

TOP SECRET

Navy member of the Latin American ad hoc committee, rather than to have the Secretary submit the problems formally to that sub-committee inasmuch as the War Department member of the sub-committee has already formulated data as to Army objectives.

8. Bombing of Macao

Mr. Dunn stated that the Portuguese Government is expected to protest the recent bombing of Macao, allegedly by U. S. aircraft. He urged that War and Navy Departments investigate the facts of the matter and agreed to circulate any further information coming to the notice of the State Department. Mr. Kane advised that the Navy is already investigating the matter.

9. Breaking the German Will to Resist

Mr. Kane introduced JCS 1218 on this subject and stated that the Secretary of the Navy wished the committee to consider whether it properly comes within its scope. After discussion, it was agreed that the matter should be left to regular channels on propaganda matters.

SECRET

SWGCC _____

19 January 1945

Agreed to

Army

STATE-NAVY COORDINATING COMMITTEE

CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS

Note By the Secretaries

The Enclosures have been submitted by the Navy member for the consideration by the Committee.

WALLACE E. WHITSON

KELVIN L. BUTTING

HAROLD W. MOSELEY

Secretariat

Encls:

- (A) Memorandum by the Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Navy
- (B) Draft of Memorandum for the JCS

(8)

SECRET

SWNCC _____

19 January 1945

ENCLOSURE (A)

Memorandum by the Special Assistant to the
Secretary of the Navy

The following problems with respect to the Conference of American Republics are submitted to the Committee with recommendation that they be referred to the ad hoc committee on Latin-America for immediate discussion and recommendations to the SWNCC:

- a. U.S. policy with respect to the extension of commercial aviation in Latin America, looking at this matter from the strategic point of view?
- b. U.S. policy with respect to the merchant fleets of the American Republics?
- c. U.S. policy with respect to international communications in the Western Hemisphere?
- d. U.S. policy with respect to the development of natural resources of such strategic materials as oil and rubber by U.S. nationals and others in South and Central America?

SECRET

SWNCC _____

19 January 1945

ENCLOSURE (B)Draft Memorandum for the Joint Chiefs of Staff

1. Attached is copy of a letter, with enclosures, from the State Department dated January 15, 1945 to the Secretaries of War and Navy Department regarding the Conference of American Republics.

2. This matter is under consideration by the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee which would appreciate having the advice and comments of the Joint Chiefs of Staff with respect to the following questions relative to American Republics:

- a. Any comments with respect to the reply which you feel the War and Navy Secretaries should make with respect to the foregoing letter.
- b. Definition of U.S. Military, air, and naval base objectives in Latin America. This to confirm or supplement previous JCS papers on the subject of bases.
- c. What bases of other American Republics are desired for use by the U.S.? *This to confirm or supplement previous JCS papers on the subject of bases.*
- d. What should U.S. policy be as to the contribution by other American Republics in the military (naval) field, in terms of equipment and forces, for the security of the Western Hemisphere?
- e. What should U.S. policy be as to the training of other American forces by the U.S.?
- f. What should U.S. policy be with respect to the U.S. furnishing weapons and military (naval) equipment to other American Republics?
- g. What should U.S. objectives be regarding disposal in Latin America of surplus property - strategic considerations in this regard?

SECRET

SWSCC

ENCLOSURE (B) (Cont'd)

- h. What machinery should be provided from here out for the cooperation of staffs between the American Republics and ourselves for the security of the hemisphere?
 - i. From a strategic point of view, what should the U.S. position be with regard to the support or non support of ^{Chile, Uruguay and} Paraguay with respect to Argentina?
 - j. Other matters of strategic importance to the U.S. which should be borne in mind in conversations with the other American Republics.
3. In view of the imminence of the Conference of American Republics on February 15, it would be appreciated if this matter were considered as a matter of ~~urgency~~ ^{priority}.

SECRET

091-Latin America

STATE-WAR-NAVY COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STATE DEPARTMENT
Washington 25, D. C.

APPENDIX "B"

19 January 1945

MEMORANDUM TO THE SECRETARY, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF.

Subject: Military and Naval Objectives in Latin America.

Reference my memorandum of 18 January 1945, same subject, the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee in its sixth meeting on 19 January directed that the advice and comments of the Joint Chiefs of Staff be requested with respect to the following specific questions relative to American Republics:

- a. Any comments with respect to the reply which you feel the War and Navy Secretaries should make with respect to the letter inclosed with my letter of 18 January.
- b. Definition of U.S. Military, air, and naval base objectives in Latin America. This to confirm or supplement previous JCS papers on the subject of bases.
- c. What bases of other American Republics are desired for use by the U.S.? This to confirm or supplement previous JCS papers on the subject of bases.
- d. What should U.S. policy be as to the contribution by other American Republics in the military (naval) field, in terms of equipment and forces, for the security of the Western Hemisphere?
- e. What should U.S. policy be as to the training of other American forces by the U.S.?
- f. What should U.S. policy be with respect to the U.S. furnishing weapons and military (naval) equipment to other American Republics?
- g. What should U.S. objectives be regarding disposal in Latin America of surplus property - strategic considerations in this regard?
- h. What machinery should be provided from here out for the cooperation of staffs between the American Republics and ourselves for the security of the hemisphere?
- i. From a strategic point of view, what should the U.S. position be with regard to the support or non-support of Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay with respect to Argentina?

SECRET

8

SECRET

j. Other matters of strategic importance to the U.S. which should be borne in mind in conversations with the other American Republics.

In view of the imminence of the Conference of American Republics on 15 February, it would be appreciated if this matter were considered as a matter of priority.

For the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee:

WALLACE E. WHITSON
Secretary

SECRET

SECRET

091 Latin America

STATE-WAR-NAVY COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STATE DEPARTMENT
Washington 25, D. C.

APPENDIX "A"

18 January 1945

MEMORANDUM TO THE SECRETARY, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF.

Subject: Military and Naval Objectives in Latin America.

Secretary of State, in preparation for the forthcoming Conference of American Republics Cooperating in the War Effort, has requested the views of the Secretaries of War and Navy, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, with reference to matters involving military and naval affairs which might appropriately be considered at the Conference. A copy of the Secretary of State's letter with enclosure is attached.

The State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee will secure from the War and Navy Departments statements of the objectives of those departments in the other American Republics. On behalf of the Secretaries of War and Navy, this Committee requests the views of the Joint Chiefs of Staff so that, before submission to the Secretary of State, considerations may be had on our military objectives with reference to present operational problems as well as post-war interests.

For your information an ad hoc committee has been formed to consider this problem for the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee, in which the War Department is represented by Major General Robert Lee Walsh and Brigadier General Kenner F. Hertford, and the Navy Department by Rear Admiral W. O. Spears.

It will be appreciated if this can be considered as a matter of priority.

For the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee:

WALLACE E. WHITSON
Secretary

Enc.

Cy ltr 1/15/45, to Sec'y of War, fm
Sec'y of State and enc.

⑧

SECRET

ANNEX "A" to APPENDIX "A"

January 15, 1945

SECRET

My dear Mr. Secretary:

The Department of State is, as you are aware, engaged in preparing for the participation by this Government in a Conference of American republics which are cooperating in the war effort. The Conference will convene February 15 in Mexico City. I enclose for your information a copy of the short agenda proposed by this Government which has recently been communicated to the Governments of all the other American republics except Argentina and El Salvador.

The Department desires to work in the closest cooperation with the War and Navy Departments and the Joint Chiefs of Staff in preparing the position of this Government with respect to the consideration at the Conference of matters involving military and naval affairs. An *ad hoc* committee of representatives of the three Departments, under the chairmanship of Mr. Avra Warren, Director of the Office of American Republic Affairs, has been designated to facilitate that cooperation.

It is not believed that the forthcoming Conference will consider the military and naval matters which this Government is taking up through bilateral negotiations and discussions with the other American republics. However, as background in preparing for this Conference, I shall appreciate your giving me a statement of the objectives of the War Department in the other American republics together with an indication of the relative importance thereof, and any other comments or suggestions which you can provide as a contribution to the development of the United States position at the forthcoming Conference.

I am sending a similar letter to the Secretary of the Navy and furnishing copies to the State, War and Navy Coordinating Committee.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph C. Grew

Acting Secretary

The Honorable
Henry L. Stimson
Secretary of War

SECRET

(5)

Enclosure:
Copy of Proposed Short Agenda

SWNCC:CWMcB:REO

**STATE-WAR-NAVY COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STATE, WAR AND NAVY DEPARTMENTS
Washington 25, D. C.**

13 January 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. McCLOY:

At the conclusion of the meeting of the Committee, on 12 January 1945, Mr. Dunn agreed with your suggestion that tri-departmental committees in the process of formation or to be formed, should be brought under the general cover of the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee.

You mentioned Mr. Clayton's Committee on Aviation and Mr. Rockefeller's Committee on Latin America. You might wish to advise Mr. Lovett of the agreement with Mr. Dunn in view of his interest in the Aviation Committee.

SIGNED

McCARTHY

(1)

COPY

TAB "A" LAMEX "A"

RESTRICTEDCIRCULARJan. 5 1945
5:40 PM

TO CERTAIN AMERICAN REPUBLICS

The Department refers to its circular telegram of December 22. You are requested to address a memorandum in the following general terms to the Foreign Minister of the country to which you are accredited. You are authorized to make such alterations in the text as may appear advisable in the light of any communications exchanged between you and the Foreign Minister, particularly with regard to references. QUOTE In connection with the consultations which have been taking place with regard to a possible conference of American republics which are participating in the war effort, the Government of the United States has completed a preliminary study of the question of a suggested agenda.

The Government of the United States feels that the urgent problems confronting the American republics at the present stage of the war fall into three major groups, each involving the adjustment and extension of the cooperative relationship and activities of the American republics.

The Government of the United States accordingly proposes the following agenda for such a conference:

- I. Further cooperative Measures for the Prosecution of the War to Complete Victory.
- II. Consideration of Problems of International Organization for Peace and Security.
 - A. World Organization.
 - B. The Further Development of the Inter-American System, and its Relations to World Organization.
- III. Consideration

6

RESTRICTED

-2-

- III. Consideration of the Economic and Social Problems of the Americans.
 - A. War and Transitional Economic Cooperation.
 - B. Consideration of Methods of Further Cooperation for the Improvement of Economic and Social Conditions of the Peoples of the Americas with the End of Raising Their General Standard of Living.
- IV Other Matters of General and Immediate Concern to the Participating Governments.

In drawing up this possible agenda, the Government of the United States has sought to make it sufficiently broad to cover with desirable brevity all topics which might appropriately be discussed at the conference.

The Government of the United States believes that an exchange of views between the American republics regarding the topics to be considered at the conference will advance the preparation of the final agenda when the site of the conference has been agreed upon. END UNQUOTE.

In presenting this note you should make it clear that the proposed agenda was drawn up on the basis of suggestions received from the various other American Republics. In this connection you are authorized in your discretion to indicate how any views expressed by the government of the country to which you are accredited with regard to the agenda would fit into the proposed agenda.

You

-3-

You are authorized, particularly in the event that the Foreign Minister raises the question, to inform him orally that the fourth general point in the proposed agenda is intended to cover an informal discussion of the Argentine request for the convocation of a meeting of Foreign Ministers as well as such other general topics as may properly be brought before the conference.

Repeated to San Salvador for information (repeat information) only.

Stettinius

MAIL ROOM: To be sent to Embassies at Habana, Cuba, San Jose, Costa Rica, Ciudad Trujillo, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Guatemala, Port-au-Prince, Haiti, Tegucigalpa, Honduras, Managua, Nicaragua, Panama, Panama, and San Salvador, El Salvador.

Accompanied by hectograph.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

117

Col U. Anton

Attached is the
much awaited letter
on Latin America

W. H. Moseley

SECRET

January 15, 1946

SECRET

My dear Mr. Secretary:

The Department of State is, as you are aware, engaged in preparing for the participation by this Government in a Conference of American republics which are cooperating in the war effort. The Conference will convene February 15 in Mexico City. I enclose for your information a copy of the short agenda proposed by this Government which has recently been communicated to the Governments of all the other American republics except Argentina and El Salvador.

The Department desires to work in the closest cooperation with the War and Navy Departments and the Joint Chiefs of Staff in preparing the position of this Government with respect to the consideration at the Conference of matters involving military and naval affairs. An ad hoc committee of representatives of the three Departments, under the chairmanship of Mr. Avra Warren, Director of the Office of American Republic Affairs, has been designated to facilitate that cooperation.

It is not believed that the forthcoming Conference will consider the military and naval matters which this Government is taking up through bilateral negotiations and discussions with the other American republics. However, as background in preparing for this Conference, I shall appreciate your giving me a statement of the objectives of the War Department in the other American republics, together with an indication of the relative importance thereof, and any other comments or suggestions which you can provide as a contribution to the

development

The Honorable
Henry L. Stimson,
Secretary of War.

SECRET

-2-

development of the United States position at the forthcoming Conference.

I am sending a similar letter to the Secretary of the Navy and furnishing copies to the State, War and Navy Coordinating Committee.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph C. Grew

Acting Secretary

Enclosure:
Copy of Proposed
Short Agenda

A true copy of
this signed original
is being furnished
to the
State, War
and Navy
Coordinating
Committee.

RL:JCD:GFN
IS:JEJ
1/10/12/45

OA SPA ARA A-R S

SECRET

091-Latin America

11 January 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. McCLOY.

Not only should the SWNCC consider the establishment of policy, as set forth in letter to Mr. Crowley, but the Committee should be the instrument through which the three departments employ lend-lease in the American Republics, as an instrument to develop a firm international policy based on military as well as political requirements.

I have learned, informally, that Mr. Rockefeller is proposing the formation of a committee, with representatives of the State, War and Navy Departments, to work under his guidance in integrating our military and political aims in Latin America. In order to prevent "spreading" it would seem advisable to have any committee so formed, formed as a sub-committee of the SWNCC. I recall that Mr. Dunn has indicated that when political matters, effecting the American Republics, are to be discussed that he would ask Mr. Rockefeller to sit with the Committee. Thus Mr. Rockefeller would have ample opportunity to present his views before any action is taken by the committee and if deemed appropriate, Latin American sub-committee papers could be referred to Mr. Rockefeller for his comment before being presented to the Committee.

SECRET

SECRET

STATE-WAR-NAVY COORDINATING COMMITTEE
STATE DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

3 January 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Avra Warren, Department of State
Rear Admiral W. O. Spears, U. S. N.
Major General Robert LeG. Walsh, U. S. A.
Brigadier General Kenner F. Hertford, U. S. A.

Subject: Ad hoc Committee to Assist State Department
in Preparing for Conference of American
Republics Cooperating in the War Effort.

1. At the Third Meeting of the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee the above listed officers were designated as members of an ad hoc Committee to assist in the preparation for the forthcoming Conference of American Republics Cooperating in the War Effort.
2. This committee will confine itself to a study of military objectives to be considered at the forthcoming conference.

WALLACE E. WHITSON

Secretary

(5)

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON**SECRET**

18 January 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF WAR:

SUBJECT: Lend-Lease Policy for the American Republics

1. As requested in your memorandum of 10 January 1945, the views of the War Department General Staff on the copy of a draft letter to be dispatched to Mr. Crowley of the Foreign Economic Administration by the Secretary of State, are herewith furnished to you:

a. The War Department agrees that before an allocation or transfer is made of Lend-Lease equipment to Latin American Republics, the approval of the Department of State should be obtained in so far as foreign policy is concerned. This, of course, excludes Brazil and Mexico, which countries, as the Department of State agrees, are special cases. The procedure requested has been followed, at least in so far as major items and initial issues are concerned, for some months on an informal basis between the War Department and the Department of State.

b. While the War Department agrees that henceforth all deliveries of munitions of war to these governments should be decided upon primarily on the basis of their effect upon the foreign relations of this country, it is desired to point out that the national interest will be served best by supplying these republics with standardized equipment of American manufacture in amounts appropriate to the size and composition of the forces each country should maintain for purposes of hemispheric security.

c. It should be understood that in so far as the equipment of the War or Navy Department is concerned, the matter of its availability for allocation or transfer will continue to be decided by the War or Navy Department on the basis of the overall requirements for the defense of the United States, its territories, dependencies and leased bases as well as the theaters of active operations.

**SECRET**

A handwritten mark consisting of a circle with a diagonal slash through it, located in the bottom right area of the page.

SECRET

Subject: Lend-Lease Policy for the American Republics

2. It is the view of the War Department General Staff that the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee should concur in the proposed draft letter to Mr. Crowley from the Secretary of State with the following amendment after the second sentence of the second paragraph:

"It will be understood that insofar as the equipment of the War and Navy Departments is concerned, the matter of its availability for allocation or transfer will continue to be decided by the War or Navy Department, as the case may be, on the basis of the overall requirements for the defense of the United States, its territories, dependencies and leased bases as well as the theaters of active operations."

3. It is the view of the Pan-American Division, United States Navy, Rear-Admiral W. O. Spears, that the following sentence should be added to the above suggested amendment:

"However, the War and Navy Departments must continue to be in a position to render assistance through Lend-Lease to other American Republics, should an emergency military situation require, without the necessity of obtaining prior approval of the Department of State."

The War Department General Staff does not anticipate that there will be any difficulty with the Department of State in the event of an emergency. Therefore, it is felt that this should not be presented as the War Department view.

4. The Secretary of War and the Secretary of Navy requested the views of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on the identical letters referred to in the first sentence of the second paragraph of the proposed letter to Mr. Crowley. The Joint Chiefs of Staff in JCS 629/8 of 29 August 1944 expressed the opinion that the present policies governing Lend-Lease to Latin American Republics should be continued in effect, and added that they perceived no military objection to according controlling weight to Department of State policy in the determination of the order of priority in point of time of issues of equipment among Latin American Republics. The Secretary of War replied to the Secretary of State along these lines on 13 September 1944. In view of this, it is considered that the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee should refer the draft of the Crowley letter as amended above to the Joint Chiefs of Staff for their views.

Thos Handy
THOS. T. HANDY
Lieutenant General, GSC
Deputy Chief of Staff

SECRET²

SECRET

STATE-WAR-NAVY COORDINATING COMMITTEE

For information and comment at the next meeting of the SWNCC.

D R A F T

My dear Mr. Crowley:

The Department of State has been giving careful consideration to the policy issues involved in the allocation and transfer of munitions of war under Lend-Lease to the other American Republics. In this connection it has been guided by the announced opinion of the Joint Army and Navy Advisory Board on the American Republics, as approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that under the present strategic situation any major threat to the security of the Western Hemisphere has largely been removed. The Department has concluded that this country's commitments under the Lend-Lease agreements with the other American Republics need to be reconsidered in the light of these changed conditions and of the over-all requirements of this country's foreign policy, and that hence forth all deliveries of munitions of war to these governments should be decided upon primarily on the basis of their effect upon the foreign relations of this country. The President has approved this view.

The Secretary of State recently addressed identical letters to the Secretaries of War and Navy advising them of the Department's concern in this matter and suggesting consultation, in the light of foreign policy, on any assignment of munitions of war to the other American Republics which may be contemplated. In order to clarify the primacy of the Foreign Policy consideration involved in any future Lend-Lease allocations and transfers of munitions of war, I believe that, in each case before such an allocation or transfer is made, the approval of the Department of State should be obtained, in so far as foreign policy is concerned. It will be understood that insofar as the equipment of the War and Navy Departments is concerned, the matter of its availability for allocation or transfer will continue to be decided by the War or Navy Department, as the case may be, on the basis of the overall requirements for the defense of the United States, its territories, dependencies and leased bases as well as the theaters of active operations. Exception to this suggested procedure is made in the transfer of munitions of war to Brazil and Mexico since they are, for the present, special cases. Accordingly, I now deem it advisable, pursuant to the provisions of section 4 of the President's Executive Order no. 9380 of September 25, 1943, to request you to inform all those having authority over Lend-Lease matters, including those in the War and Navy Departments to whom you have delegated your authority, to that effect.

I am sure that you will agree with me in appreciating that this matter is of the utmost importance to the foreign policy of this Government and that it is necessary that there should be a clear understanding with respect to it.

Sincerely yours,

SECRET

Acting Secretary.

SECRET

WDCAS:CWMCM:RBC

10 January 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF.

The attached copy of a draft of a letter to be dispatched to Mr. Crowley, of the FRA by the Secretary of State, will be presented for consideration at the next meeting of the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee, 12 January 1945. I would appreciate having the War Department's view on this matter prior to that time if possible. If the time for preparation is inadequate, I will ask that the matter be held over until the next meeting.

John J. McCloy

Enc.

Dft of ltr to Mr. Crowley
fm Sec'y of State.

Deputy Chief of Staff
Room 3E-936, Pentagon

4

SECRET

C
P
YSECRET

STATE-WAR-NAVY COORDINATING COMMITTEE

For information and comment at the next meeting of the SWNCC:

DRAFT

My dear Mr. Crowley:

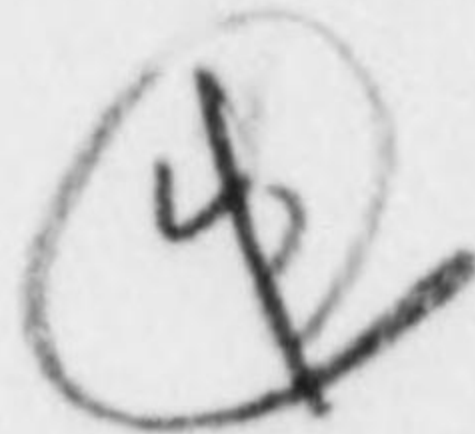
The Department of State has been giving careful consideration to the policy issues involved in the allocation and transfer of munitions of war under Lend-Lease to the other American Republics. In this connection it has been guided by the announced opinion of the Joint Army and Navy Advisory Board on the American Republics, as approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that under the present strategic situation any major threat to the security of the Western Hemisphere has largely been removed. The Department has concluded that this country's commitments under the Lend-Lease agreements with the other American Republics need to be reconsidered in the light of these changed conditions and of the over-all requirements of this country's foreign policy, and that hence forth all deliveries of munitions of war to these governments should be decided upon primarily on the basis of their effect upon the foreign relations of this country. The President has approved this view.

The Secretary of State recently addressed identical letters to the Secretaries of War and Navy advising them of the Department's concern in this matter and suggesting consultation, in the light of foreign policy, on any assignment of munitions of war to the other American Republics which may be contemplated. In order to clarify the primacy of the Foreign Policy considerations involved in any future Lend-Lease allocations and transfers of munitions of war, I believe that, in each case before such an allocation or transfer is made, the approval of the Department of State should be obtained, in so far as foreign policy is concerned. Exception to this suggested procedure is made in the transfer of munitions of war to Brazil and Mexico since they are, for the present, special cases. Accordingly, I now deem it advisable, pursuant to the provisions of section 4 of the President's Executive Order no. 9380 of September 25, 1943, to request you to inform all those having authority over Lend-Lease matters, including those in the War and Navy Departments to whom you have delegated your authority, to that effect.

I am sure that you will agree with me in appreciating that this matter is of the utmost importance to the foreign policy of this Government and that it is necessary that there should be a clear understanding with respect to it.

Sincerely yours,

Acting Secretary



*Serial**SWNCC 4*SECRET*9 Jan 1945**9 JANUARY 1945**ENCLOSURE*~~STATE WAR-NAVY COORDINATING COMMITTEE~~

DRAFT OF PROPOSED LETTER TO THE DIRECTOR OF
~~For information and comment at the next meeting~~ *FEA*
~~of the SWNCC:~~

~~DRAFT~~

My dear Mr. Crowley:

The Department of State has been giving careful consideration to the policy issues involved in the allocation and transfer of munitions of war under Lend-Lease to the other American Republics. In this connection it has been guided by the announced opinion of the Joint Army and Navy Advisory Board on the American Republics, as approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that under the present strategic situation any major threat to the security of the Western Hemisphere has largely been removed. The Department has concluded that this country's commitments under the Lend-Lease agreements with the other American Republics need to be reconsidered in the light of these changed conditions and of the over-all requirements of this country's foreign policy, and that henceforth all deliveries of munitions of war to these governments should be decided upon primarily on the basis of their effect upon the foreign relations of this country. The President has approved this view.

The Secretary of State recently addressed identical letters to the Secretaries of War and Navy advising them of the Department's concern in this matter and suggesting consultation, in the light of foreign policy, on any assignment of munitions of war to the other American Republics which may be contemplated. In order to clarify the primacy of the Foreign Policy considerations involved in any future Lend-Lease allocations and transfers of munitions of war, I believe that, in each case before such an allocation or transfer is made, the approval of the Department of State should be obtained, in so far as foreign policy is concerned. Exception to this suggested procedure is made in the transfer of munitions of war to Brazil and Mexico since they are, for the present, special cases. Accordingly, I now deem it advisable, pursuant to the provisions of section 4 of the President's Executive Order no. 9380 of September 25, 1943, to request you to inform all those having authority over Lend-Lease matters, including those in the War and Navy Departments to whom you have delegated your authority, to that effect.

JB
I am

-2-

I am sure that you will agree with me in appreciating that this matter is of the utmost importance to the foreign policy of this Government and that it is necessary that there should be a clear understanding with respect to it.

Sincerely yours,

Acting Secretary

SECRET

SWNCC:QWMCN:RBO

091 Letman.

1 January 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY GENERAL STAFF.

**Subject: Statement of Procedure in the Conduct
of Bilateral Military Staff Conversations
in the Other American Republics.**

It appears that adequate departmental coordination
has been accomplished in regard to the attached paper.

No further action by the State-War-Navy Coordinating
Committee is considered necessary.

The contents have been noted.

(SIGNED)

CHARLES W. McCARTHY
Acting Secretary
State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee

Secretary General Staff
3E-928, Pentagon

(3)

SECRET

SECRET

1 January 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD.

Secretary of State objected to the prescribed procedure for conduct of bilateral military staff conversations in the other American Republics which circumvented Chiefs of Diplomatic Missions in those countries. By informal agreement the Secretaries of War, State and Navy accepted the procedure as detailed in the attached memorandum. Subject paper is formal acknowledgement by Secretary of War accepting this agreement. Similar action is being taken by Secretary of the Navy. (Lt. Col. Hickman, Operations Division, War Department General Staff, 3321.)



SECRET

S E C R E TSTATEMENT OF PROCEDURE IN THE CONDUCT OF BILATERAL MILITARY STAFF
CONVERSATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA

1. The military and naval staff conversations which are to be held with the other American republics involve both the foreign relations of the United States, which are, under the President, the responsibility of the Department of State and its representatives abroad, and the military security of the United States, which is, under the President, the responsibility of the War and Navy Departments.

2. The State, War and Navy Departments have accordingly agreed to the following principles which will govern relationships between Department of State representatives and representatives of the War and Navy Departments in the conduct of these staff conversations with other American republics:

a. All preliminary arrangements for military staff conversations will be made through diplomatic channels.

b. The United States Ambassador will be the adviser on all protocol arrangements, make the necessary introductions to the foreign representatives designated to conduct these conversations, attend the opening and closing plenary sessions, and, if he deems it advisable, attend or be represented at other general meetings.

c. Throughout these military staff conversations the Ambassador will be kept fully advised of the progress of all conversations, and although he will have a right to be present at any meeting if he thinks this necessary, it is not contemplated that the Ambassador will find it advisable to be present at conversations of a technical, military and exploratory nature.

d. The Ambassador will have general guidance of the conversations on all political matters.



S E C R E T

- 2 -

c. The Ambassador will have the power to veto or terminate any part of the conversations which he considers would have injurious political results, subject to review by the State, War and Navy Departments in Washington.

f. The Ambassador will not have power to give directions to military or naval representatives as to technical military or naval matters.

g. In case the Ambassador and the military or naval representatives disagree as to the conduct of the conversations and the question arises whether military (naval) or political matters are involved, the disagreement will be referred to the appropriate departments in Washington for decision.

S E C R E T

SECRET

WDOAS:HAG:MAW

11 January 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR MAJOR GENERAL ROBERT WALSH, AAF:

The Chairman of the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee, Assistant Secretary of State, James C. Dunn, requested a statement of the principle objectives of the War Department in Latin America for the information and guidance of the State Department in its conversations at the forthcoming conference of the Latin American United Nations to be held sometime in February. To advise the State Department in these discussions Assistant Secretary Dunn requested the designation of military and naval advisors, pursuant to which you and General Hertford have been designated.

The attached statement on the principle objectives of the War Department, prepared by the War Department General Staff, is forwarded to you for your information and guidance in the discussions mentioned above.

(SIGNED)

HARRISON A. GERHARDT
Colonel, General Staff Corps
Executive to Ass't Secretary of War

Enc.
Comprehensive Statement of Objectives, etc.

Major General Robert Walsh
Army Air Forces
Rm. 3E 1073
Pentagon Building

COPY FOR SECRETARY
S. W. N. C. C.

SECRET

SECRET
D

JAN 10 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF WAR:

Subject: Pan-American Matters

The comprehensive statement of the principal present objectives of the War Department in Latin America which you requested in your memorandum on the above subject dated 23 December 1944 for delivery by 10 January 1945 is attached.

(Sgd) THOS. T. HANDY

THOS. T. HANDY
Lieutenant General, GSC
Deputy Chief of Staff

1 Incl
Comprehensive
Statement (in dup.)

2

2

REPORT BY ASW:

A copy of the attached statement of the principles of the objectives of the War Department in Latin America has been transmitted to the senior War Department representative (Major General Robert Walsh, AAF) on the ad hoc committee on Latin America.

COPY TO ACCOMPANY ORIGINAL

SECRET

TAB D

SECRET

Comprehensive Statement Of The
Present Principal Objectives
Of The War Department
In Latin America

(Handwritten mark)

COPY TO ACCOMPANY ORIGINAL
SECRET

SECRET

1. To establish and maintain a spirit of friendly cooperation with the Latin American Armed Forces to the end that maximum coordination of effort will result in the defense of the Panama Canal and the Western Hemisphere.

A united Latin America cooperating with the United States in the defense of the Panama Canal and the Western Hemisphere denies bases, materials, as well as markets to hostile foreign nations in time of war and contributes towards the security of the United States from attack from this hemisphere as well as making available to the United States and Allies all that is denied to foreign hostile nations.

2. Preservation of peaceful conditions in the Western Hemisphere.

An Inter-American clash in Latin America during the present war might require military intervention in order to secure the Western Hemisphere. Any diversion of military forces for such purpose could only occur to the detriment of the prosecution of the war against the Axis Powers.

3. Continued flow of critical materials from South America.

Certain raw materials are vital to our war effort and the uninterrupted flow of these to the United States is essential. The materials needed for 1945 production are:

a. Materials from South America - Most Desirable

- Argentina - Quebracho Extract, Hides, Canned Roast Beef, Canned Corned Beef, Dried Bones (Raw material for photographic gelatin and adhesives.)
- Aruba - Naphthenic Acid (crude), Refined Petroleum Products.
- Bolivia - Tin, Cinchona Bark and Derivatives, Ipecac and/or Emetine, Natural Rubber.
- Brazil - Mica (strategic grade), Quartz Crystal, Manganese, Baddeleyite, Industrial Diamonds, Coffee, Natural Rubber, Castor Beans.
- Chile - Copper, Sodium Nitrate (must be obtained to free ammonia for explosives program).
- Colombia - Platinum, Cinchona Bark and Derivatives, Natural Rubber, Crude Petroleum.
- Cuba - Chromite, Dried Bones.
- Curacao - Refined Petroleum Products.
- Ecuador - Cinchona Bark and Derivatives, Natural Rubber, Balsa Wood.

SECRET

SECRET

Guatemala - Cinchona Bark and Derivatives.
 Nicaragua - Ipecac and/or Emetine, Natural Rubber.
 Panama - Abaca Fiber.
 Paraguay - Dried Bones
 Peru - Bismuth, Natural Rubber.
 Surinam - Bauxite.
 Uruguay - Dried Bones.
 Venezuela - Industrial Diamonds, Crude Petroleum, Refined Petroleum Products.

b. Materials from South America - Desirable

Argentina - Zinc Concentrates, Glue and Gelatin Stock, Casein, Flax Seed, Sunflower Seed.
 Amazon Area - Cocoa Beans.
 Bolivia - Antimony, Tungsten.
 Brazil - Horse Hair, Cattle Tail Hair, Mahogany, Beryl, Monazite, Rutile, Tantalite, Pyrethrum Flowers (would become essential in the event of crop failure in Kenya), Rotenone, Tapioca, Babasu Nuts and Oil, Oiticica Oil, Beeswax, Ouricury Wax, Carnauba Wax.
 Chile - Iodine.
 Colombia - Rotenone.
 Cuba - Glue and Gelatin Stock.
 Guatemala - Mahogany.
 Honduras - Mahogany.
 Paraguay - Glue and Gelatin Stock.
 Peru - Lead, Vanadium, Rotenone, Arsenic.
 Uruguay - Glue and Gelatin Stock.
 Venezuela - Rotenone.

4. Strengthen hemispheric defense and the potential war industrial capacity of the United States.

To provide adequately for hemispheric defense, it is necessary that the United States have control of selected strategic air bases as well as additional bases and facilities with landing and other rights so as to permit adequate deployment of the United States Army Air Forces in Latin America. Both the armies and the air forces of the Latin American republics must also be developed, as economic, military and political circumstances may dictate from time to time, in such manner that a proper balance between countries will exist and the military forces of any or all can be effectively deployed and integrated, if occasion demands, in a defense force with the United States Army. Furthermore, it is essential that after the presently expanded United States war industry is reconverted to civilian production, United States factories produce such types of materiel that rapid expansion again into war production will be possible. To achieve these ends it is necessary to lay the foundations now.

SECRET

SECRET

5. Some of the foundations referred to above are:

- a. Acquisition of strategic bases and landing rights for United States military aircraft and development of adequate airways facilities throughout Latin America.

By agreement of 27 March 1941, the United Kingdom leased to the United States certain naval and air bases in the Western Hemisphere, including the Caribbean and South America, for 99 years with full and exclusive military control but with no civil air rights. At some of these bases it probably will be desirable to permit commercial air operations, with the consent of the British. In addition, the Joint Chiefs of Staff have listed other locations in Latin America at which air bases will be required for the direct defense of the United States, its leased areas and possessions, or for the defense of the Western Hemisphere. On some of these bases, the optimum rights include exclusive military control. On others, landing rights only are desired, and still on others are desired landing rights with rights to maintain facilities and military forces on a non-exclusive basis. To use these bases effectively, additional navigational facilities will be needed on the routes thereto, such as alternate airports, emergency landing strips, radio beacons, traffic control centers, meteorological stations and communications nets.

The State Department, with the advice and assistance of the War and Navy Departments, has already secured rights to strategic bases from one Latin American republic. Negotiations with other countries to implement the program of the Joint Chiefs of Staff are necessary.

- b. Establishment of air and ground military missions in every republic.

The presence of military missions is an essential part of the machinery required to reorient the military thought of Latin America from European influence to the lines of our military doctrine. Also the presence of an air and ground military mission in each Latin American Republic would enable representatives of the War Department to guide the Air and War Ministries on the size of the Armed Forces in each republic, thus counteracting in a large measure any tendency towards an arms race, and contributing to the preservation of peace in the Western Hemisphere.

The republics in which missions are desired as soon as conditions permit are:

Ground Missions: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Mexico, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Air Missions: Brazil, Cuba, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Uruguay.

SECRET

SECRET

c. Standardization of military equipment and civil aviation equipment of each republic along American lines.

Standardization of military equipment along American lines would make each government largely dependent on the government of the United States for munitions and all replacement parts and would invite requests for the War Department to furnish instructors to train the armed forces in the use and maintenance of the equipment. It also would minimize the expansion of arms industries in Latin America. Similarly, standardization on United States civil aircraft and aviation equipment would not only tend to make those republics dependent on the United States aviation industry, but would assist in operations by our military aircraft there. As a first step in this direction, the disposal agencies of the United States Government, subject to approval by the War, Navy, and State Departments, should supply the Latin American republics, within their financial capabilities, with military equipment required for the reequipping and standardization of their Armed Forces along American lines. This should be done in such a manner that the allocation will promote friendly relations and reflect credit on United States industry, will be suitable to the needs of the recipient and not in excess of its capabilities for operation and maintenance and will assist in developing armed forces for effective combined deployment in hemispheric defense, in accordance with plans that have been, or may be, approved by the War, Navy, and State Departments.

d. Standardization of armies and air forces of each republic along American lines.

Standardization of the armies and air forces of each republic along American lines would facilitate cooperation and coordination of the armed effort of the United States and the other American republics against a common enemy. This can best be accomplished through air and ground military missions, composed of qualified officers to organize and train these forces. Once established, this standardization would result in requests for further training by United States officers.

e. Training of Latin Americans in United States Army Schools.

Under Act of Congress, June 24, 1938 (Stat. 1034) and Executive Order 7964 dated August 29, 1938, the War Department is authorized to furnish training to Latin American military personnel without cost to the Governments concerned. In 1941, prior to our entry into the war, the War Department implemented this policy. Because of the war some of this training has been curtailed. However, training is being given to Latin Americans in the Panama Canal Department as well as in the United States on a limited scale. As the war progresses and facilities and personnel permit, it may be possible to increase training of Latin

SECRET

SECRET

American military personnel. The indoctrination of such personnel with American methods may well contribute towards the realization of the objectives set forth in paragraphs 5 b, c, d above. It is hoped that the War Department may be soon in a position to allot to each republic permanent quotas for the training of military personnel in United States Army Schools.

f. Establishment of ionospheric reporting stations with necessary communication facilities.

Information and analysis of radio wave propagation through probing of the electronic shell of the earth is vitally important in the research and development of communications.

6. The means by which the objectives insofar as air matters are concerned described in paragraphs 5a and 5c can best be achieved is by development of strong United States owned or sponsored commercial airlines facilities throughout Latin America.

This program will:

- a. Preclude the necessity to implement another airport development plan for Latin America;
- b. Make available for the use of the United States Armed Forces in the event of an emergency suitable air bases with adequate runways, taxiways, warm-up aprons, hangars, repair shops, depots, gasoline storage tanks and certain limited stocks, airways weather stations and communications networks;
- c. Facilitate negotiation of immediate staging and/or base rights in the event of an emergency;
- d. Give impetus to the United States aviation industry and contribute not only to the research and development activities of the United States aviation but also to the facile expansion of the industry into war production.

SECRET

SECRET

C-O-P-Y

Comprehensive Statement of the
Present Principal Objectives
of The War Department
In Latin America

SECRET

②

SECRET

C-O-P-Y

1. To establish and maintain a spirit of friendly cooperation with the Latin American Armed Forces to the end that maximum coordination of effort will result in the defense of the Panama Canal and the Western Hemisphere.

A united Latin America cooperating with the United States in the defense of the Panama Canal and the Western Hemisphere denies bases, materials, as well as markets to hostile foreign nations in time of war and contributes towards the security of the United States from attack from this hemisphere as well as making available to the United States and Allies all that is denied to foreign hostile nations.

2. Preservation of peaceful conditions in the Western Hemisphere.

An Inter-American clash in Latin America during the present war might require military intervention in order to secure the Western Hemisphere. Any diversion of military forces for such purpose could only occur to the detriment of the prosecution of the war against the Axis powers.

3. Continued flow of critical materials from South America.

Certain raw materials are vital to our war effort and the uninterrupted flow of these to the United States is essential. The materials needed for 1945 production are:

a. Materials from South America - Most Desirable

Argentina	-	Quebracho Extract, Hides, Canned Roast Beef, Canned Corned Beef, Dried Bones (Raw material for photographic gelatin and adhesives.)
Aruba	-	Naphthenic Acid (crude), Refined Petroleum Products.
Bolivia	-	Tin, Cinchona Bark and Derivatives, Ipecac and/or Emetine, Natural Rubber.
Brazil	-	Mica (strategic grade), Quartz Crystal, Manganese, Baddeleyite, Industrial Diamonds, Coffee, Natural Rubber, Castor Beans.
Chile	-	Copper, Sodium Nitrate (must be obtained to free ammonia for explosives program).
Colombia	-	Platinum, Cinchona Bark and Derivatives, Natural Rubber, Crude Petroleum.
Cuba	-	Chromite, Dried Bones.
Curacao	-	Refined Petroleum Products.
Ecuador	-	Cinchona Bark and Derivatives, Natural Rubber, Balsa Wood.
Guatemala	-	Cinchona Bark and Derivatives.

SECRET

SECRET

Nicaragua - Ipecac and/or Emetine, Natural Rubber.
 Panama - Abaca Fiber.
 Paraguay - Dried Bones.
 Peru - Bismuth, Natural Rubber.
 Surinam - Bauxite.
 Uruguay - Dried Bones.
 Venezuela - Industrial Diamonds, Crude Petroleum,
 Refined Petroleum Products.

b. Materials from South America - Desirable

Argentina - Zinc Concentrates, Glue and Gelatin Stock,
 Casein, Flax Seed, Sunflower Seed.
 Amazon Area - Cocoa Beans.
 Bolivia - Antimony, Tungsten.
 Brazil - Horse Hair, Cattle Tail Hair, Mahogany,
 Beryl, Monazite, Rutile, Tantalite, Pyrethrum
 Flowers (would become essential in the event
 of crop failure in Kenya), Rotenone, Tapioca,
 Babasu Nuts and Oil, Oiticica Oil, Beeswax,
 Curicury Wax, Carnauba Wax.
 Chile - Iodine.
 Colombia - Rotenone.
 Cuba - Glue and Gelatin Stock.
 Guatemala - Mahogany.
 Honduras - Mahogany.
 Paraguay - Glue and Gelatin Stock.
 Peru - Lead, Vanadium, Rotenone, Arsenic.
 Uruguay - Glue and Gelatin Stock.
 Venezuela - Rotenone.

4. Strengthen hemispheric defense and the potential war industrial capacity of the United States.

To provide adequately for hemispheric defense, it is necessary that the United States have control of selected strategic air bases as well as additional bases and facilities with landing and other rights so as to permit adequate deployment of the United States Army Air Forces in Latin America. Both the armies and the air forces of the Latin American republics must also be developed, as economic, military and political circumstances may dictate from time to time, in such manner that a proper balance between countries will exist and the military forces of any or all can be effectively deployed and integrated, if occasion demands, in a defense force with the United States Army. Furthermore, it is essential that after the presently expanded United States war industry is reconverted to civilian production, United States factories produce such types of materiel that rapid expansion again into war production will be possible. To achieve these ends it is necessary to lay the foundations now.

SECRET

5. Some of the foundations referred to above are:

- a. Acquisition of strategic bases and landing rights for United States military aircraft and development of adequate airways facilities throughout Latin America.

By agreement of 27 March 1941, the United Kingdom leased to the United States certain naval and air bases in the Western Hemisphere, including the Caribbean and South America, for 99 years with full and exclusive military control but with no civil air rights. At some of these bases it probably will be desirable to permit commercial air operations, with the consent of the British. In addition, the Joint Chiefs of Staff have listed other locations in Latin America at which air bases will be required for the direct defense of the Western Hemisphere. On some of these bases, the optimum rights include exclusive military control. On others, landing rights only are desired, and still on others are desired landing rights with rights to maintain facilities and military forces on a non-exclusive basis. To use these bases effectively, additional navigational facilities will be needed on the routes thereto, such as alternate airports, emergency landing strips, radio beacons, traffic control centers, meteorological stations and communications nets.

The State Department with the advice and assistance of the War and Navy Departments, has already secured rights to strategic bases from one Latin American republic. Negotiations with other countries to implement the program of the Joint Chiefs of Staff are necessary.

- b. Establishment of air and ground military missions in every republic.

The presence of military missions is an essential part of the machinery required to reorient the military thought of Latin America from European influence to the lines of our military doctrine. Also the presence of an air and ground military mission in each Latin American Republic would enable representatives of the War Department to guide the Air and War Ministries on the size of the Armed Forces in each republic, thus counteracting in a large measure any tendency towards an arms race, and contributing to the preservation of peace in the Western Hemisphere.

The republics in which missions are desired as soon as conditions permit are:

Ground Missions:	Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Mexico, Uruguay, Venezuela.
Air Missions :	Brazil, Cuba, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Uruguay.

SECRET

SECRET

c. Standardization of military equipment and civil aviation equipment of each republic along American lines.

Standardization of military equipment along American lines would make each government largely dependent on the government of the United States for munitions and all replacement parts and would invite requests for the War Department to furnish instructors to train the armed forces in the use and maintenance of the equipment. It also would minimize the expansion of arms industries in Latin America. Similarly, standardization on United States civil aircraft and aviation equipment would not only tend to make those republics dependent on the United States aviation industry, but would assist in operations by our military aircraft there. As a first step in this direction, the disposal agencies of the United States Government, subject to approval by the War, Navy, and State Departments, should supply the Latin American republics, within their financial capabilities, with military equipment required for the reequipping and standardization of their Armed Forces along American lines. This should be done in such a manner that the allocation will promote friendly relations and reflect credit on United States industry, will be suitable to the needs of the recipient and not in excess of its capabilities for operation and maintenance and will assist in developing armed forces for effective combined deployment in hemispheric defense, in accordance with plans that have been, or may be, approved by the War, Navy, and State Departments.

d. Standardization of armies and air forces of each republic along American lines.

Standardization of the armies and air forces of each republic along American lines would facilitate cooperation and coordination of the armed effort of the United States and the other American republics against a common enemy. This can best be accomplished through air and ground military missions, composed of qualified officers to organize and train these forces. Once established, this standardization would result in requests for further training by United States officers.

e. Training of Latin Americans in United States Army Schools.

Under Act of Congress, June 24, 1938 (Stat. 1034) and Executive Order 7964 dated August 29, 1938, the War Department is authorized to furnish training to Latin American military personnel without cost to the Governments concerned. In 1941, prior to our entry into the war, the War Department implemented this policy. Because of the war some of this training has been curtailed. However, training is being given to Latin Americans in the Panama Canal Department as well as in the United States on a limited scale. As the war progresses and

SECRET

SECRET

American military personnel. The indoctrination of such personnel with American methods may well contribute towards the realization of the objectives set forth in paragraphs 5 b, c, d above. It is hoped that the War Department may be soon in a position to allot to each republic permanent quotas for the training of military personnel in United States Army Schools.

f. Establishment of ionospheric reporting stations with necessary communication facilities.

Information and analysis of radio wave propagation through probing of the electronic shell of the earth is vitally important in the research and development of communications.

6. The means by which the objectives insofar as air matters are concerned described in paragraphs 5 a and 5 c can best be achieved is by development of strong United States owned or sponsored commercial airlines facilities throughout Latin America.

This program will:

a. Preclude the necessity to implement another airport development plan for Latin America;

b. Make available for the use of the United States Armed Forces in the event of an emergency suitable air bases with adequate runways, taxiways, warm-up aprons, hangars, repair shops, depots, gasoline storage tanks and certain limited stocks, airways weather stations and communications networks;

c. Facilities negotiation of immediate staging and/or base rights in the event of an emergency;

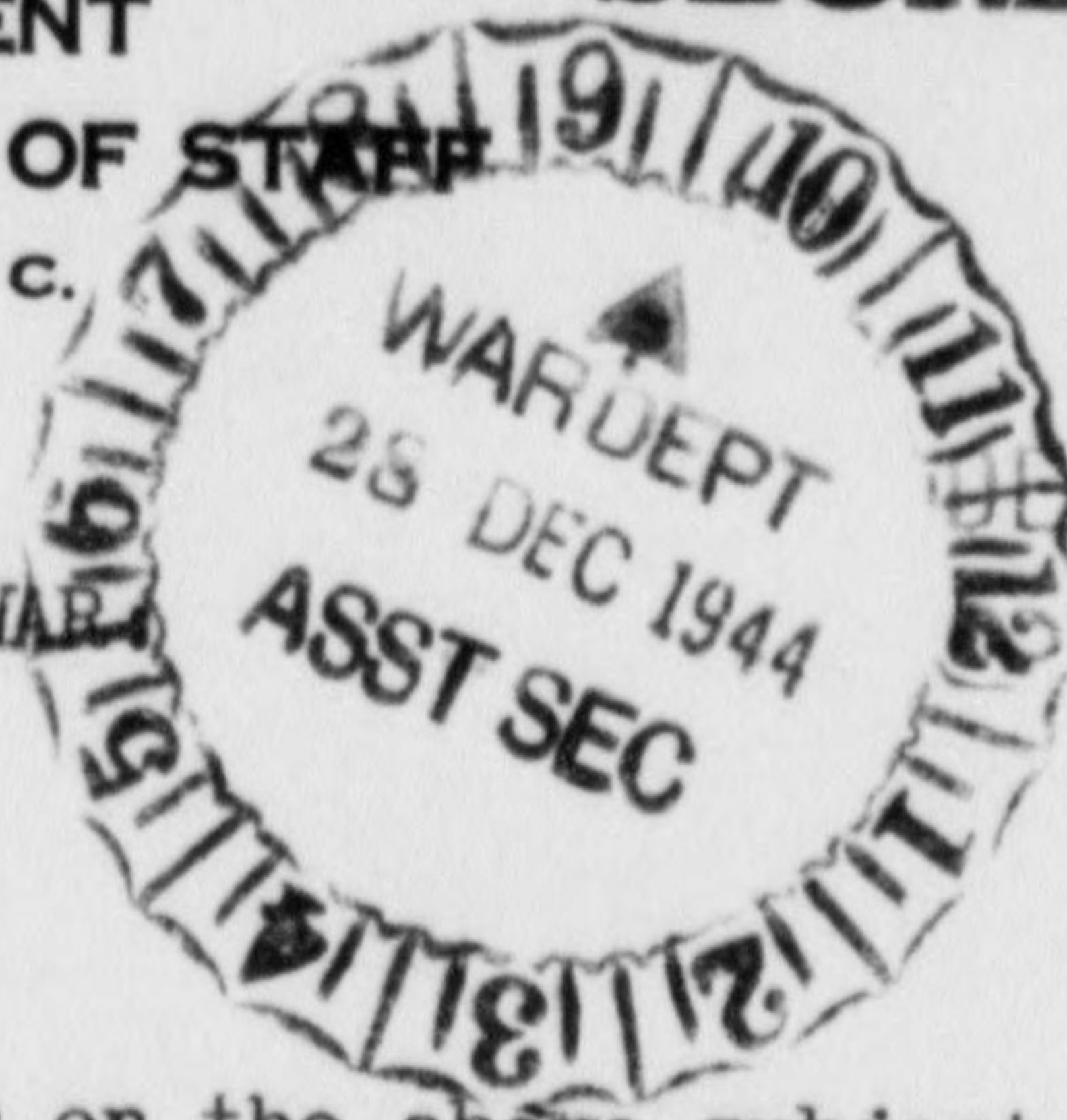
d. Give impetus to the United States aviation industry and contribute not only to the research and development activities of the United States aviation but also to the facile expansion of the industry into war production.

SECRET



WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

SECRET



DEC 27 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF WAR

Subject: Pan-American Matters

1. In connection with your memorandum on the above subject dated 23 December 1944, the aim of the War Department is to establish and maintain a spirit of friendly cooperation with the Latin American Armed Forces to the end that maximum coordination of effort will result in the defense of the Panama Canal and the Western Hemisphere.
2. In addition to the above, the following is a rough preliminary outline of the principal present objectives of the War Department for accomplishment by diplomatic means in the Western Hemisphere (particularly South America) to guide the State Department in planning for the Pan-American Conference:
 - a. Preservation of peaceful conditions in Western Hemisphere;
 - b. Continued flow of critical materials from South America;
 - c. Strengthen hemispheric defense and the potential war industrial capacity of the United States by:
 - (1) Development of strong United States commercial airlines facilities throughout Latin America;
 - (2) Establishment of air and ground military missions in every republic;
 - (3) Standardization of military equipment of each republic along American lines;
 - (4) Standardization of organization of armies and air forces of each republic along American lines;
 - (5) Training of Latin Americans in United States Army Schools;
 - (6) Establishment of ionospheric reporting stations with necessary communication facilities.
3. The question of establishment and use of suitable military bases and military collaboration throughout Latin America is under the cognizance of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Studies on this matter have been conducted by the Joint Post-War Committee.
4. The following officers are designated to represent the War Department in conferences with the State Department on the above:

SECRET

②

SECRET

Major General H. A. Craig, Deputy ACS/OPD
Major General R. L. Walsh, Special Asst. to Gen. Arnold
Brig. Gen. Weckerling, Deputy ACS/G-2
Col. G. A. Lincoln, G.S.C., Chief, Strategy & Policy Group, OPD
Col. P. W. Edwards, G.S.C., Chief, American Theater Section, OPD
Col. Harold R. Maddux, G.S.C., Chief, Liaison Sec., OPD

5. The comprehensive statement of the objectives which you have requested is being prepared to be available for you prior to 10 January 1945.

Thos Handy
THOS. T. HANDY
Lieutenant General, U.S. Army
Deputy Chief of Staff

- 2 -

SECRET

SECRET

COPY

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
Washington 25 D.C.

27 December 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF WAR

Subject: Pan-American Matters

1. In connection with your memorandum on the above subject dated 23 December 1944, the aim of the War Department is to establish and maintain a spirit of friendly cooperation with the Latin American Armed Forces to the end that maximum coordination of effort will result in the defense of the Panama Canal and the Western Hemisphere.
2. In addition to the above, the following is a rough preliminary outline of the principal present objectives of the War Department for accomplishment by diplomatic means in the Western Hemisphere (particularly South America) to guide the State Department in planning for the Pan-American Conference:
 - a. Preservation of peaceful conditions in Western Hemisphere;
 - b. Continued flow of critical materials from South America;
 - c. Strengthen hemispheric defense and the potential war industrial capacity of the United States by:
 - (1) Development of strong United States commercial airlines facilities throughout Latin America;
 - (2) Establishment of air and ground military missions in every republic;
 - (3) Standardization of military equipment of each republic along American lines;
 - (4) Standardization of organization of armies and air forces of each republic along American lines;
 - (5) Training of Latin Americans in United States Army Schools;
 - (6) Establishment of ionospheric reporting stations with necessary communication facilities.
3. The question of establishment and use of suitable military bases and military collaboration throughout Latin America is under the cognizance of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Studies on this matter have been conducted by the Joint Post-War Committee.

SECRET

②

SECRET

4. The following officers are designated to represent the War Department in conferences with the State Department on the above:

Major General H. A. Craig, Deputy ACS/OPD
Major General R. L. Walsh, Special Asst. to Gen. Arnold
Brig. Gen. Weckerling, Deputy ACS/G-2
Col. G. A. Lincoln, G.S.C., Chief, Strategy & Policy Group, OPD
Col. P. W. Edwards, G.S.C., Chief, American Theater Section, OPD
Col. Harold R. Maddux, G.S.C., Chief, Liaison Sec., OPD

5. The comprehensive statement of the objectives which you have requested is being prepared to be available for you prior to 10 January 1945.

/s/ Thos. T. Handy
THOS. T. HANDY
Lieutenant General, U.S. Army
Deputy Chief of Staff

- 2 -

SECRET

Return to
LIAISON SECTION
Operations Division, W.D.G.S.
Room 3E817

X _____ X
RESTRICTED

SECRET

December 23, 1944
11:50 a.m.

CIRCULAR TO CERTAIN AMERICAN REPUBLICS

X-3

I

MacCarthy
am

We have completed a reconsideration of the proposals for a meeting in the light of the opinions expressed by the other American republics since the beginning of the present consultations.

The basic view of this Government is that there is need for a meeting of American governments which are participating in the war effort to discuss urgent war and post-war problems which have arisen since the Conference at Rio de Janeiro. We feel that it is most important and urgent that we discuss together the war and problems arising from the war; consider further steps to support the prosecution of the war and hasten its conclusion in final victory; consider other problems arising out of the war. With regard to such other problems, this Government believes that such a Conference should be a forum for full discussion among the participating American republics of the proposed world security organization and the further development of the inter-American system, in order that it may provide regional arrangements and agencies to deal effectively with such matters as are appropriate for regional action by the American republics. Discussion of any such matters, however, should be of a preliminary nature since it is believed that actual changes in the structure of the inter-American system would have to be referred to the decision of an International Conference of American States after the world security organization is more fully developed.

There is also need for full consideration and discussion of the economic problems arising out of the war and the steps necessary to lay the foundation for the general improvement of basic economic conditions in the Americas, looking towards a rising standard of living. It is the belief of this Government that it is essential that this Conference should have an opportunity to explore fully what measures of economic cooperation can be adopted.

In view of the great importance of the topics, which would constitute the subject matter of the proposed Conference, we believe that most careful study and preparation should precede it. However, it is our view that the urgency of these matters requires that these preparations should be hastened looking towards the convening of the Conference

by February

SECRET

DEC 28

X
RESTRICTED

- 2 -

by February 1, 1945 or as soon thereafter as possible. This Government is presently engaged in developing its views as to a proposed agenda which it will make available to the other American republics, and it is our hope that the government of each of the other American republics will continue to give careful study to and preparation of its views so that there can be a full interchange and joint agreement before the meeting is called.

For your background information but not for inclusion in the memorandum referred to below, in view of the long period of consultation which has focused the attention of all of us primarily upon the question of Argentina, we think it is of the utmost importance that attention should now be directed primarily to the Conference itself. The approach up to the present time has been necessarily negative in nature. The approach from here forward should be positive, to the end that it should be understood by each Republic that this meeting will offer a full opportunity for discussion of the above topics which are of such vital interest to all of us.

II

With respect to the question of the participation of Argentina in such a meeting, as indicated in our Circular of December 9, midnight, sixteen governments, including this Government, support the proposal that Republics that are collaborating in the war effort (thus excluding the Farrell Government) should meet to consider urgent war and post-war problems.

A majority

- 3 -

A majority of the governments have also expressed the view that the Argentine request for a hearing on its international situation should be denied. The reasons for rejecting the Argentine request vary to some extent among the Governments. The view most insistently expressed is that no useful purpose would be served by a debate or argument or by one more specification of the actions which the Farrell Government has failed to take in accordance with those obligations. Other governments have stated that it is doubtful whether the procedure of the Consultative Meetings was ever intended to be used for a trial of the international conduct of an American state and consider that to accede to the Argentine request would establish a dangerous precedent. The fear has also been expressed that such a hearing would promote disunity rather than Hemisphere unity and solidarity.

A few governments have stated that they favor a hearing of the Argentine case at a meeting of Ministers, and at least two of them favor such a hearing prior to a meeting on war and post-war problems. One government has expressed the view that no decision should be made on the Argentine request at this time.

In the light of these developments and the desire of all of the governments to arrive at a common decision, the Government of the United States was at first inclined to urge that through the medium of a report

by the

X
RESTRICTED
X

- 4 -

by the Governing Board an effort be made to obtain unanimous support for the procedure which now appears to enjoy the support of a majority of the governments (procedure proposed by Department's circular of November 28, 7 p.m.). However, for the reasons stated below it is the judgment of this Government that certain modifications should be made in that procedure, both as it relates to the manner of calling a conference of Republics which are collaborating in the war effort, and as it relates to the disposition of the Argentine request for a hearing of its case.

(1) Method of Calling Conference on War and Post-war Problems.

During the consultations thus far effected, one of the Republics has pointed out that there may be a juridical obstacle to the convocation of a Consultative Meeting of Ministers of less than all of the Republics. Since the opinion might be advanced that "Consultative Meetings" in the strict technical sense are necessarily meetings of Ministers of all (repeat all) of the Republics, and since the proposed Conference on war and post-war problems would not include all of the Republics, it is feared that the Governing Board of the Pan American Union might be faced with a difficult legal question under the procedure which has been approved by a majority of the Republics.

As an alternative, it has been proposed that by consultation through ordinary diplomatic channels, the Republics which are collaborating in the war effort should proceed to arrange the time, place and agenda for the suggested meeting. Since practically all of the interested governments have already agreed on the desirability of a Conference on war and post-war problems, it should be a relatively simple matter to reach agreement on time, place and agenda without resort to the facilities of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union. This method would obviate any consideration by the Governing Board of the question whether a Republic may be excluded from a QUARTER Consultative Meeting UN U.A.T.S., since the proposed Conference would not (repeat not) be the "Fourth" Consultative Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

Once an agreement is reached through ordinary diplomatic channels on the agenda, time and place of the Conference, the country selected for the meeting would issue invitations to the participating governments.

For the reasons indicated, the Government of the United States

considers

X _____ X

RESTRICTED

- 5 -

considers that the suggested alternative method of calling a conference on war and post-war problems has much to commend it.

(2) Disposition of the Argentine Request for a Hearing of Its Case. With respect to the Argentine request for a hearing on its international position, it is true that a majority of the governments have reached a negative decision. However, a small number of the governments favor approval of the request, and at least one government prefers that no decision be made on the request at this time. Furthermore, there is some divergence of opinion as to the propriety of such a hearing at a Consultative Meeting of Ministers.

It is therefore clear that the request of the Farrell government has raised political questions which are beyond the competence of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union to resolve and which can be properly and effectively considered only by the Foreign Ministers themselves. Moreover, although these questions might be answered by a further exchange of views through diplomatic channels, and although most of the governments have expressed a readiness to accept the majority view, there is clearly a need for personal consultation among the Ministers and it is believed that this can best be accomplished at the conference table.

In deference to and in the light of all the opinions expressed to date, the Government of the United States therefore recommends that no decision on the Argentine request for a meeting to consider its international position be taken through the Governing Board of the Pan American Union. Instead, it is proposed that in their replies to the Governing Board the several governments state (a) that it is evident from the consultations in which they have been engaged that, whether it be approved or denied, the Argentine request for a Consultative Meeting of Ministers to consider its international position, calls for a political decision which is beyond the competence of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union; (b) that it is necessary and desirable that the request of the Farrell government be given joint, personal consideration by the Foreign Ministers themselves and that it not (repeat not) be answered by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union; (c) that it is proposed that since the Republics which are collaborating in the war effort are to meet in the immediate future at a conference on war and post-war problems (arrangements for which are being made by consultations through normal diplomatic channels), the request of the Farrell government be included as the final

(repeat)

X _____ X
RESTRICTED

- 6 -

(repeat final) item on the agenda of that conference.

To summarize:

- (1) It is recommended that the proposal for a Conference of Republics which are collaborating in the war against the axis be treated separately and distinct from the Argentine request for a hearing.
- (2) It is further recommended that the agreement already reached on the desirability of such a conference by practically all of the interested Republics, be supplemented by an agreement on the agenda, time, and place for a conference, and that this supplementary agreement be reached by consultation through ordinary diplomatic channels. In this manner, a conference can be called without participation by the Farrell government and without any necessity for deciding whether a government may be excluded from a Consultative Meeting of Ministers under Pan American Union procedure.
- (3) With respect to the Argentine request for a hearing of its case, the Government of the United States believes that the most effective manner in which a final decision can be reached is to consider this request as the final item on the agenda of the proposed conference of Republics which are collaborating in the war effort. This disposition of the Argentine request is preferred to other possible courses because an adequate and effective decision by the interested governments requires the exercise of political judgment by the highest officers of each government. The Ministers of the Republics which would be represented at the proposed Conference would be competent to exercise this political judgment whereas the Governing Board of the Pan American Union is expressly denied all political functions.
- (4) If the Conference of Republics collaborating in the war effort were to decide to grant a hearing to the Farrell government, a representative of that government could be invited to appear at the close of the Conference, or arrangements could be made for a later meeting at which a representative of the Farrell government might appear. It is important to emphasize in connection with this fourth point that the Government of the United States continues to entertain grave doubts as to whether any useful purpose would be served by approving the request of the Farrell Government.

III

RESTRICTED

A-

16
- 5 -
- 7 -

II^I

We believe that the proposed procedure gives practical expression to the desire which has characterized the discussions to date for close collaboration and complete agreement on the disposition of the Argentine request. Moreover, the procedure respects the traditions under which resort has been made by the American Republics to special procedures and instrumentalities for the consideration and solution of problems of a political character so as to avoid placing undue strain on the permanent structure of the Pan American Union, which symbolizes the basic spiritual and moral unity of the peoples of the Americas.

You should immediately submit the foregoing to the Foreign Office in the form of a memorandum. In the event that the Government to which you are accredited has approved the three joint proposals set forth in our cable of November 12, 7 p.m., you should state orally that in the judgment of this Government the modified procedure does not alter the substance of our earlier approach but merely involves a change of form which is responsive to views expressed during the consultations.

For your information, so as to permit appropriate emphasis in your discussion with the Foreign Office, it is the strongly held view of this Government that the request of the Farrell Government be considered at the very end of the proposed Conference and only after the completion of discussions on war and post-war problems. Only if the request were approved as the result of such consideration would a representative of the Farrell Government be invited to appear either at the close of the Conference or at a later meeting of Ministers.

STETTINIUS
(REG)

TO THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS AND FULLY INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES:
Cuba, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Panama, Costa Rica,
Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala.
REFERRED to
Mexico and El Salvador for information only.

710 Consultation 4

WPA:GWS:AVA

WV:EPV

AWA

A-A

3

12/16/44