

RECENT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH ARGENTINA

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## PREFACE

The aim of this thesis is to present as clearly and comprehensively as possible the recent political and economic Relations between the United States and Argentina.

My treatment of this subject lays no claim to being exhaustive. There are gaps in this history which are not due to lack of information; but for the sake of brevity. To have treated this subject fully would have meant months of research resulting in a book of hundreds of pages.

Where factual material has been extensive, I have felt it necessary to select. Those selections included have been on the basis of the recency and verification of the data, and the exactness and thoroughness of the facts available.

Materials used in this study were obtained from the library of Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, the United States Department of State, and the Superintendent of Documents of the United States Government Printing Office in Washington.

B. J. M.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PTER		PAGE
I	HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ARGENTINE- AMERICAN RELATIONS .....	1
I	ARGENTINA AND THE UNITED STATES AS GOOD NEIGHBORS.....	12
I	TRADE RELATIONS.....	23
V	POLITICAL AND ECONOMICAL SOLIDARITY.....	39
V	CONCLUSION.....	60
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	62

## CHAPTER I

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ARGENTINE-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Now that the Old World is engaged in a "fight to the finish," there has arisen in the United States an increasing interest in the countries of South and Central America and "...the political and economic aspects of the European Wars as it affects the Western Hemisphere."<sup>1</sup> Pan-Americanism has suddenly become a subject of vital importance. Our natural outlet lies to the south in our sister continent, and it has become essential that the American way of life and democracy continue to exist there.

Among these Hispanic-American countries, Argentine occupies a dominant position. Second in land area only to Brazil<sup>2</sup> and first in economic advancement, she has always played a leading role in the continental affairs of South America. "Argentina has been called 'the United States of South America,' and it is more like the United States than any other South American country."<sup>3</sup> The climate is similar,

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<sup>1</sup> Reynolds, Thomas Harrison, ed., As Our Neighbors See Us; Readings in the Relations of the United States and Latin America 1820-1940 (Privately printed, 1940), p.v.

<sup>2</sup> According to the South American Handbook (Harpers, London, 1940) the total land area of Brazil is 3,275,510, sq. mi. while that of Argentina is 1,078,278, sq. mi.

<sup>3</sup> Carr, Katherine., South American Primer, New York, 1939, p. 35.

and the population, like ours, is composed of a mixture of European immigrants. Although the two countries have much in common, Argentina has maintained an antagonistic attitude in her relations with the United States. She has regarded our policy as imperialistic, and sees us as a rival in the leadership of Pan-American affairs.

Argentina was one of the first of the Spanish provinces to rebel against the tyranny and exploitation of the mother country. On May 25, 1810, a national assembly at Buenos Aires created the "Provisional Junta of the Provinces of La Plata" to supersede the vice-royalty.<sup>4</sup> Out of this movement and subsequent developments that augured of an independent status there eventually came a formal declaration of independence, on the 9th of July, 1816.

The first years of the new republic were marked by internal and external struggles. While the internal issues were far from those that are usually associated with a lawful constituted state the external ones involved Argentina in what for the time being appeared quite grave. Like a new convert to a new religious dogma she at once was ready, and indeed quite willing, to lend her efforts to her less fortunate ones who were in the pursuit of freedom and independence. To the attention of his people came the notice of the province lying

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<sup>4</sup> Moore, David R., A History of Latin America, New York, 1938, p.191.

the eastern shore of the La Plata River, and variously known as Banda Oriental, the province of Uruguay, or the province of Montevideo, which had been incorporated into the Portuguese kingdom of Brazil in 1820. In 1825, Argentina, anxious to aid Uruguay in an effort to regain independence, asked for a statement of United States policy concerning the dispute over the Banda Oriental. It appears that she was afraid that the Holy Alliance might intervene in behalf of Brazil even though the Monroe Doctrine covered the issue.<sup>5</sup> Since this Doctrine was still new and untried, the United States on this occasion "far from taking sides in the contest wisely maintained a strict neutrality."<sup>6</sup> President Monroe, however, had encouraged La Plata by a formal recognition of her independence late in 1824, and a few weeks later the British government did likewise.<sup>7</sup>

In 1828 Uruguay and Argentina forced Brazil to recognize the independence of Uruguay. Since Paraguay had withdrawn from the United Provinces in 1816, Argentina now set out on an independent course. But her struggles were not yet over. Civil wars, first of one variety then of another, continued to rage intermittently within her borders throughout the first

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Lockey, J. B., Pan-Americanism; Its Beginnings, New York, 1920, pp. 460-61.

Ibid., p. 461.

Moore, op. cit., p. 294.



the century, with only one exception-the regime of Rosas. Its roots lay in the perennial contest between the dominant political parties over control of the government. The "unitarios" resented Buenos Aires, and the "federalistas," the rest of the countryside. It, therefore, was essentially a struggle between the city and the "camp."<sup>8</sup>

In 1829 Juan Manuel Rosas accepted the presidency. Upon solving the problems that confronted him he resorted to plans both fair and foul to gain control of the government. With this accomplished he was the "autocrat" of the Southern Hemisphere until his expulsion in 1851. While he was to some extent the caliber of ruler that was needed ere long his name became notorious throughout America and Europe for his tyrannical rule. Although he was cruel and selfish, "he combined all the provinces into a new Argentinian confederacy."<sup>9</sup> His opposition to immigration and the investment of foreign capital hindered to some extent the development of foreign trade.<sup>10</sup>

Argentina, during the Age of Rosas, was constantly involved in foreign complications. During his first term of office, boats from the United States, while sailing off the east of the Falkland Islands, were seized by the natives.<sup>11</sup>

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Carr, op. cit., p.40

Moore, A History of Latin America, p. 314.

Ibid., pp. 314-315.

Ibid., p. 315.

is the version of the affair given by the Argentinian orian, Richardo Levene:

... in December, 1831, a North-American warship committed an outrage against their (Falkland Island) authorities, because of the watch they maintained along their coasts to prevent whale fishing. The minister of foreign relations of Buenos Aires demanded from the charge d' affaires of the United States satisfactory explanations for this insult; but that diplomatic agent did not give satisfaction and left Argentina.<sup>12</sup>

ddition to this "insult," Argentina felt that the United es should have applied the Monroe Doctrine policy to the ation, and prevented Britain from taking possession of islands.<sup>13</sup> Until this time Argentina, with the other anic-American republics, had used the United States as del democracy. This incident, however, caused a feeling ll-will - a feeling that the Doctrine was an instrument, for hemispheric defense, but for United States benefit. T. H. Reynolds says that this was one of the facts that led off the Hispanic-American faith in the Monroe Doctrine e.) the occupation by England of the Falkland Islands in l ..."<sup>14</sup>

During the year of 1846 other incidents occurred which led to Argentina's disillusionment. This was the blockade

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Levene, Ricardo., A History of Argentina, translated and edited by William Spence Robertson, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1937, p. 423.

While the dispute was still in progress, Great Britain took possession of the islands. She claimed them on two premises discovery and Spanish admission of her ownership. Argentina based her claim on the principle of occupation.

Reynolds, Thomas Harrison., Economic Aspects of the Monroe Doctrine, Nashville, n. 160

the Rio de la Plata by the French and British fleets. The United States in this instance limited herself "to the mere expression of its sympathy and moral support of its oppressed sister."<sup>15</sup> In the same year Paraguay issued a request for recognition, but, the President of the United States with all the information required for recognition, "postponed the resolution ... out of consideration to the Argentine republic."<sup>16</sup>

Apparently the ill will was somewhat over emphasized for strategic purposes for the constitution adopted in 1853 was profoundly influenced by the constitution of the United States .."<sup>17</sup> Even its principal city Buenos Aires was made a federal district and the capital of the republic like the district of Columbia and Washington, D. C. The Civil Wars were speedily brought to a close and the people of the country were given a new outlook on life. The reform program included modern agricultural policy. The ranges were fenced, and men could not only keep and breed their own cattle, but they could also safely cultivate fields of grain. Cattle raising became the dominant occupation, and Argentina soon became known as one of the principal granaries of the world.<sup>18</sup> During this

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<sup>5</sup> Reynolds, Thomas Harrison., As Our Neighbors See Us, p. 45

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 45-46.

<sup>7</sup> Rowe, Leo Stanton., The Federal System of the Argentine Republic, Washington, 1921, p. 33.

<sup>8</sup> Carr, South American Primer, p. 42.

ra of peace and prosperity, Argentina took a definite place in world commerce.

The consolidation of constitutional authority vested in the government, however, created from time to time a revolutionary spirit among the masses. In 1874, 1880, 1890, 1893 and 1905 violent revolutions took place.<sup>19</sup> These struggles were between the revolutionary spirit of the persons who did not exercise the franchise and the centralists who influenced the choice of the chief magistrate of the nation. These dissensions were not brought to end until the passage of the electoral measures as proposed by President Roque Saenz Pena in 1912, which symbolized the consolidation of democracy by freedom of suffrage.

In 1881, the United States, acting as mediator, prevailed upon Argentina and Chile to settle their boundary differences in a friendly manner. The negotiation proved highly successful when Argentina was given title to the controversial colony of Patagonia, while other territorial concessions were granted Chile.<sup>20</sup>

The value of foreign commerce began to increase during his period. Prior to 1890 the balance of trade had been

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<sup>9</sup> Levene, op. cit., p. 525.

<sup>0</sup> Chile received half of Tierra del Fuego, adjacent islands, ~~therefo~~, and the shores of the Straits of Magellan. A new dispute arose, however, over these boundary lines.

generally unfavorable, but for the period 1891 to 1914 the volume and the balance were so favorable that the period was called "an era of economic activity."<sup>21</sup> From 1910-1914 under the presidency of Dr. Saenz Pena, commercial life became to some extent the main feature of the administration. The leading nations interested in Argentine trade were ( in this order England, France, Germany and the United States.<sup>22</sup>

Foreign relations with the United States, meantime, showed no improvement. President T. R. Roosevelt's "Big Stick" policies were bitterly resented, as were the forceful collections of private claims by the United States. In 1902, when Germany, Great Britain, and Italy "established a 'warlike blockade' to compel Venezuela to pay debts due their citizens,"<sup>23</sup> political leaders of Latin America expected the United States to apply the Doctrine and come to their aid. When nothing was done, Dr. Drago, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Argentina, formulated in 1902 a doctrine to supplement that of Monroe. In 1906, the Third "Pan-American Conference was informed of the new plan, and at the Second Hague Conference of the following year, it was accepted under a new name, "The Porter Doctrine", with many novel ideas as a basis of conduct.<sup>24</sup> Thus the Drago

<sup>21</sup> Levene, Ricardo., op. cit., p. 519.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., pp. 505-520.

<sup>23</sup> Moore, David R., A History of Latin America, p. 767.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. p. 768.

doctrine, as it has come to be called, was a doctrine developed by a South American for leaders to protect themselves against forceful collections from over anxious creditor nations.

The imperialistic policy of the United States during the first three decades of the 20th century brought frequent criticism from Argentinian writers. Their repeated demands for clarification of the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine had never been honored. Pueyrredon an Argentinian delegate to the Sixth Pan-American Congress said:

The ideal of Pan-Americanism dates back to the Panama Congress of 1826; but the term "Pan-Americanism" was not familiar to the people of the United States until after the Pan-American Congress which convened in Washington, D.C., in 1889. Pan-Americanism has been existing for forty years, as an institution, and I do not believe that it has yet penetrated the conscience and the soul of the peoples of America. I have not yet seen that it has given any strength nor any warmth, any powerful and spontaneous public manifestation.<sup>25</sup>

A reference to the American interventions during the administration of the first Roosevelt, Jose Nicolas Matienzo, an Argentine publicist, wrote:

Economic and cultural expansion, however natural it may be in a powerful nation, even though this nation have the extraordinary power of the United States, cannot justify an imperialistic policy which may humiliate the sovereignty of the other states and excepts the country from the practice of respect due to the principles of international law.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Reynolds, Thomas Harrison., Economic Aspects of the Monroe Doctrine, p. 169.

<sup>6</sup> Matienzo, Jose Nicolas., La Doctrina de Monroe y la Constitucion, Argentina, Buenos Aires, 1929, cited in Reynolds, As Our Neighbors See Us, p. 98.

There have been many suggestions from Latin-American countries that the Monroe Doctrine be Americanized - that it could apply to all American countries equally, and not only the United States. The nearest they came to achieving their demands was when President Wilson "proposed a Pan-American pact providing for a reciprocal guarantee of independence and integrity of territory."<sup>27</sup> Due to the fact that there was Chilean opposition, the measure was never passed, and Wilson turned his attention to a more ambitious project - the League of Nations.

Argentina, with most of the other Latin American nations became a member of this great world peace organization. While she had remained neutral during the conflagration, the Allies obtained from her much needed food and materials. This trade proved so profitable that a general economic stimulant was felt throughout the land with the signing of the Armistice in the fall of 1918 her people and her leaders were ready and willing to indulge once again in the subtle art of world diplomacy.

Wilson's step toward better relations was followed by his successors. "President Hoover in many ways took precaution to build up better inter-American relations."<sup>28</sup> He made

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<sup>27</sup> Moore, David R., op. cit., p. 768.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 771.

good will tour through South America, and, on his return, established a memorandum superceding the Roosevelt corollary to the Monroe Doctrine (i.e. Hoover's) a corollary that was as magnetic in words as it was vague in reality.

This gradual shift of policy during the Hoover administration ushered in the "Good Neighbor Policy" toward the Latin-American nations. This effort to establish hemispheric friendship and solidarity has progressed rapidly during the administrations of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and under the leadership of his Secretary of State, Cordell Hull.



## ~~CHAPTER II~~

### ARGENTINA AND THE UNITED STATES AS GOOD NEIGHBORS

The United States and Argentina - alike in their geographical position, products and climate - are really very different ethnically and culturally for they have evolved from totally different origins. Argentina still shows traces of her feudal Spanish origin, while the United States is an example of a new political and economic system which grew with the new nation. The United States, because of its wealth and power, assumed by virtue of its position dictatorial "big brother" to the Latin American nations. Because of this attitude they have tended to regard the United States as more of a threat to their territorial integrity than they do to the armed dictators of Europe. The application of the principles of "Dollar Diplomacy" particularly increased their resistance to "yanqui imperialismo" along the banks of the River Plate.

Dr. Jose Maria Cantilo insisted, however, that the principal obstacle to closer relations between the United States and Argentina was not historical, but geographical. He maintained that even an increased ease of communication between the two countries would do little to bring about more

imate contacts. <sup>29</sup> There were (and still are) too great similarity in commercial products for mutually satisfactory trade and there are many ties of affinity that bind many of the southern folk quite naturally with Europe. Most of her colonists are of European origin; she was originally a colony of one of the greatest imperialistic nations of all time and, her best markets lie in that orbit.

There is a difference of opinion concerning the date when the Good Neighbor policy began. Herbert Hoover inaugurated the current good will movement by a tour of South America previous to taking his oath of office on March 4, 1929. He made a more concrete profession of faith by ordering the withdrawal of the troops stationed in Haiti and Nicaragua. Argentina, however, considers that the movement really had its inception with the World War when "The great figure of Wilson (our President) in the first file in the world scene, awakened a major interest in Argentina."<sup>30</sup>

It is, however, with the administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt that the Good Neighbor Policy, as such, was started. His administration has, from the beginning, pledged itself to that course in an effort to allay some of the

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<sup>29</sup> Cantilo, Jose Maria., "Interview of a Correspondent of the 'New York Post' with the Minister of Foreign Relations cited in Thomas Harrison Reynolds, As Our Neighbors See I p. 185.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 187.

spicions entertained by the Latin American nations, and  
 refully nurtured by envious Fascist powers. The first  
 atement concerning a new and better relationship of the  
 ericas was made by the president in his initial inaugural  
 dress:

...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 neighbor who respects his  
 obligations and respects the sanctity of his agree-  
 ments in and with a world of neighbors...

pe in addition was expressed by him that the other twenty  
 erican nations would respond to the policy and cooperate  
 r the good of all.

The administration also was opposed to the interference  
 any government in the sovereignty or internal affairs of  
 e governments of any other nations - and was particular to  
 ate that no government need fear intervention by the United  
 ates on any pretense. In confirmation of the latter state-  
 mt, the office of the Secretary of State has at all times  
 ried to remove or to minimize inter-state controversies and  
 o make conditions so satisfactory that there would be no

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Through various propaganda agencies, the Fascist countries  
 use Latin America's fear of the United States as a weapon  
 for their own benefit. The claim is then put forth that  
 the Good Neighbor Policy is only a cloak for an "imperial-  
 istic expansion" in South America.

Duggan, Laurence., "The Good Neighbor Policy" (Radio Address  
 United States Department of State Press Releases, No. 468,  
 Publication 1233, XEX, September 17, 1938, p. 187.

rather need for marine service - a service which ceased to function after 1935.

This policy was born of economic and political necessity to secure Latin America's willing cooperation in policies of trade and defense. It was necessary to formulate a method to combat the threat of the totalitarian states to Latin-American markets. For the first time the fact was stressed that "all the nations of the Western Hemisphere are equals, bound together ... by the realities of geography (thus making) a threat to any part of this hemisphere a threat to all of it."

Cordell Hull, in an address commending the Argentine Anti-War Pact, stated that the aims of this "forward-looking policy" were the banishment of the right of conquest from these continents, and the rejection of that right herself.

The Montevideo Conference of June, 1933 was regarded as one of the most important forward steps in Pan-American affairs. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, set a precedent by attending this conference as an official delegate - the first time a Secretary of State of this country traveled to Latin America in that capacity. Because of its outstanding success in the

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Carr, South American Primer, p. 167.

Hull, Cordell., "Address regarding Peace Proposal, before Committee I, 'Organization of Peace', December 15, 1933", Address and Statements by the Honorable Cordell Hull, Publication No. 694, (Washington, D. C., 1935), pp. 34-35.

Ibid., p. vii.

velopment of better relations, the trip was of especial significance. The aim of the American delegation had been to present a cooperative spirit in order to lay groundwork for future achievements. A special effort was to be made in order to convince the more skeptical nations that we wished to be one of them, and not the "big boss."

In committee Dr. Saavedra Lamas, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Argentina, made a resolution - subsequently entitled the Argentine Anti-War Pact - that was heartily endorsed by the American delegation. Mr. Hull sanctioned the pact publicly in a speech before the "Organization of Peace" committee, ~~to~~ and rejoiced privately at its content since such a proposition was a necessary preliminary to his aim of hemispheric defense.

In a gesture of friendship to Argentina - for she was admittedly one of the most important nations of Hispanic America - President Roosevelt himself attended the Buenos Aires Conference of 1936. Several steps, meanwhile, had been taken toward the improvement of relations with Argentina and Latin America. All occupational missions had been withdrawn and

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~~Hull, Cordell.~~, "Address regarding peace proposal, before Committee I, 'Organization of Peace', December 15, 1933". Address and Statements by the Honorable Cordell Hull, Publication No. 694. pp. 30-38.

rantees given against further occupations; the tariff  
 riers had been lowered; peace machinery had been set into  
 ration; trade agreements were being initiated; an Export-  
 ort Bank established; and, a Division of Cultural Relations,  
 set forth specific plans for concrete expressions of aid,  
 established by the Department of State.

The change in attitude was startling; this was illustrated  
 the crowds that gathered to see President Roosevelt whenever  
 wherever he appeared. The governmental officials along  
 itinerary accorded him a magnificent reception. Everywhere  
 received a tumultuous welcome. Laurance Duggan, of the  
 artment of State, emphasizes the fact that these gestures  
 resented not only a welcome to the President, but also  
 e testimonials of millions to the good-neighbor policy. ~~of~~

During this first meeting of the Inter-American Confer-  
 e for Consolidation of Peace, the delegation from the  
 ted States had several differences of opinion with the  
 entine delegation. There was the fear that we were again  
 uming a too dictatorial attitude. These differences  
 Cantilo ascribes to the ancient misunderstandings and  
 dequacies of the Monroe Doctrine. <sup>505</sup> The differences, however

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Duggan, Laurence., "The Good Neighbor Policy" (Radio Add-  
 ress), United States Department of State Press Releases,  
 No. 468, publication 1235, XIX, September 17, 1938, p.188.

Cantilo, Jose Maria., op. cit., in Thomas Harrison Reynolds,  
As Our Neighbors See Us. p. 188.

re settled in a spirit of "mutual understanding." In accordance with this understanding, Argentina and Chile later agreed to settle their boundary dispute concerning the Beagle land Channel by asking for the arbitration through the Attorney General of the United States - the Honorable Homer Cummings.

Conceived in peacetime, the Roosevelt policy of living together as "good neighbors" seems to work even while a destructive war is in progress. While Europe is being ravaged by war, the American republics are living together in a spirit of cooperation in industrial, economic, cultural, political and spiritual unity. The spirit of "good neighbor" has been definitely planted in Argentina, and other Pan-American republics, by a number of friendly overtures on the part of the United States, through the various agencies of the Pan-American Union.

The Historical Conference which met in Buenos Aires in 1937, was the result of the efforts of Dr. Ricardo Levene, of the University of La Plata, and Dr. Emilio Ravignani, of the University of Buenos Aires. All of the Republics of

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<sup>1</sup> Cantilo, Jose Maria., As Our Neighbors See Us, p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> ~~Duggan, Laurence, , op. cit., "The Good Neighbor Policy", p. 188.~~

erica were represented and participated directly or indirectly. The value of this meeting as a medium of carrying good will and neighborliness from the United States to Argentina evidenced by the distribution of writers who submitted their work to be read before the Conference. The United States was presented by 21 books while Argentina had 126 books or tracts subjects pertinent to both nations. ~~42~~ 1

The first Inter-American Technical Aviation Conference was held in Lima, Peru, in September, 1937. At this conference attended by representatives of the 21 American republics, the United States and Argentina were found working side by side for common cause - American aviation. The conference discussed and adopted 32 resolutions. One outstanding achievement of this conference was the resolution providing for the erection of monuments to the honor of Wilbur and Orville Wright. This monument was to be erected at La Paz, the highest aviation field in the world. ~~42~~

There was held in Habana, Cuba, the First Inter-American Radio Conference, in December, 1937. The purpose of the meeting was to draw the Americas together in the solution of problems related to radio communications. It was another step

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Martin, Percy Alvin., "The Buenos Aires Historical Conference", Pan American Union No. 1, Washington D.C., Vol. LXII, 1938, pp. 9-11.

~~Ibid., pp. 28-30.~~



ard continental brotherhood and universal good will.

A further act of friendliness and neighborliness was conspicuous in the reception given to an amateur basketball team from the United States to Argentine, in January, 1938. The team was welcomed both in Buenos Aires and Rosario by thousands of sport fans and well wishers. At Rosario, the team was met at the depot by 30 different civic organizations which vied with each other in paying homage to the boys from the United States. The United States Amateur Athletic Union, by encouraging inter-American competition, aided in creating a strong feeling of friendliness for our country among sport lovers in other American nations. These things have definitely produced a closer feeling of friendship between the people of the two great countries.

The center of Argentine-American friendship is found in a tall narrow house in the central part of Buenos Aires. This is the Argentine-American Cultural Center, where boys and girls, men and women are taught to read the books which come from the United States. The chief purpose of the Institute is to teach an appreciation of the highest habits, thoughts, problems, and the daily life of the people of the

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Hernandez, Francisco J., "The First Inter-American Radio Conference", Ibid, pp. 350-352.

~~Shaw, Harry.~~, "A United States Basketball Team Tours South America", Bulletins of the Pan American Union, No. 10, Washington, D. C., LXII, 1938, pp. 519-557.

United States. In this building are found libraries of American books of history, literature, science, government and newspapers and magazines. The Institute is supported by both Argentians and Americans to the extent of 100,000 pesos annually. When ever a distinguished American visits Buenos Aires he is usually asked to lecture in the Institute and arrangements are made for him to speak in an other part of the city. ~~to~~ <sup>S</sup>

The State Department of the United States arranged the Buenos Aires Convention, in 1939, for the promotion of cultural relations. Argentina and the United States were among the Latin American countries which adopted a convention to provide for the exchange of professors and graduate students from one country to the other. Exchanges are made available in eight fields of learning. <sup>46</sup>

The inter-American Tourist Congress is another agency which is bringing the nations of the United States of America and Argentina closer together. Denied facilities to travel in Europe, Americans are encouraged to travel in Latin American countries. One of the many advantages of traveling in Argentina would be the similarity of climate, hence a saving in clothing.

<sup>3</sup> Brown, Elsie., "A Center of Argentine-American Friendship" Pan-American Union, No. 1, Washington, D. C., LXXIII, 1939, pp. 27-30.

<sup>5</sup> OKlahoma City Times, April 3, 1941, p.23.

In addition to other services rendered to her neighbor nations, the United States is lending scientists, in the field of agriculture to aid these nations in solving their problems of crop production; combating insects and fungi diseases; growing of new crops; and ameliorating other farm issues of national importance. In such ways the United States is building enduring friendships with neighbors to the south, from favorable reactions which have been received of these neighborly deeds, it seems that the good neighbor policy of mutual cooperation in consultations and negotiations is likely to endure for some time irrespective of militant Europe. ~~7~~ 7

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Wheeler, L. A., "Western Hemisphere Trade". Foreign Agriculture, Washington, D. C., January, 1941, pp. 11-12.

### CHAPTER III

#### TRADE RELATIONS

Argentina, the first Latin-American colony to win its independence, was also among the foremost in economic and social development during the first century of its self-government. Fortunately its people during this period did not suffer any long destructive wars, either civil or foreign.

In the fourteen years prior to the opening of the World War I the country made steady and satisfactory economic progress. This progress in a way dates back to 1899 when it changed its monetary system from a fluctuating paper to a convertible currency based on gold. With the collection of a gold reserve and the stability of currency based on a prosperity in agriculture, industry and trade, a notable interest was manifested by the financial leaders of Europe. As early as 1913 the Argentines owed European nations the following amounts: Great Britain, \$1,450,000,000; France, \$400,000,000; Germany, \$300,000,000. At that time there was considerably more foreign money invested in this South American Republic than in any other in the southern continent. Their financial obligations to the United States at this time (1913) was about \$300,000,000. Up to this time Argentina had depended on England more than any other

ation for financial aid.<sup>48</sup>

With the outbreak of the World War the financial trouble however, of Argentina soon began. Those nations of Europe which were engaged in the war could not longer make further financial advances. Adverse economical conditions grew to such an extent that this country was eventually forced to turn in distress to the only nation financially able to appease the growing wants of the United States of America. In January, 1915, this country's financiers made their first loan - \$15,000,000 to Argentina. Four months later this sum was increased by another loan of 17,500,000. The money in each case was advanced by three or four of the largest banks in North America. Further financial assistance was extended to the nation and the people of Argentina by the United States government through the Pan-American Financial Congress, created in May, 1915, for just such a purpose.

Prior to this period, our interests in the commerce of Argentina was comparatively small. The chief nations to export goods to Argentina were Great Britain, 31 per cent; Germany 17 per cent; and the United States, 15 per cent. Of Argentina exports, Great Britain took 25 per cent; Germany 12 per cent; and the United States five per cent.

During the World War period for many and varied reasons the United States and Argentina were none too cordial. Argent

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<sup>3</sup> Moore, op. cit., pp. 483-484.

It that the United States had been tardy in advancing loans, and had among other things, set up tariff rates which were discriminatory for example the tariff Act of 1922 practically excluded Argentina's exports from the markets of the United States.<sup>49</sup> Then, too, Argentina did not accept any of the public subscription let alone the private ones to take an active part in the war against The Central Powers. In fact, after two of her ships had been sunk by the Germans off the French coast in 1917, she declared in favor of a continued policy of neutrality.

The attitude of her people toward the policy of Pan-Americanism as sponsored by her big brother to the north might be summarized in statements made by the Argentine ambassador, in 1918. The gist of these remarks, would imply that the United States, being the strongest and largest American nation, if given even the resemblance of an opportunity, would dominate the economic and political lives of the peoples of the twenty-one American republics.<sup>50</sup>

Following the world war economic conditions were in general very bad in Argentina. The post war depression, together with a church controversy, tended to cause a feeling of

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Holladay, John Latane, The United States and Latin America, New York, 1922, pp. 312-313.

Ibid., pp. 331-334.

uneasiness and uncertainty in financial and political endeavors. The issue, however, came to a climax, on September 1930, when a student uprising in Buenos Aires began a movement that culminated in the overthrow of President Irigoyen; acceptance, by popular acclamation, of his lieutenant in office as his successor and the creation of a new government produced a feeling of democracy that had heretofore been nonexistent.

Even during the period of depression, which followed the world war, the economic interests of the United States in Argentina were not entirely neglected. We continue from time to time to advance capital for the improvement and development of public utilities, manufacturing, and marketing. The largest investments were in manufacturing, especially meat packing. Other industrial concerns receiving aid were those that produced automobiles, building stone, fire clay, glassware, agriculture, industrial machinery, chemicals, and mining, smelting, and petroleum products.

The table, on page 27, discloses distribution of our direct capital investments in Argentina industries as of September, 1930.

TABLE I

Manufacturing		Selling		Distributing		All Others	
Value	Number	Value	Number	Value	Number	Value	Number
\$82,008,000.	37	\$52,908,000.	8	\$29,811,000.	7	\$147,836,000.	

  

Miscellaneous		Total	
Number	Value	Number	Value
20	\$19,256,000.	99	\$331,819,000.

As the title indicates these amounts of money do not include loans made to the government of Argentina. At the close of the fourth decade of the present century we advanced more financial aid to Argentina than to any other Republic in South America at that time. The total amount of Argentina bonds held by citizens of the United States amounted to



\$322,000,000 twice as large a sum as owed by any other Latin American nation.<sup>52</sup>

To understand fully the reason for this investment of capital in a nation's industries which had never been in full sympathy with our Pan-American policy or had not whole heartedly accepted the Monroe Doctrine we should study the figures relating to the exports and imports to and from these countries. The figures given (below) show the quantity and value of our exports to Argentina from 1910 to 1930.

TABLE II

Commodity	QUANTITY				VALUE			
	1910-1914	1928	1929	1930	1910-1914	1928	1929	1930
Cigar Boxes *	33	510	947	684	48	1,063	2,132	2,157
Automobiles		223	293	244		2,564	2,874	3,000
Gasoline-Turpentine					996	1,571	1,815	1,815
Cotton Cloth Yds. <sup>1,568</sup>	22,299	22,675	16,275	4,167	3,747	3,747	2,157	2,157
Wool Tons	78	32	43	84	245	140	197	197
Gasoline Bbls.	286	1,783	2,291	1,488	1,890	9,323	11,189	7,000
Typewriters	7	17.8	20.2	15.2	357	1,021	1,157	1,157

Cooper, William L., "American Direct Investments in Foreign Countries", Trade Information Bulletin No. 731, Washington, D.C. 1930, pp. 16-19.

Thousands omitted.

COMMODITY	QUANTITY				VALUE			
	1910-1914	1928	1929	1930	1910-1914	1928	1929	1930
Wool	.188	8.6	8.7	4.5	418	4,643	8,431	4,538
Trucks	.035	15.8	19.9	6.6	78	12,257	13,648	5,912
Parts					5,501	8,199	17,190	1,258

One of the most interesting facts noted in the above table was a decided decrease in our exports to Argentina in all the commodities listed during 1930 except that of fresh apples and coal. The main reason for these reductions in quantity and value can be adduced from the fact that Argentina had turned to other sources for these commodities; especially Great Britain and Germany, and to some small extent to the lesser nations of Europe.<sup>54</sup> To make a comparison of the quantity and value of exports and imports between the two Republics the following table is presented:

TABLE III

COMMODITY	QUANTITY				VALUE			
	1910-1914	1928	1929	1930	1910-1914	1928	1929	1930
Wool	*	2462	2756	1717	12782	32381	23198	1230
Lampkins	*	3835	4038	3310	610	3402	3468	205
Kidkins	*	2133	2810	2961	1360	1693	2061	196
Wool	1938	14941	23120	11275	3578	26046	44196	2397
Wool	3935	9177	24110	22244	502	2345	6370	423
Wool	22407	2066	1816	2052	4662	762	614	50
Wool	933	11622	14458	7189	176	4217	5043	164

Cooper, William L., "Foreign Trade in the United States in the year 1930", Trade Information Bulletin, No. 749, Washington, D.C., 1930, p. 48-52.  
 Administer, Lynn R. Address, "Agriculture and The Trade Agreement Program", Department of State Papers, released June 18, 1936, Washington, D. C. pp. 2-3.

ibid., pp. 53-56.

Data not shown for earlier years.

There was a decided slump in the quantity and value of goods shipped from Argentina to the United States in 1930. The totals show a drastic decline from those for the years of 1928-1929.

One of the chief reasons why we did not buy as much from Argentina in 1930 as we had in the two previous years was the passage of the Hawley-Smoot tariff. This tariff tended to keep foreign goods out of the United States by prohibitive duties for the protection of native industries. This Act increased import duties on goods brought in that were produced either by an American manufacturer or agriculturist. Likewise was it passed as a party political weapon more than as one to raise governmental revenue or to protect American industry. The scale was raised on a few articles which had real economic value in the lives of the average American labor and farmer, viz., hides and wool. But since we then had a surplus of each item the tariff revision proved more irritating than financially beneficial.

The unfavorable trade balance of Argentina in 1930 with all countries, amounted to more than 125,000,000 gold pesos.\* This was, indeed, quite a contrast with that of the previous year when the country enjoyed a favorable trade balance of nearly 92,000,000 gold

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Fetter, Frank W., "The New Deal and Tariff Policy", Publicity Policy Document, No. 7, Chicago, Illinois, 1933, pp. 4-5.

The gold pesos, dropped in value from \$.93 in December, 1929 to \$.7555 in December, 1930.

osos. Most of this decrease was the result of a substantial decline so serious in its ramifications and so disastrous governmentally that the political structure witnessed one of those periodic upheavals that prompted the formation of a new government founded, on a platform favoring general economy as a means of protecting her national credit.<sup>57</sup>

It was not until 1933 that Argentina reversed her attitude toward the United States. The friendly and cooperative efforts of our president, Franklin D. Roosevelt, together with the aid of Secretary Hull, brought to the Latin American republics the intentions of the United States to foster, protect and neighbor with the independent nations of the western Hemisphere on a basis of National equality. To further this idea, the Pan-American conference was held in Montevideo, December 1933, a place well located for such a meeting at this particular time. The suspicion and distrust of some, if not many of the "doubting Thomases", of the Latin American States, were dispelled by the friendliness of our delegates and the support of the presses of a majority of the South American Nations. At this conference the Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs, Senor Carlos Saavedra Lamas, was instrumental in bringing his country in line with the

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<sup>57</sup> Feiker, Frederick M., "Financial Development in Latin America During 1930", Trade Information Bulletin 775, Washington, D. C., 1931, pp. 2-5.

<sup>58</sup> Kelchner, Dr. Warren., "Remarks on the Lima Conference," Department of State Press Release, Washington, D. C., 1938, pp. 1-2.

merican ideas and policies.<sup>58</sup> This conference did more to bring about a closer understanding and relationships than any former meeting held in the New World. The good feelings and cordial felicitations were clinched by non-intervention and peace treaties.<sup>59</sup>

Following the mutual agreements the economic and financial conditions in Argentina became more stable. American capital was again invested and by the end of the year 1936 there was a total of \$348,268,000 of our money invested in 106 enterprises, divided as follows: 39 manufacturing plants with \$84,245,000; distribution 36 with \$28,357,000 transportation 12 with \$155,496,000 and agriculture and mining 19 with an investment of \$80,179,000. The notable difference in types and kinds of investments indicated the attitude of northern financiers towards the economic possibilities of Argentina.<sup>60</sup>

The year 1937 was highly prosperous for Argentina. A good crop yield and a surplus of beef animal with prices which returned a fair margin of profit to the producers, made money plentiful among all classes. The country's meat exports rose more than 10% while the wool exports declined eight per cent

<sup>59</sup>

Kelchner, Dr. Warren., "Remarks on the Lima Conference", Department of State, Press Release, Washington, D. C., 1933, p. 3.

<sup>60</sup>

Dickens, Paul D., "American Direct Investments in Foreign Countries", Economic Bulletin, Series 1, Washington, D. C. 1936, pp. 12-14.

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volume, but increased  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in value. The great-  
t variety of exports went to the United States but Great  
itian's exceeded her in the specific items of meat and  
ol. At this time the percentage share of the United States  
total Argentina imports increased from 14.6 per cent  
n 1936) to 16.4 per cent, while at the same time the value  
these imports increased 46 per cent. Simultaneously the  
gentine exports to the United States increased more than 45  
r cent, which was the greatest gain of exports to any other  
untry. These exports consisted mainly of corn, wool, hides  
d canned beef.<sup>61</sup> The balance of trade between the United  
ates and Argentina in 1936 and 1937 was in the favor of  
gentina, by 31 million pesos in the former year and seventy-  
ur million pesos for the latter year. This year marked the  
gh point in Argentina's economic recovery.<sup>62</sup>

A study of the imports and exports of Argentina for  
38 revealed the necessity of a revision of American commer-  
al policies and explains the willingness of Secretary of  
ate, Cordell Hull, of the United States to offer reciprocal  
i tariff reductions at the Lima Conference. These concess-  
i were certainly apropos for during 1938 we imported goods  
om Argentina valued at 80,750,000 pesos - an amount less than  
lf as much as we imported in either 1936 or 1937. At that

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Dye, Alexander V., "Argentina", Economic Review of Foreign  
Countries, Washington, D. C., 1937, pp.:157-163.

Ibid., p. 157.

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Our imports constituted only about seven per cent of Argentina's exports in contrast with those of Great Britain which amounted to 31 per cent.<sup>63</sup> Due to these apparent conditions the delegates from the United States presented a resolution, which was adopted, containing the following terms:

(1). Reduction of all types of restrictions on international trade: (2) Formulate trade agreements which embody the principle of fair and equal treatment: (3) Set up reasonable tariff measures instead of other forms of restrictions: (4) Trade agreements created on the theory of non-discrimination.<sup>64</sup>

Of the many speeches delivered at and about the Lima Conference Secretary Cordell Hull voiced the real sentiment of the meeting in an address made in New York City, January 9, 1939. His comments on that occasion may be summarized as follows: The twenty-one Latin American Republics and the United States have affirmed their judgement that a policy of commercial relations must be one without restrictions and of an equality basis in which trade was to be allowed to move along lines of economic advantage in harmony with a sound economic policy

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<sup>63</sup> New York Times., December 13, 1938, p. 16.

<sup>64</sup> Hull, Cordell., "Statement made at New York City, January 9, 1939", Conference Series, 43, Washington, D. C., 1940, pp. 84-85.

r each of the interested nations. He inferred that a liberal policy was the only proper one for a peaceful trading world to pursue, rather than one of competing and underhanded alliances. By promulgating such a policy with determination the New World republics will not only suit their own economic advantages but will safeguard their equality.<sup>65</sup>

Our imports from Argentina, in spite of all these harbingers of good will and increased trade actually declined in 1938. This was due to abundant crops in the United States, together with an economic recession, which lessened the demand for large purchases of Argentina's primary products. Lower prices for hides and wool contributed to the decrease in import values. Our imports consisted of ( named in order of value ): wheat, rye, flaxseed, raw wool, hides and skins, canned beef, quebracho extract, corn and feeds.

At the same time the imported goods of the Argentine Republic from the United States amounted to only eight per cent less in 1938, notwithstanding the adverse economic conditions. The depressing effects of the developments in 1938 on economic activity were mollified to a large extent, the ample supplies of foreign exchange obtained from the

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Hull, Cordell., "Statement Made at New York City, January 9, 1939". Conference Series 43, Washington, D. C., 1940, pp. 84-85.



large sales of products to other markets than the United States. The investment of these surpluses in new machinery, vehicles and specialties brought the value of goods imported from the United States to more than \$86,000,000. Among the many commodities imported from the United States the category of machinery and vehicles accounted for \$59,000,000 while the aircraft industry alone absorbed approximately 40 per cent of the total. The value of American automobiles and parts at the same time decreased about three quarters of a million dollars. The other items of Argentina imports remained approximately the same, except potatoes which dropped to a low level in 1938, due to the return to normal production at home.<sup>66</sup>

The net results of trade between the two republics during the war were the favorable gains made in imports to the United States. Simultaneously the United Kingdom and other European countries imported less of her products and accordingly wielded less influence. The total volume of commerce, in 1938, amounted to \$127,500,000.<sup>67</sup>

The total annual agricultural exports from the United States to Argentina for the period 1931 to 1939 inclusive is shown in table IV.

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Witherow, Grace A., "Foreign Trade of the United States, 1938", Part II, United States Department of Commerce, Bulletin 198, Washington, D. C., 1940, pp. 29-30.

Op. cit., pp. 30-31.

TABLE IV

	Year beginning July 1							
DITY	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34	1934-35	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39
as (bu.) **	167	91	80	61	75	41	62	5
(lbs.)	1478	1432	1160	781	713	413	337	50
al (lbs.)	1229	975	799	586	671	923	498	
lbs.)	8110	12264	438	28		1637	13879	
1 Seed l (lbs.)	3	22			22	22		
o (lbs.)	2190	1045	717	265	299	359	175	4
oes (bu.)					1	56	385	2

The following table, Number V shows the volume of United States Agricultural imports from Argentina, for the same period.

TABLE V

	Year beginning July 1							
DITY	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34	1934-35	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39
Canned*	7847	12834	17726	27544	35788	39070	41215	31720
Carpet*			25883	26995	32905	46376	16173	40882
dutiable*			2882	1847	5631	6515	1182	2802
Free*			1848	684	2269	2488	170	1062
other*			3425	2856	8927	13416	4530	10822
Clothing*			259	19	1096	1821	952	739
Fine*			3319	1094	4175	11677	2973	3271
Pounds								

ecker, Joseph A. "Exports from the United States to Argentina, 1931-1939", Agriculture Statistics, Washington, D. C., 1940, pp. 50-51. Thousands omitted.

Wool

		Year beginning July 1						
DITY 1931-32		1932-33	1933-34	1934-35	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38	1938-3
se ng *	3373	3648	4975	4311	3888	4680	3991	4041
s /	319	212	281	245	326	328	295	319
	142	113	99	12075	26916	69402	30380	67
				13424	30	8		
			1438	834	586	103		
<b>Shorts</b>								
ons)	2652	558	14470	29992	18239	31628	3317	16255
seed*	166	245	1648	15622	2323	3369	313	1481
ed" Pounds	13342	5495	12736	12146	13657	24177	17312	17511
" Bushels								
/ Cubic Feet								

The fluctuation of volumes in the various items listed above were caused to some extent by local conditions such as droughts, abundant yields, treaty regulations, or by the outbreak and spread of the second World War.<sup>70</sup> For the years 1935-1936-1937 our imports from Argentina were greater than our exports to her, but in 1938 we exported to Argentina 46.1 per cent more goods than we imported from her.\*\*

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Becker, Joseph A., "Exports from the United States to Argentina, 1931-1939", Agriculture Statistics, 1940, Washington, D. C. pp. 515-529.

70

Dickens, Paul., "The Balance of International Payments of the U.S.", Economic Series, No. 8. Washington, D. C., 1940, pp. 38-39.

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The reader should bear in mind that the above figures do not include any items other than those produced on the farm.

## CHAPTER IV

## POLITICAL AND ECONOMICAL SOLIDARITY

International cooperation has always been a characteristic of the American Continent. In fact the very existence of them as independent republics is due in a large measure to the assistance mutually given during their period of struggle for independence.<sup>71</sup>

With the achievement of independence this policy of mutual helpfulness and cooperation found expression in the practice of convening in international conferences to discuss their common problems. The first such conference was held in Panama in 1826. Conferences afterwards were held at irregular periods in the various capitals of Latin American nations until 1889. Beginning in 1889 at the Washington Conference the subject of peaceful settlement of international controversies has been a major topic until the last decade no satisfactory agreement, acceptable to all American republics, could be perfected.<sup>72</sup>

It was not until the inauguration of President Franklin Roosevelt that a rigid policy of "good neighbor" was declared

Manger, William., "The Evolution of International American Conferences", Bulletins of the Pan American Union, No. 10, Washington, D. C., LXVII, 1934, p. 769.

Alfaro, Dr. Ricardo J., "A New Era of Peace and Justice in The Americas", Current History, February, 1929, p. 824.

the United States Government. The President, in an address on Pan-American Day at the outset of his administration, said:

The essential qualities of a true Pan Americanism must be the same as those which constitute a good neighbor, namely, mutual understanding and, through such understanding, a sympathetic appreciation of the other's point of view. It is only in this manner that we can hope to build up a system of which confidence, friendship, and good will are the cornerstones.<sup>73</sup>

The delegates to the Pan-American Conference in Montevideo in 1933 were well informed as to the policies of the United States regarding problems to be discussed during the conference. Secretary Cordell Hull had delivered several addresses, in important cities along the route from Washington to Montevideo, to convince the Latin Americans of the intentions and hopes of the United States to formulate measures for a Western Hemisphere Solidarity.<sup>74</sup> The conference was marked by a high degree of spirit and a definite feeling of community interest which gave to it a prominent place when compared to former meetings. The three most important problems to be solved were:

(1) Organization of machinery to insure peace among the nations of the Western Hemisphere: (2) To give Pan-Americanism

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Velles, Sumner., "Two Years of Good Neighbor Policy", Latin American Series No. 11, Washington, D. C., 1935, p. 1.

Hull, Cordell., "Statements at Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and Montevideo", Conference Series No. 19, Washington, D.C., 1935, pp. 10-16.

a economic content, by removing the barriers to trade which existed and involved the reduction of tariffs, abolishing the quota systems, and making other reductions of similar nature.

3) To establish the doctrine of equality of States, upon a firm foundation, with its ancillary declaration against the intervention of one state in the internal affairs of another.

Around questions two and three of the most important discussions centered. And with reference to them the most important decisions of the Conference were made. President Dr. Gabriel Terra of Uruguay, made it clear in his inaugural conference speech that the Conference had as one of its most important obligations to the people of the American Republics the Organization of Peace.<sup>75</sup> The Secretary of State, Cordell Hull in his address during the Conference said:

I desire also to say ---- the Government of the United States is ready to affix its signature to the Anti-war pact and I venture at the same time to express the earnest hope that the representatives of all other governments present will aid in a great service to peace by signifying at this time their willingness to affix on behalf of their governments their signatures on the peace treaties, ---- .

Universal peace has been the chief aim of civilization. The useless shedding of blood has no place in the age in which we live. With the innumerable agencies for the peaceful settlements of disputes between nations, war is useless as well as odious, repulsive and a challenge to organized society. ----

It is in this spirit that the Government and people of the United States express their recognition of the

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Rowe, L. S., "The Seventh International Conference of American States", Bulletins of the Pan American Union, No. 3, Washington, D. C., LXVIII, 1934, pp. 153-155.

common interests and common aspirations of the American nations and join with them in a renewed spirit of broad cooperation for the promotion of liberty under law, of peace, of justice and of righteousness.<sup>76</sup>

In furthering the same motif of understanding Senor Carlos Saavedra Lamas, the delegate from Argentina to the conference, asserted:

For the first time we have given economic content to Pan-Americanism; for the first time we have discussed commercial and tariff policies. This means that we have felt that there is an escapable movement toward solidarity which connects and binds us together and which forces us to march directly toward cooperation, and that represents a great outlook for the future.<sup>77</sup>

The results of the Conference with regard to a policy of solidarity, were the signing of treaties between the United States and Argentina providing for:

(1) Anti-War or Non-Aggression and conciliation between the two republics: (2) Extradition of persons, charged with crime, from each nation to the other upon request: (3) The rights and duties of States: (4) Trade agreements - relative to tariff policies.<sup>78</sup>

In addition to the four above resolutions were adopted accepting the obligation appertaining there to and by the

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Loc. cit., Conference Series No. 19, pp. 36-49.

Ibid., p. 188.

Senate Document 134, 75 Cong., 2 sess., Washington, D. C., 1938, pp. 4793-4812.

creation of new offices in the Pan American Union. These resolutions were: (a) Codification of International Law; (b) Establishment of a center of Inter-American Bibliographic cooperation; (c) Inter-American Commissions on Aviation; (d) on monuments to Aviation Pioneers; (e) on Bills of Exchange, Drafts and Checks, (f) on Customs Procedure, Port Formalities and Consular Regulations; (g) on Housing; (h) on Indian Life, (i) on Industrial property; (j) on Intellectual property; (k) on Powers of Attorney and Foreign Companies; (l) on Rural Life; (m) on the Organization of an Institute of Scientific Research; (n) Pan American Commercial Conference of Buenos Aires; (o) Pan American Financial Conference.

The importance of the results of the Conference may be summarized from the speech of Cordell Hull delivered at Buenos Aires, December 27, 1933. He said, in part, that it was a great satisfaction to him that the United States and Argentina had worked harmoniously in promoting peace and economic order. That friendship and friendly intercourse of these two nations in the future would be a powerful force for peace and solidarity among the republics of the Western Hemisphere.<sup>79</sup>

Argentina and the United States both signed the above

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<sup>79</sup> Loc. cit., Conference Series No. 19, pp. 52-53.



his Act authorized the President for a period of three years to enter into trade agreements and, for that purpose, to modify within strictly defined limits, customs duties and other import restrictions.<sup>82</sup> One of the tangible results of this Act was a treaty with Argentina which materially increased commerce between the two nations and tended to strengthen the ties of friendship and solidarity. For example there was an increase of 60% in value of imports of machinery from the United States in the very first year of its operation. Argentina in turn indicated an increase of 46% in her exports to the United States.

On January 30, 1936, President Franklin D. Roosevelt addressed a letter to the Presidents of the Pan-American republics, asking that a Peace Conference be held in Buenos Aires some time in that year to determine how the maintenance of peace among the American Republics might be best safeguarded - whether through prompt ratification of all the inter-American peace instruments already negotiated or whether through the amending of existing peace treaties in such a manner as might be necessary to advance a feeling of cooperation and solidarity among the hemispheric nations.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Edminster, Lynn., "Agriculture and the Trade Agreements Program", Department of State, Press Release, Washington, D. C., June 18, 1936, p. 6.

<sup>83</sup> Davis, J. B., "Economic Progress in The Americas, 1935", Bulletins of the Pan American Union, No. 11, Washington, D. C., LXX, 1936.

<sup>84</sup> Welles, Sumner., "The Way to Peace on the American Continent", Latin American Series No. 13, Washington, D. C., 1936, p. 4.

The reaction to the President's invitation to the conference was overwhelmingly favorable from each of the an-American republics. One response in particular, that of the President of Argentina, Augustin P. Justo, was most ratifying. He wrote:

Now that we find ourselves at a dark hour for the world, full of uncertainties for its stability and for the effective sway of international morality, a special inter-American Conference would be beneficial.----Your Excellency's "Good Neighbor" policy has opened shining perspectives in the life of American relations with vast projections which the future will be able to develop. I understand that with in the universal interdependence there is no room for regional distinctions, nor for the separation of continents, but that a consolidation of peace among the nations of America will always be a very valuable contribution to the same aims which are followed in the world order,---- In my opinion, if the situation of the world in the present crisis can be benefitted by the study which we propose to carry out, Your Excellency has skillfully widened its horizons in defining it as a work of 'consolidation of peace, and hemispheric solidarity'.<sup>85</sup>

President Roosevelt, on October 31, 1936 designated the Honorable Cordell Hull, chairman of the Delegation to represent the United States at the Buenos Aires Peace Conference, which was to be held from December 1-23, 1936.<sup>86</sup>

Before sailing from New York, on November 7, Secretary Hull told the press that the delegation hoped to place the

<sup>5</sup> Welles, Sumner., "Accomplishments of Inter-American Conference for Peace", Conference Series, No. 26, Washington, D. C., 1937, pp. 2-3.

<sup>3</sup> Report of Delegates of U. S., "Inter-American Conference for Maintenance of Peace", Conference Series, No. 33, Washington, D. C., 1937, pp. 1-2.

hemispheric relations upon a firmer basis of mutual trust and cooperation. He further added:

The depressed economic conditions which have weighed heavily upon us all are gradually being dissipated. Economic conditions are improving. Trade is increasing and business is better. But we must continue our efforts to push forward for economic progress and rehabilitation. Healthy economic conditions are essential for sound, peaceful relations between nations. The progress of each depends more and more upon the progress of others, and by mutual efforts there can be built a prosperous and contented community which is one of the best assurances for the maintenance of peace.<sup>87</sup>

The Delegation arrived at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, on November 19, 1936, where it was welcomed at the pier by the cabinet of the Brazilian Government. That evening a banquet was tendered in Secretary Hull's honor, by Dr. Jose Carlos Macedo Soares, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil. During the course of the banquet the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs declared, that the primary aim of the conference to be held in Buenos Aires, in December was the consolidation of peace on the Western Continent, true to the inclination and the historical growth of the states therein, whose natural tendencies it is our duty to develop. There will be examined so, with a true spirit of cooperation the problems relating

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Hull, Cordell., "Statement at New York Before Sailing November 7, 1936", Conference Series, No. 31, Washington, D. C., 1937, pp. 50-51.

the economic and cultural life of the American republics.

Furthermore he declared that:

We shall attain our aims without difficulty as we shall be animated by feelings of the most sincere and profound Americanism. Thus, I confidently expect that the Conference will unite us all with a perfect and mutual understanding, tending to a fuller confidence between the American peoples.<sup>88</sup>

In reply to the foregoing address, Secretary Hull told his audience that the principle of brotherly love would always exist between peoples of democracies. That no nation could long live without peace with its neighbors and the world at large. Then referring to the Conference soon to be held, he said, that the bringing of the American republics closer together in matters of trade relations and peace measures at the meeting would not be held in vain.<sup>89</sup>

Continuing their journey, the American Delegation arrived at Montevideo, Uruguay, on November 24, 1936, where they were welcomed by Senor Jose Espaltu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uruguay. The amiable Cordell Hull in expressing his pleasure in being in the capital of Uruguay told his hearers that the work soon to begin in Buenos Aires was an opportunity to demonstrate to the world

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Loc. cit., Conference Series No. 33, pp. 101-104.

Loc. cit., Conference Series No. 31, Department of State, pp. 56-57.

hat friendly and neighborly people, imbued with a spirit of cooperation and good will, could accomplish in a conference of equals and that the purpose of the meeting was to rededicate themselves to the cause of peace and economic progress.<sup>90</sup>

The Delegation arrived in Buenos Aires on November 25, 1936, at which time Secretary Hull reiterated his hopes for a meeting which had for its purpose the cooperation of the Pan-American Nations in mutual confidence, sympathetic understanding and hemispheric peace.<sup>91</sup>

Delegates from each of the Western Hemisphere republics are present - two hundred in number not counting the legal advisers, technicians and others necessary to carry on the work in hand.

The Seventh Pan-American conference convened on December 1936, at Buenos Aires, Argentina. The first meeting was addressed by President Augustin P. Justo, of Argentina, and President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States of America. Both of the addresses had for their theme the need for a "good neighbor" policy and a solidarity among the American nations in economic and peace measures.<sup>92</sup> This was

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Ibid., Conference Series, No. 31, pp. 3-4.

Ibid., p. 68.

Rowe, L. S., "President Roosevelt in South America", Bulletins of the Pan American Union, No. 1, Washington, D. C., LXXII, 1937, pp. 21-25.

a second time a president of the United States had traveled abroad to attend the opening of an inter-American conference. The first other President to leave the borders of the United States to attend a similar meeting was President Calvin Coolidge, who attended the Sixth International Conference of American States at Havana, Cuba January 16, 1928.<sup>93</sup> The first plenary session of the Conference was held on December 4, 1936, under the presidency of Dr. Saavedra Lamas, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Argentina, who had been designated by the President of Argentina to act as chairman pro tempore. Dr. Lamas was then elected permanent chairman of the Conference. The session resumed on the following day at which time Secretary Hull addressed the Conference, and outlined the program, as advocated by the delegation from the United States, for the maintenance of peace. There were eight different divisions of the outline, as follows:

1. The people of each nation must be educated for peace to make themselves safe.
2. Frequent conferences between representatives of the various American nations and intercourse between these people are necessary.
3. The reaffirming of treaties signed at Montevideo in 1933 and other peace measures.
4. The agreement on a neutrality policy, in case of war on the Western Hemisphere.

5. To revise commercial treaties and conventions that each of the nations represented should enjoy the prosperity to which each is entitled.

6. A practical cooperation among the nations represented to restore the relationships between nations to prevent the corruption of morals and conduct.

7. The revitalization, reestablishment, and restoration of international law, as the substitution of armies and navies for such law is not adequate.

8. Observation of understanding, agreements and treaties between the nations constitutes the foundation of international order.<sup>94</sup>

During the course of the next few weeks issues of one society or another were discussed formally and dispassionately, with the closing speech of Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, the tangible accomplishment soon became apparent.<sup>95</sup> There were adopted eleven treaties and conventions and sixty-two resolutions and declarations. The Conference worked on the principle of American solidarity in all matters relative to conflicts in other continents than North and South America.

The most important treaties and conventions signed by the United States and Argentina at the close of the Conference were:

- (1) Maintenance, Preservation, and Reestablishment of Peace;
- (2) Non-Intervention Protocol;
- (3) Treaty on the

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Hull, Cordell., "Opening Address to Inter-American Conference for Maintenance of Peace", Conference Series No. 25, Washington, D. C., 1936, pp. 5-12.

Wells, Sumner., Conference Series, No. 26, Washington, D.C. 1937, pp. 6-7.

The speech of the Honorable Cordell Hull was read by under secretary of state Sumner Wells.

vention of Controversies; (4) Treaty on Good Offices  
Mediation; (5) Convention to coordinate, extend and  
sure the Fulfillment of the Existing Treaties between the  
ted States and Argentina; (6) Convention on Pan -  
rican Highway; (7) Convention for the Promotion of Inter-  
rican Cultural Relations; (8) Convention Concerning  
istic Exhibitions.<sup>96</sup>

From the beginning of the Conference it was manifested  
t all the delegates were determined that peace among the  
ublics of the Western Hemisphere should prevail. As the  
k of the Conference progressed this solidarity of purpose  
unity became more of a realization. The whole Conference  
not one in which rival governments sought exclusive advant-  
s for themselves. What was sought and attained was not a  
diomatic victory by any of the nations represented, but a  
mplete understanding, friendly cooperation, and far reaching  
nning. Second in importance to the Peace treaty, was the  
reement that the countries must work toward a system of a  
e free economic exchange of goods, so that the standards  
living in each country might be raised to higher levels.  
ere was affirmed the necessity of lessening all excessive

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United States Statutes at Large., Washington, D. C., 1938,  
LI, pp. 15-209.



riers of international trade, and of an exchange of goods from one nation to the other on the principle of equality of treatment.<sup>97</sup>

What beclouds international strife in most cases is dueable to the selfishness, not of an entire nation, but of all organized groups determined to gain their own selfish ends and having enough political power to force their will upon legislators of Congress. It is to combat these groups that measures have been adopted at the Conferences held at Montevideo and Buenos Aires, and that Acts have been passed by the Congress of the United States which have tended to lessen the feelings of economic inequality and have brought about a more equitable distribution of commerce from this nation to Argentina and other American republics. The future success of Latin American relationships will depend largely upon the adherence to a wise commercial policy both at home and abroad.<sup>98</sup>

The Honorable Sumner Wells, in an address before the Academy of Political Science, New York City, on April 7, 1937, expressed the opinion that the Conference of Buenos Aires was one of the outstanding Conferences. At this Conference there

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Hull, Cordell., "Results and Significance of Buenos Aires Conference", Conference Series, No. 27, Washington, D. C., 1937, pp. 4-9.

Sayre, Francis B., "Our Relations with Latin America", Inter-American Series, No. 14, Washington, D. C., 1937, pp. 9-10.

achieved the principles of American solidarity and cooperation between the American republics. He said:

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---- That it is necessary to consecrate the principle of American solidarity in all non-continental conflicts.<sup>99</sup>

On August 2, 1938, the Secretary of the State of Peru sent a letter or invitation to all American republics to send delegates to the Eighth International Conference to be held in Lima, Peru, in December, 1938. In the invitation, mention was made of a need on the part of the American republics, to strengthen their traditional ties and endeavor to create new bonds of solidarity to protect themselves from the danger of inter-American wars and to guard from any threat of extension to American soil of non-continental disputes.<sup>100</sup> In reply to the invitation to attend the Lima Conference, the Secretary of State, of the United States, Cordell Hull declared that the American nations had agreed at inter-American conferences in the past decade as to mutual improvement of their

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Welles, Sumner., "Practical Accomplishments of Buenos Aires Conferences", Conference Series No. 29, Washington, D. C., 1937, pp. 9-10.

Coucha, Carlos., "Invitation of Peru", Pan American Union, No. 11, Washington, D. C., LXXII, 1938, p. 617.

tical, commercial, social and cultural life. The  
 American nations had made important contributions to the  
 use of world peace by the expansion of the inter-American  
 society based upon respect for the independence, sovereignty  
 political equality of American nations.<sup>101</sup>

The keynote of the opening address was that of Continental  
 solidarity. This was the central theme of all deliberations of  
 the conference, and reached its climax on December 24, with the  
 adoption of the Declaration of the Principles of the Solidarity  
 of the Americas, and the declaration of American Principles. These  
 declarations represented the outstanding achievements of  
 the Conference.<sup>102</sup>

Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, in an address before the  
 conference on December 24, 1938, told the delegates that the  
 feeling of cooperation and solidarity which permeated all pre-  
 sent would present a common defense against any threat or  
 activities from outside the Western Hemisphere which were de-  
 signed to disrupt the peace, security, or territorial integ-  
 rity of any nation or to undermine the democratic governments  
 established in this hemisphere. The Argentina Minister of

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<sup>1</sup> Coucha, Carlos., "Invitation of Peru", Pan American Union,  
No. 11, Washington, D. C., LXII, 1938, p. 619.

<sup>2</sup> Julius Cordell Conference Series, No. 27, United States  
 Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1939, p. 4.

Foreign Affairs, Jose Maria Cantilo, told also of a need for an American solidarity which would unite all men with a brotherly love and a cooperation which would serve the good of all the people of America.<sup>103</sup> The New York Times commented on the Lima Conference in these words:

Twenty-one nations gathered and debated, and there was no hint anywhere of that ancient bogey, the "yankee peril". There was not present there, as there had been at so many other Pan American Conferences, any division of North and South in which the scales were weighted on one side by the American "Colossus"; there was no hint of coercion; there was, in fact, no sign of any greater inter-American division than would appear in difference of opinion. The perception of ultimate solidarity was general and found its expression.<sup>104</sup>

The sum of the work of the Conference was the adoption and signing of 110 resolutions and recommendations, including the Declaration of the Principles of the Solidarity of the Americas, and the Declaration of American Principles.<sup>105</sup> This was another link which bound the United States and Latin America closer together in mutual bonds of political, economic, social and defense ties.

Following the Pan American Conferences held at Buenos Aires, 1936, and Lima, 1938, there was a meeting held at Lima, from September 23 to October 3, 1939, composed of

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<sup>1</sup> Hull, Cordell., "Address to the Conference, December 24, 1939, Department of State, Publication No. 1416, Washington, D.C. 1939, pp. 58-70.

<sup>2</sup> New York Times., December 29, 1938, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Loc. Cit., Conference Series, No. 27, Washington, D. C., 1937, pp. 47-94.

foreign ministers, or their substitutes, from each of the republics of America. The meeting was called because of the situation in Europe due to the crisis resulting from the break of the second world war. While the American republics far removed from the scene of actual warfare, it became evident that their interests were seriously endangered by the break of the war. Normal exports markets were ended; sources supplies were cut off; shipping was either interrupted or impeded; prices were either abnormally or sub-normally changed overnight; currencies of many nations were changed in value; questions of neutral rights arose; former obligations could not be continued; and, travel on the high seas was hazardous.

These combined conditions undoubtedly constituted a menace to the peace and general welfare of the peoples of the American republics.<sup>106</sup> This meeting of diplomatic representatives was a true Pan-American conference, at which several very important declarations and resolutions essentially American in principle were adopted. These declarations were primarily concerned with such questions as: economic cooperation; reaffirming of the principle of solidarity of the Americas; American neutrality; the humanization of war; contraband; protection of American ideals against subversive activities; maintenance of international relations in accordance with

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Report of Delegates of U.S., "Meeting of Foreign Ministers of American Republics Held at Panama, September 3-October 3, 1939", Conference Series, No. 44, Washington, D. C., 1940, pp. 1-2.

stian morals.<sup>107</sup>

The most important achievement of the Panama Conference was the resolution known as the Declaration of Panama. This resolution concerned the establishment of a neutrality zone in American waters. This document defined a zone of from 100 to 200 miles in the waters adjacent to the American continent, in which naval or air machines of war belonging to any of the belligerents were forbidden to commit any act of war.<sup>108</sup> The Conference also passed a resolution relative to territory located in the Americas which was controlled by any of the belligerent nations of Europe. It was decided that such territory should change its allegiance if such change endangered the peace and harmony existing among the American republics.<sup>109</sup> The Conference was a practical demonstration of American solidarity and it established a precedent of inter-American relations. The consultation was an example of the determined will of the people of the new world for a peace based on a renunciation of force, on justice and on equality. All agreements were approved unanimously, which was due in a large measure to the atmosphere of friendliness, cooperation and courteous consideration which marked each and every aspect of all of the delibera-

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Alvarez, Alexander., "International Life and International Law in America", Pan American Union, No. 4, Washington, D. C., 1940, pp. 252-253.

Ibid., p. 253.

Rowe, L.S., Conference Series, No. 44, Washington, D. C., 1940, pp. 13-14.

on. 110

The nations of the new world, in the conflict now raging in Europe, have tried to remain neutral. But being neutral does not mean that they are indifferent to the progress and outcome of the war. The people, however, of the Americas have a duty to perform, which has for its purpose the maintenance of the principle of American solidarity in peace and cooperation, one which serves its people morally, socially, economically and politically.

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<sup>0</sup> Ibid., Conference Series, No. 44, Washington, D. C., 1940, pp. 43-46.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

The trend of Latin American history, especially that of the United States and Argentina reflects the need of cementing ties of peaceful cooperation in economic, social and political fields. The outbreak of World War II in Europe has created difficult situations which confront all the American republics. These situations call for a more whole-hearted effort of a policy of solidarity than has yet been perfected.

The principle of the "good neighbor" was not forcefully put before the Latin American republics until President Roosevelt made his declaration in 1933. It was then carried through the Pan American conferences of Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Lima, and Panama. It was in these conferences that those principles were adopted which would protect these nations of the Western Hemisphere from a collapse of social, economic, political and commercial enterprises. A safety zone has been declared around the twenty one republics. A plan has been adopted which purported to solve the economic problems, by interchange of scientists in agricultural production; by a lowering of trade barriers; and by making



ew commercial treaties.

The chief executives of the United States and Argentina must learn to work together, rather than for local interests; they must seek the same end - economic cooperation and security. The political foundation for cooperation and "good neighbors" has been laid. This feeling of mutual respect demands a common culture, and this culture cannot be attained without industrialism, which with its wealth creates means for education and for raising the standards of living for each individual. This education is being disseminated through the medium of exchange of educators from this nation to Argentina, and through schools in Argentina which offer eight fields of study taught by persons who speak the English language and who use textbooks printed in English.

To achieve the principles desired, a sound philosophy is needed; that is to say, we need faith and common sense. Economic peace will bring spiritual and political peace. This peace can be achieved by cooperation between these nations. Concern for the happiness of individuals should be the guide to the Argentines and Americans alike. Alliances formed will be those of an economic nature, for their minds will be centered on a period of long peace and not of war. To attain these mutual outcomes through a policy of "good neighbor", we must know our neighbor so that we may love him, for individually we do not love those whom we do not know.

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