two permanent Committees, whose sole function was to aid in organizing Commissions of Inquiry whenever requested by one or more parties to the Treaty. Each party would then appoint two members to the Commission, and the four members thus chosen would then select a president from a neutral state.

According to the opinion of the delegates at the Washington Conference, the greatest weakness of the Gondra Treaty was that the two diplomatic Committees were not given power to use their good offices in settling a dispute between states whose relations had been so strained that the establishment of the Commission of Inquiry might be impossible. To correct this defect, the Convention adopted, on January 5, 1929, at Washington provided that the diplomatic Committees at Washington and Montevideo should be "bound to exercise conciliatory functions, either on their own motion when it appears that there is a prospect of disturbance of peaceful relations or at the request of a party to the dispute", until the ad hoc Commission was established.⁴ The

⁴ The Pan-American Union Bulletin (Washington, 1929), vol. LIII, pp. 118-119.

Conciliation Convention provided for the conciliation of all disputes without reservation. It allowed the investigating authorities one year in which to make their investigation, while it granted the parties an additional six months to pass on the bases of settlement. If no settlement was arrived at by the end of this period, the parties would recover their freedom of action.

The Washington Conference also concluded a convention which provided for Compulsory Arbitration of juridical questions, including interpretations of a treaty, any question of international law, the existence of any fact which if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation. The list of disputes which must be arbitrated in this convention was the same as that contained in the Optional Clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. In contrast to this clause which gave the Court power to decide whether a given dispute falls within the list of controversies which must be arbitrated, the inter-American Arbitration Convention apparently left the decision of this important question to each state. The Senate approved the Arbitration treaty on January 19, 1932, subject to the reservation, among others, that the treaty should not be applicable to disputes arising out of previously negotiated treaties by which the United States controlled numerous governments in the Caribbean. Apparently because it

believed this reservation nullified the obligatory arbitration provisions of the agreement, the State Department had not proceeded to ratify the arbitration treaty,⁵ (but it did in 1935). Moreover, during the last year the United States cooperated with the League of Nations, securing a provisional settlement of the disputes between Peru and Columbia over Leticia, and thus removed the fear that it would oppose the functioning of the League in the Western Hemisphere.

During Hoover's Administration the United States attempted to reinterpret the Monroe Doctrine. The State Department published a memorandum, written by J. Reuben Clark when under-Secretary of State, which rejected the T. Roosevelt Corollary of the Doctrine under which the United States had claimed the right to police the Caribbean.⁶ This memorandum was not officially endorsed by the Hoover Administration, it declared, "that intervention might be justified by necessities for self-defense". Latin American governments, therefore, continued to have misgivings about the Monroe Doctrine and the interventionist policy of the United States. Both Mexico, and Argentina, on joining the League of Nations (in 1931 and 1933) made reservations declining

⁵ Ibid., p. 220.

⁶ United States Department of State, Memorandum of the Monroe Doctrine (Washington, 1930); See also S. F. Bemis, A Diplomatic History of the United States (N. Y., 1936); Dr. T. H. Reynolds, The Economic Aspects of the Monroe Doctrine, Peabody College (Tenn., 1934)

to recognize the Monroe Doctrine under Article XXI of the covenant. Nevertheless, it seemed clear that the Hoover Administration was moving in the direction of non-intervention or internationally controlled intervention. That these developments did not bring a greater improvement in inter-American relations was due to unwise loans made by American bankers to Latin American dictators, partly; to the failure of the United States to correct the excesses of the Machado regime in Cuba, where the United States had certain responsibilities under the Platt Amendment; and to the tariff policy of the United States, which aroused widespread complaints especially its treatment of Argentine products and Cuban sugar.⁷ However, in Secretary Stimson's opinion, these developments and efforts of the Hoover Administration made his Latin American policy:

So clear in its implications of justice and goodwill, in its avoidance of anything which could be misconstrued into a policy of forceful intervention or desire for exploitation of these republics and their citizens, as to reassure the most timid or suspicious among men.

II.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, upon taking office, in 1933, hit upon the happy phrase "The Good Neighbor" to characterize his foreign policy. He declared in his inaugural address, "I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor - the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others - the

⁷ Ibid., p. 220.

neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors".⁸

For Latin America these words constituted an important pledge to relieve conditions regarded in that region as unjust and inequitable. A review of the events that have taken place since President Roosevelt was inaugurated, which revealed his policy toward Latin America, follows:

The good neighbor policy greeted at first as a mere phrase, bore rich and friendly fruit at the Seventh Inter-American Conference at Montevideo on December 3, 1933. The old feelings of suspicion and resentment vanished before the proven sincerity of the Good Neighbor of the North. The delegates, at this Conference proceeded to the signature of a number of treaties which marked the greatest advance in Pan-Americanism particularly in regard to the organization of peace, in the preservation of which the Nations of the New World had a common vital interest. The delegates assembled at this Conference listened with great satisfaction to Secretary Hull's statement that, "no government need fear any intervention on the part of the United States under the Roosevelt Administration".⁹

The policy of the "good neighbor" as President Roosevelt had defined the phrase, Secretary Hull declared, "means respect for one's own rights, as well as the rights of others", and the corollary to this philosophy is "the absolute equality, and political integrity of each nation,

⁸ Foreign Policy Reports, Vol. X, p. 270.; see also S. F. Bemis, A Diplomatic History of the United States, pp. 768-769.

⁹ Department of State, Press Release, December 20, 1933.

large, or small...",¹⁰ at no previous conference did a better spirit prevail. The usual attitude of the United States of sitting on the lid and preventing free discussion of policies was absent at this conference, and when the meeting adjourned our Latin-American neighbors were convinced that the "New Deal" of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Administration had for one of its objectives a new policy toward Latin America.

The idea expressed by Secretary Hull at the Seventh Pan-American Conference was made even clearer by President Roosevelt in a speech before the Woodrow Wilson Foundation on December 28, 1933, when he declared.:

"The definite policy of the United States from now on is one opposed to armed intervention.

The maintenance of constitutional government in other nations is not a sacred obligation developing upon the United States alone. The maintenance of law and the orderly processes of government in this hemisphere is the concern of each individual nation within its own borders first of all. It is only if and when the failure of orderly processes affects the other nations of the continent that it becomes their concern; and the point to stress is that in such an event it becomes the joint concern of a whole continent in which we are all neighbors".¹¹

Students of international affairs viewed President Roosevelt's declaration as discarding the unilateral method which the United States has used in the past to enforce the Monroe Doctrine. While the United States still reserved the right to protect the American hemisphere against external

¹⁰ Department of State, Press Release, December 15, 1934; see also J. H. Latane, American Foreign Policy, Revised. N. Y., p. 675.

¹¹ Department of State, Press Release, Publication No. 541, p. 381.

aggression, his statement was interpreted as safeguarding Latin America against the United States, thus the Theodore Roosevelt corollary to the Monroe Doctrine by which the United States claimed the right to intervention when the failure of orderly processes of government affected the other nations of the American continent.¹²

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, writing as a private citizen declared:

"The time has come when we must accept not only certain facts but many principles of a higher law, a newer and better standard in international relations. We are exceedingly jealous of our sovereignty and it is only right that we should respect similar feeling among other nations. The peoples of other Republics of this Western World are just as patriotic, just as proud of their sovereignty --- Neither from the argument of financial gain, nor from the sounder reasoning of the Golden Rule, can our policy or lack of policy, be approved. The time is ripe to start another chapter."¹³

The Seventh Pan-American Conference adopted no less than 114 resolves and recommendations for the furtherance of worthy projects of inter-American life, enterprises of social, economic, and cultural value, which vastly extended the ancillary functions already increasingly developed through Pan-American channels. The Conference dealt in detail with the following questions:

- (1) Organization of peace,
- (2) Problems of international law,

¹² Foreign Policy Reports, November 1, 1936, p. 210.

¹³ Foreign Affairs, July, 1928.

- (3) Political and civil rights of women,
- (4) Economic and financial problems,
- (5) Social problems,
- (6) Intellectual cooperation,
- (7) Transportation,
- (8) International conferences of American states.¹⁴

All of these subjects received thoughtful and constructive consideration during the conference. Dr. Carlos Saavedra Lamos in the closing address of the Conference on December 26, 1933, summed up the accomplishments of the Conference in these words:

"The constructive work of a juridical nature is not to be despised and I would not well express the feeling of this Assembly, nor sum up its deliberations, if, I allowed myself to be influenced exclusively by the consideration of this greivous fact which discourages and dominates us. No, Messrs. Delegates! Let us revise the pacific instrumentalities that we have created, let us have faith that with these pacific instrumentalities we avoid war another time. And if is in this sense that the works of our Conference makes a very great endeavor....

A noble attitude which elevates those who have assumed it, which unites the delegates, and which it is my duty to point out, in order that you may not forget it when you set out on your return to your respective countries, that which relates to non-intervention which was approved by vote the other day, in view of the struggles and conflicts between the great and small nations. Non-intervention! It is in this way that we have eliminated warfare in the fields of national relations, through elementary logic of conduct. Let us exclude the use of force in Pan-American relations between the great powers and the small states, which are not small because all are equal with respect to their juridical attributions....

But there is something in this Conference, Messrs.

¹⁴ Reports of the Delegates of the United States of America to the Seventh International Conference of American States, (Washington, D. C., 1934), p. 1.

Delegates, of great significance that must also be pointed out in detail. We have incorporated for the first time the economic content of Pan-Americanism. We have for the first time discussed commercial and customs policy.

I mean we have felt an irresistible moment of solidarity, which unites us and which obliges us to proceed directly on the path of cooperation, and this, Messrs. Delegates, represents a great prospect for the future. And in this also we must see that we proceed to study directly not merely the surface but the cause or problems; let us study the cause of problems, so that shall and weak countries on account of economic sufficiency shall not suffer the anomaly of autonomy in public law and oppression in the field of economic reality. It may increase their population, invigorate their internal life, develop their activities, and America may present the great and splendid picture of strong nations marching hand in hand, lofty and worthy, allow the same level in the paths of history.

We are advancing, Messrs. Delegates, and I believe that the representatives of this Assembly, who have come from far countries, some with great sacrifice from the very extreme limits of the Continent, may return satisfied and tranquil because they are leaving behind a work which is progressing, a tendency toward the development of a fundamental policy which is suitable for them."¹⁵

Since many of these projects required negotiation of treaties and conventions, and subsequent ratification, or at least a community of uniform national legislation, that part of the work of the Conference was a program and a tribute rather than an accomplishment the resolve to remove trade barriers, including high tariff walls, was very important. In addition to treaties defining the nationality of women, the requirements for naturalization in general, political asylum, the teaching of history, treaties governing these issues had a long road to approval by enough countries

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Ibid., pp. 127-129.

to make them effective, the Conference adopted an additional protocol to the general convention of Inter-American Conciliation and a Convention henceforth to define the rights and duties of states, which had been drawn up by a special Commission of American jurists appointed after the Sixth (Havana) Inter-American Conference. It was the last named Convention which was of great importance as a foundation for the New Pan American policy of the United States and the Pan American structure of peace. It was ratified by the United States on June 29, 1934. It definitely defined and fixed our attitude on intervention in Latin America. The roll call of ratification of these treaties, as well as the new ones of the Montevideo Conference, which were ratified by the United States are still incomplete.

The Pan-American policy of the United States finally had been brought into line with the real tendencies of Pan-Americanism. It was indeed a fine example and portrays the true ideal of the United States. It might not be easy to live up to in a crisis. In pledging itself against resort to war as an instrument of national policy and against intervention in the internal or external affairs of any other state, the United States had not been influenced by the existence of \$1,188,665,400 of South American dollar bonds defaulted as to interest, out of a total of

\$1,564,116,860 borrowed in the United States.¹⁶

Further the past four years saw a far-reaching and decidedly healthy change in the whole nature of the Inter-American policy of the United States. The new policy of the "good neighbor" was based upon the belief of the United States Government that there should exist an inter-American political relationship based on a recognition of actual and not theoretical equality between the American republics; on a complete forbearance from interference by any one republic in the domestic concerns of any other; on economic cooperation; and, finally, on the common realization that in the world at large all of the American Republics confronted the same international problems, and that in their relations with Non-American powers, the welfare and security of anyone of them could not be a matter of indifference to the others.

Sumner Welles, Assistant Secretary of State, in pointing out the significant achievements under the "good neighbor" policy during the first three years, gave the following practical accomplishments:

" (1) The formal declaration by the President of the United States that armed intervention by the United States in any other American republic was a thing of the past, and the adherence by the United States Government to the Convention on the Rights and Duties of States formulated at

16 Pan-American Union Bulletin, (Washington, 1935), vol. 69.

the Inter-American Conference at Montevideo in 1933, which contains the provisions that no state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another.

(2) The abolition of the Platt Amendment in our treaty with Cuba so that our contractual rights of intervention in that Republic have been abolished.

(3) The effective economic cooperation which we have been enabled to offer the Cuban Government and people at a time when our previous tariff policy had driven the Republic of Cuba to the brink of ruin and chaos, and which cooperation has resulted in the economic and social rehabilitation of Cuba.

(4) The complete evacuation from Haiti of the American military forces which had been in occupation of that Republic since 1915.

(5) Our negotiation with Panama, now concluding, whereby I believe all of those questions which have created friction and misunderstanding between our two peoples will receive a settlement fair and equitable to the vital interest of both nations.

(6) Our cooperation with other American Governments in furthering a pacific solution of the tragic war of the Chaco, which had continued for many years. This joint meditation has resulted only a short time ago in the signing of agreements between Bolivia and Paraguay which provide for a cessation of the state of belligerency existing between them, and paved the way for permanent peace.

(7) The program proposed by the Secretary of State at the Inter-American Conference at Montevideo providing for a return to sound principle of international trade, emphasizing the decided value of the most-favored-nation policy and the need to work toward lower tariffs and toward the elimination of artificial restrictions upon trade, which program was adopted unanimously by all the American Republics.

(8) Finally, the realization by our neighbors of this continent that of "dollar diplomacy", with all of its many vicious implications, is a thing of the past."

Further the Trade Agreements Act of June 12, 1934, had resulted in bringing about a sound commercial relationship to the neighbor to the south, which was reflected in our trade balance sheet which showed substantial gains both in

exports and imports.¹⁷

III.

At the same time the foregoing events were taking place the world horizon was darkening. Clouds of new hatreds and new dogmas were arising overseas. Many nations seemed bent on policies of rearmaments, economic nationalism, and militaristic expansion which was a threat to the whole structure of world peace. Confidence was everywhere undermined.

As a result of this condition President Franklin D. Roosevelt decided to take the lead in suggesting the holding of an Inter-American Conference for the maintenance of Peace upon the American continent, so on January 30, 1936, he addressed a personal letter to the Presidents of the other American Republics, calling attention to the successful negotiation of the Governments of Bolivia and Paraguay of the protocol providing for the peaceful solution of the controversy which had arisen between them. President Roosevelt in these communications to the other American Presidents wrote:

"I cherish the sincere conviction that the moment has now arrived when the American Republics, through their designated representatives seated at a common council table, should seize this altogether favorable opportunity to consider their joint responsibility and their common need of rendering less likely in the future the outbreak or the continuation of hostilities between them, and by so doing, serve in an eminently practical manner the cause of permanent peace on this western

¹⁷ Department of State, Commercial Policy Series, No. 22, (Washington, 1936), pp. 2-3-7-8.; see also Foreign Policy Reports, November 1, 1936, p. 210.

Continent. If the tragedy of the Chaco can be considered as having served any useful end, I believe such end will lie in our joint willingness to profit from the experience learned and to exert our common endeavors in guarding against the repetition of such American disasters.

It has seemed to me that the American Governments might for these reasons view favorably the suggestion that an extraordinary Inter-American Conference be summoned to assemble at an early date, Buenos Aires, should the Government of the Argentine Republic so desire, or, if not at some other capital of this continent, to determine how the maintenance of peace among the American Republics may best be safeguarded. Whether, perhaps, through the prompt ratification of all of the Inter-American peace instruments already negotiated; whether through the amendment of existing peace instruments in such manner as experience has demonstrated to be most necessary; or perhaps through the creation by common accord of new instruments of peace additional to those already formulated.

These steps, furthermore, would advance the cause of world peace, inasmuch as the agreements which might be reached would supplement and reinforce the efforts of the League of Nations and of all other existing or future peace agencies in seeking to prevent war."¹⁸

The President in his plan did not desire or envisage a plan to align the American Nation against the remainder of mankind. His plan embodied no doctrine of narrow isolation. He did suggest friendly and practical cooperation between the American Nations to make their hemisphere safe for peace, and by doing so to advance the cause of peace throughout the world. The position taken by President Roosevelt received the immediate and unanimous support of all of the Presidents of the two Americas. By common agreement, the great capital of the Argentine Republic was selected as a meeting place for

¹⁸ Foreign Affairs, Vol. 15, 1937, pp. 445-446.; see also P. J. O'Brein, Forward with Roosevelt, first edition, (Chicago, 1936), p. 238.

the Conference, and invitations were extended by the President of Argentina.

Extensive preparatory work was done in preparation for the Inter-American Conference for the maintenance of peace, held at Buenos Aires. There was a thorough understanding on the part of the twenty one participating governments as to the objectives to be attained, as well as a very clear understanding on their part as to the methods through which attainment must be sought.

The Agenda for the Conference was prepared in a spirit of complete democracy. A special committee was created made up of representatives of all the American Republics. To that committee each government indicated the topic or topics which it wished to see included in the Agenda. Such program, based upon the principle of complete agreement, in harmony with former precedents for Inter-American Conferences, was then submitted to the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union and was given formal approval by all of the Governments concerned. The date for the opening session was fixed for December 1, 1936.¹⁹

During the following months, the majority of the American Governments undertook informally to consult the other participating governments as to certain specific subjects for conventions or resolutions, based upon the subjects included in the Agenda, which they desired to submit for

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 446.

the approval of the Conference. These discussions were very valuable in securing the views and reactions of the respective governments, and helped materially in preparing the way for expeditions constructive and conciliatory debates when the Conference actually assembled.

A few weeks after his re-election, a war-weary world saw President Roosevelt board a United States Navy Cruiser and sail southward across the Equator to Buenos Aires to attend the Inter-American Conference for the maintenance of Peace.

It was a mission of even greater ramifications as far as the United States was concerned than the journey of President Woodrow Wilson to France for the signing of the peace pact after the World War. The people of our sister republics to the south, turned Roosevelt's visit into a triumphal tour unlike anything the world had seen, and at the same time it removed the doubts of the nations under the Southern Cross on the question of entering a neutrality pact with the United States.

The history of the pact showed that the United States had been lukewarm toward the 70,000,000 people in Latin America. The United States, however, realized that, with the post-war machinery wrecked, the League of Nations a failure, the Kellogg Pact of no value, and the Nine Power Treaty only a scrap of paper, something had to be done.

The President's South American trip, therefore, was the desire to forge strong political and economic links between this country and those countries of Central and South America. The President's speech at the Peace Conference in Buenos Aires urged the Nations of the New World to help avert another World War. On December 1, 1936, he said in part:

"We are about to gather in a great American Conference, called by President Justo in furtherance of the good neighbor policy in which we all share. In this Conference we have the opportunity to meet what is a heavy responsibility. This is no time to hesitate.

We must be guided by a serene and generous view of our common needs. World horizons may be dark, but the time is auspicious for our task in America. The rest of the world presents a grim picture of armed camps and threats of conflict. But in our own continent armed clashes, which in recent years have divided American countries, have been happily brought to an end.

It is gratifying to be able to pay well-deserved tribute to the very outstanding part played by your able and distinguished Foreign Minister, Macedo Soares, in the mediatory efforts of the representatives of six American Republics. And the Leticia question was settled here in Rio through the patient assistance and masterly diplomacy of Doctor Afranio Mello Franco. The program we have made must not be allowed to serve as a pretext for resting on our laurels; it should, on the contrary, stimulate us to new and increased efforts.

It is not enough that peace prevails from the Arctic to the Antarctic, from the Atlantic to the Pacific; it is essential that this condition be made permanent, that we provide effectively against the occurrence of the horrors of war and assure peace to ourselves and our posterity. All instrumentalities for the maintenance of peace must be consolidated and reinforced."²⁰

²⁰ P. J. O'Brien, Forward With Roosevelt, pp. 252-253. Foreign Policy Bulletin, Vol. XVI, No. 7, December 11, 1936.

Among the most significant achievements of the Conference should be listed the "Declaration of Principles of Inter-American Solidarity and Cooperation" adopted by the Conference upon the initiative of the five Republics of Central America. The text of this Declaration was as follows:

"The Governments of the American Republics, having considered: that they have a common likeness in their democratic manifested in the several treaties and conventions which they have signed for the purpose of constituting a purely American system tending towards the preservation of peace, the proscription of war, the harmonious development of their commerce and of their political, economic, social, scientific, and artistic activities. That the existence of continental interests obliges them to maintain solidarity of principles as the basis of the life of the relations of each to every other American Nation; that Pan-Americanism, as a principle of American International Law, by which is understood a moral union of all the American Republics in defense of their common interests based upon the most perfect equality and reciprocal respect for their rights of autonomy, independence and free development requires the proclamation of principles of American International Law; and solidarity in all non-continental conflicts, especially since those limited to the American continent should find a peaceful solution by the means established by the treaties and conventions now in force or in the instruments hereafter to be executed. The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace Declares:

(1) That the American Nations, true to their republican institutions, proclaim their absolute juridical liberty, their unrestricted respect for their several sovereignty and the existence of a common democracy throughout America;

(2) That every act susceptible of disturbing the peace of America affects each and every one of them, and justifies the initiation of the procedure of consultation provided for in the Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation and Reestablishment of Peace, executed at this Conference; and

(3) That the following principles are accepted by the international American Community:

(a) Proscription of territorial conquest and that, in consequence, no acquisition made through violence shall be recognized;

(b) Intervention by one state in the internal or external affairs of another state is condemned;

(c) Forcible collection of pecuniary debts is illegal; and

(d) Any difference or dispute between the American Nations, whatever its nature or origin, shall be settled by the methods of conciliation or full arbitration or through operation of international justices." 21

The principles set forth in this document marked not only a new day in Inter-American relations, but perhaps a brighter day as well in the history of the world. When the twenty-one nations of the New World proclaimed "the existence of a common democracy throughout America"; and stated that every act susceptible of disturbing the peace of America affects the peace of each and every one of them" and justified consultation between them; and (in the third Article) proclaimed their faith in the most enlightened practice possible in dealings of one state with another-----. That declaration of policy not only gave assurance that the nations of the Western Hemisphere could maintain peace among themselves, but also held out hope to war-weary peoples in other parts of the world that right and justice and fair dealing and liberty still existed and had not yet vanished.

The Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation, and

Reestablishment of Peace, was adopted in the same spirit. It established in a contractual form the obligation on the part of the American Republics to consult together for the purpose of finding and adopting methods of peaceful cooperation in certain contingencies.²²

In harmony with the other conventions referred to was the "Convention to coordinate, Extend, and Assure the fulfillment of existing treaties between the American states; and each party to this new convention likewise agrees that when an emergency arises affecting the common interest in the maintenance of peace it will, through consultation and cooperation assist the other American Republics in fulfilling existing obligations for pacific settlement, recognizing at the same time the general right of each to individual liberty of action. If this fails, the parties are not to have recourse to military action for six months, further, if any American Republic then fails to settle their difficulty by pacific means other signatories agree to adopt the position of a neutral, prohibiting the sale or shipment of arms, munitions, and implements of war, loans, or other financial help to the states in conflict. In order to discourage or prevent the spread or prolongation of hostilities."²³

The Conference also reaffirmed the principle of non-intervention in the internal or external affairs of other states.

²²

Ibid., p. 448.

²³

Ibid., pp. 450-457.

Through a convention on the Pan-American Highway, sponsored by the Government of Mexico, steps were taken to promote the construction of this artery of communication between the American Republics.

The Conference likewise adopted two resolutions pledging the support of the American Republics to the principles of a liberal trade policy. They recommended the suppression of all discriminatory practices in their commercial policy, including those arising in connection with imports, license systems, exchange control, and bilateral clearing and compensation agreements, and urged the other countries of the world to join with them in removing those artificial barriers to trade which today exist and which have done and are doing so much to threaten the maintenance of peace.

Finally, through a convention for the promotion of inter-American cultural relations, proposed by the delegation of the United States, each of the American Governments would award fellowships in some one of their universities or colleges to two graduate students or teachers from each other American country, and would receive an exchange professor from each of the other Republics to lecture and teach in appropriate institutions of learning.²⁴

Since Franklin D. Roosevelt on becoming President on March 4, 1933, at which time he proclaimed the new policy

²⁴ David Hopper, Buenos Aires Pacts, Foreign Policy Bulletin, Vol. XVI, No. 9, December 25, 1936.

of the "good neighbor", there had been a far-reaching and decidedly healthy change in the whole nature of the Inter-American policy of the United States, notwithstanding the fact that the road to be traveled was a long one before the American Republics achieved the goal that had been set in the "good neighbor" policy, and that there were many problems yet to be solved and many steps yet to be taken. However, on briefly reviewing the accomplishments, of the past three years, which were the direct result of the "good neighbor" policy, and that there were many problems yet to be solved and many steps yet to be taken. However, on briefly reviewing the accomplishments, of the past three years, which were the direct result of the "good neighbor" policy,²⁵ viz., (1) the formal declaration of the President on armed intervention. (2) The abolition of the Platt Amendment in the treaty with Cuba. (3) An effective economic policy toward Cuba - mutual in results. (4) The complete evacuation from Haiti. (5) The negotiations with Panama. (6) The cooperation of the United States with other American governments in bringing about a pacific solution to the tragic war of the Chaco. (7) The program proposed by the Secretary of State at the Inter-American Conference at Montevideo providing for a return to sound principles of international trade, such program was adopted unanimously by all of the American Republics. (8) Last but

²⁵ Congressional Record, 75th Congress, 1st session, 1937, pp. 88-89.

not least, the passing of "dollar diplomacy" and a realization by Latin America of that fact.²⁶

One cannot but view the future with great hope, however as President Roosevelt has said:

"We have not completed our task. In accordance with the objective and the theory of democratic government that task is a continuing one...."²⁷

Further at the opening of Congress on January 6, 1937, President Roosevelt in his annual message on the state of the union, broadcasted nationally and internationally, the second time in history, that such a message was ever broadcasted, contrasted in eloquent terms the peaceful status and international goodwill of the democratic nations of the new world with the uncertain and dangerous international relationships of Europe, Asia, and Africa, beset by dictators and aggression.

"It was high time for democracy to assert itself."²⁸

Finally, in conclusion, a quotation used by Sumner Wells, Assistant Secretary of State, which was made by the Foreign Minister of Argentina, who had distinguished himself in that office, in an exclusive interview which Dr. Saavedra Lomas, the Foreign Minister, gave a good summary to our United Press on January 23. He said:

President Roosevelt's policy of the "good neighbor",

²⁶ Commercial Policy Series, No. 22, February 1936, pp. 2-3.

²⁷ O'Brien, Op. Cit., p. 258.

²⁸ Congressional Record, Op. Cit., p. 89.

the most wise, the most prudent, and the most sagacious that the great Republic of the North has ever followed, has assisted in converting the American Continent into one sole moral and spiritual state. This policy has gained the confidence of the American Republics. Pan-Americanism today is a bilateral link between the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin worlds. For the first time perhaps, there exists a current of community of ideas and sentiments flowing between Washington and Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Santiago, and Montevideo, without suspicions and without ill will. This birth of the United States, coherent and coordinated, not as a formal association, but as a definite entity of objectives, conscience, and tendencies, is called upon to influence the economic, international, and social destinies of the entire world. ²⁹

²⁹ Department of State, Commercial Policy Series, No. 22, pp. 9-10.

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