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BULLETIN OF THE

APR 13 1940

# Pan American Union



COMMEMORATIVE ISSUE  
THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

APRIL

, , ,

1940

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# THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

WASHINGTON, D. C.

L. S. ROWE, *Director General*

PEDRO DE ALBA, *Assistant Director*

THE PAN AMERICAN UNION, now 50 years old, is an international organization created and maintained by the twenty-one American Republics: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Originally known as the International Bureau of the American Republics, it was established in 1890 in accordance with a resolution passed April 14 of that year at the First International Conference of American States, held at Washington in 1889-90, and presided over by James G. Blaine, then United States Secretary of State. Its work was greatly expanded by resolutions of the Second Conference, held at Mexico in 1901; the Third, at Rio de Janeiro in 1906; the Fourth, at Buenos Aires in 1910; the Fifth, at Santiago, Chile, in 1923; the Sixth, at Habana, Cuba, in 1928; the Seventh, at Montevideo, Uruguay, in 1933; and the Eighth, at Lima, Peru, in 1938. April 14 is celebrated annually throughout the Americas as Pan American Day.

## PURPOSE AND ORGANIZATION

The purpose of the Pan American Union is to promote peace, commerce, and friendship between the Republics of the American Continent by fostering economic, juridical, social, and cultural relations. The Union is supported by annual contributions from all the countries, in amounts proportional to population. Its affairs are administered by a Director General and an Assistant

Director, elected by and responsible to a Governing Board composed of the Secretary of State of the United States and representatives in Washington of the other American governments.

## ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

The administrative divisions of the Pan American Union are organized to carry out the purposes for which it was created. There are special divisions dealing with foreign trade, statistics, economics, intellectual cooperation, juridical matters, agricultural cooperation, travel, and labor and social information. All these divisions maintain close relations with official and unofficial bodies in the countries members of the Union. The Columbus Memorial Library contains 105,000 volumes and many maps. The BULLETIN of the Pan American Union, published monthly in English, Spanish, and Portuguese, is the official organ of the institution. For a list of other publications of the Union, see the inside back cover.

## PAN AMERICAN CONFERENCES

The Pan American Union serves as the permanent organ of the International Conferences of American States, usually referred to as the Pan American Conferences. In addition to preparing the programs and regulations, the Union gives effect to the conclusions of the Conferences by conducting special inquiries and investigations and by convening or arranging for special or technical conferences in the intervals between the International Conferences.



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COMMEMORATIVE ISSUE  
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 THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

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ILLUSTRATION AT SIDE: PATIO OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION





THE PAN AMERICAN UNION, WASHINGTON

"Temples of religion, of patriotism, of learning, of art, of justice, abound; but this structure will stand alone, the first of its kind—a temple dedicated to international friendship. . . . May all the Americas come to feel that for them this place is home, for it is theirs, the product of a common effort and the instrument of a common purpose."—*Elihu Root, at the laying of the cornerstone, May 11, 1908.*



# BULLETIN OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

VOL. LXXIV, No. 4



APRIL 1940

## Foreword

CORDELL HULL

*Chairman of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union; Secretary of State of the United States of America*

FIFTY YEARS ago the American Republics established the Pan American Union. Like countries in other parts of the world, they wanted healthy commerce, opportunity to share cultural attainments, and amity and peace. They were actuated by the belief that these might be attained through collaboration and cooperation. History did not afford them much encouragement. Previous attempts had failed largely because of the unwillingness of the large to treat the small as equals entitled to full respect. Many doubts therefore attended the establishment in 1890 of an inter-American bureau, to which at first matters of only secondary importance were intrusted. Some of the American governments wanted to see for

whose benefit the bureau would operate before giving it significant functions.

Happily, and consonant with the real desire of the times, the Pan American Union from the beginning conceived its task to be one of service for all, not special favors for some. Within a few years the skepticism had disappeared and as time passed new and heavier responsibilities were intrusted to it and to other inter-American agencies until today these organizations perform a positive and vital role in the life of the New World.

It would seem fitting, at this important landmark in the development of American relations, to survey briefly the undoubted achievements of the past, and to evaluate those achievements in the light

of the assistance they may give in confronting the problems of the future.

Through the regular series of inter-American conferences, certain fundamental concepts of inter-American relations, and of international relations in general, have been forged out of experience and necessity. The American republics have recognized juridical equality among nations as a principle of law. They have banned intervention. They have agreed to respect without reserve the sovereignty and independence of each other and of other nations. They have created machinery for the maintenance of peace among themselves and for rapid and effective consultation on matters of joint interest. They have sought in every way to strengthen the foundations of international law. They have made important efforts toward extending and rendering more secure the bases of sound and healthy economic relations—among themselves, as well as between each of them and the rest of the world—which are essential if the nations are to promote, rather than retard, economic progress, rising standards of living, and betterment of social conditions for their peoples.

During half a century of association under the aegis of the Pan American Union, the American Republics have learned that by working together they can advance and safeguard their own interests in all these respects far better than they could have done in any other way. The strength of this will for peaceful cooperation is one of the genuinely encouraging

factors in the troubled world of today.

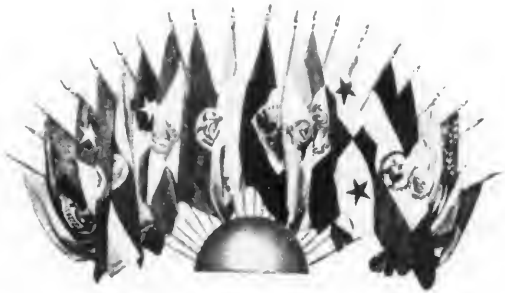
One of the important factors that have made these developments possible has been the efforts of the American Republics to build wider and stronger foundations for international cultural relations and better understanding among nations—again among themselves and between each of them and the rest of the world. The Pan American Union with its related agencies has become a vast storehouse of information. Not only are the several governments daily turning to it, but in increasing numbers the 250,000,000 inhabitants of the American republics are looking to it in their awakened and sharpened interest to learn about their neighbors, their ways of life, and their methods for meeting the ever-changing and complex conditions of modern society.

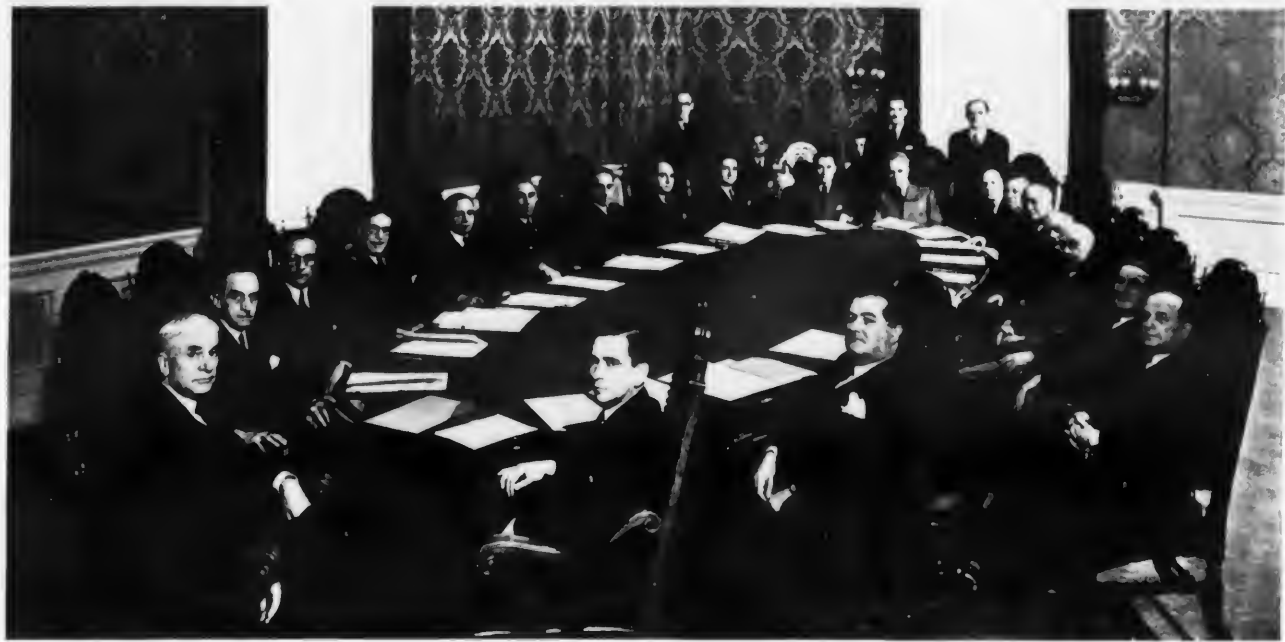
Well-established agencies are in existence to serve effectively this growing popular interest. These inter-American agencies, sensing the popular trend, have in certain broad fields taken a very notable and constructive initiative. They have not merely waited for requests for information and advice, but have sought to create and stimulate interest. The manifold activities undertaken to deepen understanding of the cultural achievements of the New World and to create opportunities for travel and study by artists, musicians and scholars, are an example of constructive service. Moreover, in a variety of fields—scientific achievement, public health, telecommunications, highway, finance, customs procedure—the special organizations that have been established from time

to time are playing an increasingly important role.

In all of these fields important tasks lie before the American nations. Today much of the world is engaged in strife. In these tragic days, the beacon of the Pan American Union, which has focused through the years on cooperative advance-

ment through common effort and understanding, should be a light essential to the eyes of those who seek to build a peaceful and orderly world of tomorrow. It may be that the inspiration of our inter-American effort and achievement may serve to restore confidence and hope to a world at last grown weary of destruction.





#### THE GOVERNING BOARD OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

This photograph was taken at the meeting of the Board held March 6, 1940. Reading from left to right, those present are: Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States, Chairman; Manuel de Freyre y Santander, Ambassador of Peru; Colón Eloy Alfaro, Ambassador of Ecuador; Diógenes Escalante, Ambassador of Venezuela; Adrián Recinos, Minister of Guatemala; Andrés Pastoriza, Minister of the Dominican Republic; Luis Fernando Guachalla, Minister of Bolivia; León De Bayle, Minister of Nicaragua; Horacio A. Fernández, Minister of Paraguay; Luis Quintanilla, Chargé d'Affaires of Mexico; Pedro de Alba, Assistant Director of the Pan American Union, Secretary; José T. Barón, Chargé d'Affaires of Cuba; Julián R. Cáceres, Minister of Honduras; Elic Lescot, Minister of Haiti; Ricardo Castro Beeche, Minister of Costa Rica; José Richling, Minister of Uruguay; Jorge E. Boyd, Ambassador of Panama; Alberto Cabero, Ambassador of Chile; Carlos Martins Pereira e Souza, Ambassador of Brazil; and Héctor David Castro, Minister of El Salvador, Vice Chairman. The Ambassador of Argentina, Felipe A. Espil, and the Ambassador of Colombia, Gabriel Turbay, were unable to attend the meeting. Standing at the back are William Manger, Counselor of the Pan American Union, Guillermo A. Suro, Secretary General of the Inter-American Economic and Financial Advisory Committee, and L. S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan American Union.

# The Pan American Union and The Pan American Conferences

L. S. ROWE

*Director General of the Pan American Union*

AMONGST the many important services rendered to the American republics by Simón Bolívar, none deserves greater praise than his leadership in calling the first Congress of American States in 1826. Recognition of the fact that he saw so clearly the importance of developing a spirit of cooperation and unity amongst the struggling nations of this Continent is the greatest tribute that can be paid to his statesmanlike outlook and vision.

Although the "Treaty of Perpetual Union, League and Confederation" signed at Panama was ratified by but one of the countries attending and therefore never took effect, the idea of a union of the American republics did not fall into oblivion, but by successive steps has taken shape in a system of international cooperation unparalleled in history. Concern for international security from within and without is its chief attribute. This attribute, created and resolutely maintained by continental public opinion, demands the use, when necessary, of the peace machinery created for the settlement of inter-American controversies and inspires joint action if external events threaten the peace of the American republics.

It is necessary only to review the history of international relations on the American Continent to demonstrate the persistence

and continued vitality of the idea of inter-American cooperation. At the Lima Conference of 1847, at which New Granada (Colombia), Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Chile were represented, a comprehensive plan for the peaceful settlement of inter-American disputes was agreed upon. It may be added that invitations were also sent to Buenos Aires, Brazil, Central America, Mexico, the United States, and Venezuela.

Nine years thereafter (1856) two Inter-American Conferences were held; one at Santiago, Chile, at which Ecuador, Peru and Chile were represented; the other, at Washington, D. C., attended by representatives of Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Costa Rica, New Granada, Peru, Venezuela and the United States. At both these meetings treaties were signed, the purpose of which was to preserve peace and to assure, through mediation, conciliation or arbitration, the orderly settlement of any disputes that might arise.

In November 1864 a Congress of Hispanic States convened by the Government of Peru was attended by delegates from Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Venezuela and Argentina. At this Congress several treaties were signed, one of which was designated as a "Treaty for the Preservation of Peace" and



**SIMÓN BOLÍVAR**

Bolívar is honored by all American republics for his leadership in calling the first Congress of American States, which met at Panama in 1826.

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another as a "Treaty on Union and Defensive Alliance." These treaties failed of ratification. It will thus be seen that while the idea of Pan American cooperation was not lost sight of during the half century preceding the Washington Conference of 1889, the results were meager, owing to the failure of the governments represented at these conferences to ratify the treaties and conventions signed by their respective delegations.

With the assembling of the First International Conference of American States at Washington in 1889 begins the effective effort to lay the foundations for a permanent international organization of the American republics. Although the beginnings were modest, they contained the elements from which the present highly organized mechanism has been developed.

From 1889 on, the history of the Pan American Union reflects with great clearness the profound changes that have taken place in inter-American relations during the last fifty years. When the Government of the United States issued the call for the First Conference, the interest of the countries of the Americas was centered on two questions: first, the maintenance of the peace of this continent; and second, the development of closer commercial relations. The act of Congress authorizing the Conference provided that in forwarding the invitations to the respective governments the President of the United States should state that the Conference was called to consider: "First. Measures that shall tend to preserve the peace and promote the prosperity of the several American States." The act then named in five paragraphs a number of specific economic and financial subjects for consideration, and continued: "Seventh. An agreement upon and recommendation for adoption to their respective Governments of a definite plan of arbitration of all questions, disputes, and differ-

ences that may now or hereafter exist between them, to the end that all difficulties and disputes between such nations may be peaceably settled and wars prevented." Considering the stress laid on economic topics, it is not surprising that the projects which attracted most attention were those relating to reciprocity treaties and the possibility of establishing a Pan American Customs Union, but it should not be overlooked that arbitration and the maintenance of peace occupied an important place in the discussions.

Criticism has at times been directed to the Washington Conference on the ground that the results obtained were small compared with the expectations entertained when the invitations were issued. These criticisms fail to take into consideration that in 1890 both Europe and America were still in the early stages of constructive international cooperation and that the resolutions adopted at this First Conference marked an important step forward in this respect.

It must be borne in mind furthermore that this Conference met soon after the disastrous "War of the Pacific" in which Peru, Bolivia and Chile had been involved. In fact, it was this war which made it necessary, in President Arthur's opinion, to postpone the Conference from 1882, the date first agreed upon, to 1889. Moreover, there existed in almost every section of the Continent difficult and delicate boundary disputes which were the source of constant international irritation and which in a number of instances led to the verge of armed conflict.

While the discussion of closer commercial relations dominated the sessions of the Conference three significant steps were taken toward laying the foundations of an American continental system. The first of these was the condemnation of conquest insofar as the American republics

were concerned. In this resolution we find the first intimation of a principle which forty years later developed into the solemn declaration that the American republics will not recognize the acquisition of territory obtained by force.

The second forward step is to be found in the comprehensive plan of arbitration adopted by the Conference. Although this plan was approved by the meeting and became the basis of a treaty signed after the close of the Conference by 11 States, the treaty failed of ratification even by these signatories. It was evident from the discussions that the time was not yet ripe for the adoption of any comprehensive machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

The third step was the formation of a permanent organization under the title of "International Union of American Republics." The resolution providing for this organization declared, however, that its sole purpose was the collection and distribution of commercial information, and to this end the Union was to be represented by a bureau designated as "The Commercial Bureau of the American Republics." The present comprehensive organization of the Pan American Union finds its origin, therefore, in this modest beginning.

It was not until the Third International Conference of American States, held at Rio de Janeiro in 1906, that a further step was taken in the development of the functions of the Pan American Union. Under a resolution adopted by this Conference "The International Bureau of the American Republics," as it was then called, was made the permanent organ of the International American Conferences. In this capacity it was entrusted with the recommendation of topics to be included in the program of the Conferences and was endowed with the authority to give effect

to their resolutions. Furthermore, the Bureau, in addition to the work of compiling and distributing commercial data, was charged among other duties with gathering information on educational matters and of keeping a record of the ratification of the treaties and conventions between the American republics and between the American republics and non-American states. The Fourth International Conference of American States held at Buenos Aires in 1910 undertook the further development of the distinction between the "Union of the American Republics" and its permanent organ, the "Pan American Union." With a view to placing the Union on a more permanent basis this Conference drafted a convention for the consideration of the governments, members of the Pan American Union.

It may be noted, in this connection, that the Pan American Union was organized and continues to operate under a series of resolutions adopted by successive Conferences. There exists some difference of opinion with reference to the desirability of placing the Union on a conventional basis. The great advantage of operating under a resolution is that it gives greater elasticity to the organization by affording opportunity readily to adapt it to changing needs.

At the Fifth International Conference of American States, held at Santiago, Chile in 1923, but one important change was made in the organization of the Union. Up to that time its Governing Board consisted of the diplomatic representatives of the American republics accredited to the United States of America and the Secretary of State of the United States, who was *ex officio* Chairman. The Santiago Conference provided that an American republic which for any reason may not have a diplomatic representative accredited to the Government of the United States may





HALL OF THE AMERICAS, PAN AMERICAN UNION

In this hall, the scene of numerous inter-American conferences, many treaties ending boundary disputes or otherwise promoting the peace of the Americas have been signed.

appoint a special representative. Furthermore, the chairmanship of the Board was made elective. This plan was carried one step further at the Habana Conference of 1928, which adopted a resolution providing that the control of the Pan American Union should be vested in a Governing Board composed of such representatives as the American governments may appoint. It was further provided that the appointment may devolve upon the diplomatic representatives of the American republics at Washington. It will be seen that under this resolution the governments, members of the Pan American Union, may, if they so desire, appoint special representatives as members of the Governing Board.

In concluding this survey, reference must be made to two important questions which were submitted to the Lima Conference of 1938.

One of the projects presented contemplated the formation of a League of American Nations. Under the terms of a plan submitted by the Governments of Colombia and the Dominican Republic, far-reaching powers would be given the League in the settlement of inter-American disputes. Although the consideration of the plan was postponed until the Ninth Conference, which is to meet at Bogotá, Colombia, it served to bring into direct contrast the basic philosophy of such a League and that which has guided the work of the Pan American Union up to the present time. When we examine the development of the Union it becomes quite evident that the purpose of the successive International Conferences of American States was to develop a spirit of constructive cooperation between the American republics. It was assumed that in such an atmosphere any differences that may arise will readily lend themselves to peaceful settlement by the orderly processes of mediation, concilia-

tion and arbitration. A further significant fact is that, while machinery was adopted at successive Conferences for the settlement of disputes, this machinery was made to operate parallel to the Pan American Union rather than as an integral part of it. The result has been that the Governing Board of the Pan American Union has directed its attention exclusively to matters that unite the American republics rather than concerned itself with disputes that arise between them. The machinery for the settlement of such disputes was provided by successive Pan American Conferences, viz., the Gondra Treaty of 1923, and a series of conventions adopted subsequently, including the Convention of Inter-American Conciliation of 1929; the Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration of 1929; the Protocol of Progressive Arbitration of 1929; the Additional Protocol to the General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation of 1933; the Anti-War Treaty of Non-Aggression and Conciliation of 1933; and the Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation and Reestablishment of Peace of 1936.

The relation of the Pan American Union to the League of Nations was also made the subject of discussion at the Lima Conference. The conclusion reached by the Conference was that the closest possible cooperation should be established in all matters relating to the technical work of the League, but as regards the political functions of the League it was felt that it would be best to continue the established policy of limiting the Union to non-political functions.

The deeper significance of the Lima Conference is to be found in the agreements reached to keep the American Continent free from entanglement in European conflicts and to protect it from aggression by any outside power. In a very real sense this Conference made the Monroe Doctrine a continental doctrine and thus removed

the suspicion which was so long entertained by the nations of Latin America that the United States was bent on using the doctrine to further selfish national ends.

In order to furnish the necessary machinery to make the plan for continental defense effective it was provided that consultation between Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics should be held whenever any question arose affecting the peace of the Continent. The outbreak of the European War led immediately to the assembling, in September 1939, of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics at Panama. The main purpose was to exchange views with reference to the measures to be adopted for the preservation of neutrality; for the maintenance of neutral rights; and for the avoidance of entanglement in the European conflict.

In addition to a strong declaration of continental solidarity, as well as a detailed statement of the neutral rights which the American republics are prepared to maintain, the Conference issued what is known as the "Declaration of Panama." This declaration established a safety zone within which the belligerents are requested to refrain from warlike operations. There has been considerable misunderstanding both in the press and elsewhere relative to the nature of this declaration. It was at no time intended that the principle embodied in the declaration should be enforced by the combined navies of the American republics. The purpose in view was to bring to bear the combined moral force of the nations members of the Pan American Union in order to secure the acceptance of what was clearly recognized to be a new principle of international law. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs assembled at Panama were under no illusion as to the difficulty of securing the recognition of this principle by the belligerents. Every new rule of international law relative to the

rights of neutrals has had to pass through a long struggle before its observance was agreed to by belligerents and it is likely that this new principle will encounter the same resistance. It remains, however, a goal toward which the American republics will strive in order to keep this continent free from entanglements in a European struggle.

The growing spirit of cooperation which has characterized the history of the American republics during the period since the founding of the Pan American Union has been combined with a constantly strengthening unity of ideals and policies. At the Buenos Aires Conference of 1936, the Lima Conference of 1938 and the Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs held at Panama in 1939, the full significance of this movement became evident. We are still too close to these events to appreciate their far-reaching import, but one fact stands out with great clearness: namely, that this unity of purpose and unity of policy means much to the preservation and further development of democratic institutions on the American continent. The American republics have had the statesmanship and vision to appreciate the fact that peace means far more than the mere absence of conflict; that it is a positive, constructive and dynamic force which calls for constant effort and at times even for sacrifice. The unity of the Americas means the safety of the Americas from aggression from without and it also means the maintenance of peace within the confines of the twenty-one republics of the American Continent.

The record of the last fifty years in the peaceful settlement of inter-American disputes is one of which all the republics may well be proud. In thus setting an example to the world and in using their combined influence for the promotion of peace and good will, the American republics are per-

forming their highest service to humanity.

In his message of December 7, 1915, to the Congress, Woodrow Wilson said:

The moral is, that the states of America are not hostile rivals but cooperating friends, and that their growing sense of community of interest, alike in matters political and in matters economic, is likely to give them a new significance as factors in international affairs and in the political history of the world. It presents them as in a very deep and true sense a unit in world affairs, spiritual partners, standing together because

thinking together, quick with common sympathies and common ideals. Separated, they are subject to all the cross-currents of the confused politics of a world of hostile rivalries; united in spirit and purpose, they cannot be disappointed of their peaceful destiny.

This is Pan Americanism. It has none of the spirit of empire in it. It is the embodiment, the effectual embodiment, of the spirit of law and independence and liberty and mutual service.

The prophecy of 1915 has become the fulfillment of 1940.



GALLERY OF FLAGS AND HEROES

# The Pan American Union

## 1890 - 1940

*"Every visitor to Washington admires the magnificent marble Pan American palace. . . . It is a magnificent and enduring symbol of what Pan Americanism means. It is the center of the advance of the ever-increasing cordial relations between the twenty-one nations. That noble edifice is the clearing-house of Good Will."*—JOSEPHUS DANIELS, United States Ambassador to Mexico, April 14, 1936.

THE building of the Pan American Union in Washington is not only a landmark to resident and visitor alike; with its skillful adaptation of Latin American architectural forms to harmonize with the northern setting, it is the outward expression of the community of interests of all the American nations. The architects, said Elihu Root at the dedication of the building, "brought into happy companionship architectural suggestions of the North and of the South; and wrought into construction and ornament in a hundred ways the art, the symbolism, the traditions, and the history of all the American Republics." Erected in 1910 through the generosity of Andrew Carnegie and the contributions of the American republics, on land given by the government of the United States, this edifice houses the administrative offices that carry on the work entrusted to the Union by the International Conferences of American States. Just what are the regular activities that occupy the offices surrounding the tropical patio and the splendid Hall of the Americas?

The work of the Pan American Union has two distinct aspects. Its official side is discussed in the preceding article; in its unofficial capacity, it serves as a great center of information not only for the gov-

ernments but also for the citizens of the countries, members of the Union, who are free to consult it at any time.

The resolution submitted to the First International Conference of American States (Washington, 1889-90) by the Committee on Customs Regulations, and adopted on April 14, 1890, provided for "the establishment of an American International Bureau for the collection, tabulation, and publication, in the English, Spanish, and Portuguese languages, of information as to the productions and commerce, and as to the customs, laws and regulations of their respective countries." The accompanying recommendations of the committee suggested that the bureau be called "The Commercial Bureau of the American Republics."

In accordance with the general scheme of international organization prevalent at the time, the new institution was placed under the supervision of the United States and made directly responsible to that Government. In a few years, however, the first steps were taken to put the Bureau on a truly international basis. In 1896 a permanent Executive Committee was created, composed of five representatives of the member nations—four to be selected by lot, with the Secretary of State of the



ANDREW CARNEGIE

To the munificence of Andrew Carnegie, who was a delegate to the Conference that created the Pan American Union, is due the erection of its beautiful building in Washington.

United States as Chairman—to act as a board of supervision and administration. Three years later the powers of the Executive Committee were enlarged to include supervision over and appointment of officials of the Bureau.

At the Second International Conference of American States (Mexico City, 1902), the management of the organization was entrusted to a GOVERNING BOARD, composed of the diplomatic representatives in Washington of all the American republics and the Secretary of State of the United States. The Bureau thus became an international organization in the real sense of the word, and every member government had a voice in its direction.

The Second Conference also changed the name of the institution to "The International Bureau of American Republics"; this somewhat cumbersome title was

abandoned at the Fourth Conference (Buenos Aires, 1910) and the present designation, "The Pan American Union," adopted.

The Union, which is the permanent organization through which the International Conferences of American States function, now operates under regulations set forth by the Fifth Conference (Santiago, Chile, 1923) and slightly modified by the Sixth (Habana, 1928). The Governing Board is composed of the representatives appointed by the American governments (at present the accredited diplomatic agents in Washington and the Secretary of State of the United States), and each member state has an equal voice with all others in its deliberations. The office of chairman is elective. The Board takes action to fulfill the resolutions of general and special Pan American conferences; promotes the meeting of international conferences of experts to study problems of a technical character of common interest to the member countries; assigns to each member country its quota for the support of the Union, based on population; appoints the Director General and the Assistant Director; and adopts measures to insure the efficiency and promote the welfare of the personnel.

The DIRECTOR GENERAL, the chief administrative official of the Pan American Union, is directly responsible to the Governing Board. His duties are to supervise the work of the Union and extend its scope by initiating new activities along the lines laid down in treaties and conventions signed by the American States, in the resolutions adopted by international American conferences, in the statutes of the institution, and in the resolutions of the Governing Board. These tasks are shared by the ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, who also acts as secretary of the Board.

It should be remarked that in the exercise



CEREMONY OF LAYING THE CORNERSTONE OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION,  
MAY 11, 1908

In the photograph are seen, left to right: Andrew Carnegie; Elihu Root, Secretary of State; Mrs. Carnegie; Mrs. Roosevelt; President Theodore Roosevelt; Joaquim Nabuco, Ambassador of Brazil; Cardinal Gibbons; and Bishop Cranston.



THE DEDICATION OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION, APRIL 26, 1910

The chief addresses were made by Philander C. Knox, Secretary of State of the United States and chairman ex-officio of the Governing Board; Elihu Root, United States Senator and former Secretary of State; Francisco León de la Barra, the Mexican Ambassador, representing the Latin American Diplomatic Corps; Andrew Carnegie; and President Taft.

of their functions the Directors and Assistant Directors have always interpreted their duties in a very broad sense. Through innumerable personal contacts and a constant eagerness to be of service they have informed with warmth and cordiality all the labors of the Union. This attitude is the keynote of the institution.

The first director<sup>1</sup> was appointed on August 26, 1890, in compliance with the resolution passed by the First Conference on April 14, and exactly three months later, on November 26, official notice was issued that the Bureau had been established.

<sup>1</sup> See list of Directors and Assistant Directors, page 213.

For its first 20 years, the Bureau occupied rented quarters.

The small staff, consisting of the director, a secretary, translators, and clerks and typists, started in to compile information for the bulletins specified, in the recommendations accompanying the resolution that created the Bureau, as its official organ. The first issue, a volume of nearly 300 pages, entitled *Handbook of the American Republics*, appeared in January 1891. The book, which was issued separately in English and Spanish, included information on credit systems, trade-mark laws, and bread-stuffs in Latin America; commerce of the



American continents; sugar and coffee; trade in fruits and nuts; and coinage, weights, and measures.

During the first year a series of handbooks on the different American republics was projected, and those for Brazil and Mexico were published. Bulletins on patent and trade-mark laws of America, money, weights and measures, and foreign commerce of the American republics; twelve booklets on import duties of various countries; nine commercial directories, covering sixteen nations; and a second edition of the *Handbook* were also issued, according to the first annual report of the director.

The publication of a monthly *Bulletin* was begun in October 1893, with a monograph on coffee in America. Subsequent numbers contained articles on various economic subjects and a section devoted to brief commercial and industrial notes. Beginning with the second year (July 1894) a Spanish translation of the leading articles was included. With the July 1908 issue the *Bulletin* appeared in two editions, one in English, the other in Spanish, Portuguese and French. From July 1911 until July 1919, four separate editions were published; after the latter date the French edition was discontinued, and since then three editions have been regularly issued.

About 1910 a new policy with respect to the BULLETIN OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION was inaugurated. Articles of more general interest were introduced, and the number of illustrations was greatly increased. This course has been successfully followed for the last thirty years.

As the official organ of the Pan American Union, the *Bulletin* publishes the programs and results of official and other inter-American conferences, summaries of important American treaties and agreements, and accounts of legislation and progress of all kinds in the member countries. It also

contains many descriptive articles, information on the economic, cultural, and scientific development of the various countries, papers commemorating notable anniversaries, and other material of a varied nature. Its files for the past forty-seven years, therefore, are a storehouse of facts concerning the American republics.

The Library of the Pan American Union has been known since the Second Conference as the COLUMBUS MEMORIAL LIBRARY. The thought of the First Conference was that a special Latin American Library be established as a separate institution, but this project was never carried out. By 1902, when the Second Conference met, the Bureau had acquired for use in its studies more than 7,000 titles. The Library continues to be devoted entirely to material bearing on the twenty-one American republics.

The growth of the library was accelerated after the Pan American Union moved into its present headquarters in 1910. Besides office space, five floors of stacks allowed generously for expansion—or so it was thought at the time, for the Library is now cramped for space.

The 20,000 volumes that were moved into the new building in 1910 increased in number to over 45,000 in 1920. At the present time the Library has more than 105,000 volumes and pamphlets available for consultation. A collection of nearly 2,200 maps—political, geographical, industrial—of countries and cities is another valuable section of the library.

It is in its files of newspapers and periodicals of the Americas that the Columbus Memorial Library is perhaps preeminent, for more than 1,800 are now being received. The official gazette of each government issuing one and publications of national ministries supply source material as to legislation and national policies. The cultural, scientific, technical and general



L. S. ROWE

Director General of the Pan American Union.

magazines received offer a vast composite picture of the thought and interests of this hemisphere.

Since the Pan American Union is an official organization, many of the member nations have by decree made the library a depository of all official publications. As a result, many works usually unobtainable outside of the respective countries are found on its shelves.

The Library prepares a printed library and bibliography series and issues selected bibliographies in mimeographed form; some of these appear in English, some in Spanish and Portuguese as well. Since 1938 the *Pan American Book Shelf*, in English and Spanish, has listed accessions to the library and given book and library notes from the Americas.

The compilation and publication of

trade statistics is an activity that the Union has carried on since its very beginning; reports on commercial intercourse have been issued for nearly fifty years.

As the Union grew, the work formerly done by the statistician and his assistants was divided. At present the STATISTICAL DIVISION publishes annual reports, based on official statistics, of the foreign trade of each Latin American country and of the United States with Latin America, and a general survey of the trade of all Latin America; collects and classifies statistics on the population of the countries, members of the Union; and records Latin American shipping statistics and passenger movement data.

The COUNSELOR, whose office was established in 1919, began by "conferring with, advising, and answering correspondence of those seeking reliable information regarding up-to-date and responsible phases of Pan American commercial, financial and general development." The Counselor soon became, however, the director of publicity for the Union, and also devoted increasing attention to supplying accurate and vivid material, including stereopticon slides and lectures, for women's club programs. The awakening interest in Latin American music was fostered, and as early as 1922 steps were taken to interest broadcasting systems and phonograph record manufacturers in the subject. In the intervening years ninety-three concerts by composers of the Americas have been given at the Pan American Union by the Army, Navy, or Marine Bands or by the United States Service Orchestra with vocal or instrumental soloists eminent in their respective fields. These concerts have been broadcast not only throughout the United States but by short wave to all Latin America.

Since 1933 the Counselor's duties have expanded tremendously. At present his

office is divided for administrative purposes into four sections, dealing with music and clubs, publicity, international conferences, and motion pictures.

The work of the first two sections has just been described. The conference section sets in motion machinery for giving effect to resolutions adopted at International Conferences of American States, especially those conclusions entrusting special duties to the Pan American Union; prepares handbooks for the use of delegates to official Pan American conferences; and serves as a coordinating center for information on all inter-American gatherings.

Through the section of motion pictures, a service inaugurated by the Union in October 1937, 112 prints of eight different films dealing with Latin America are available for loans. It has been estimated that these films have been seen by more than 1,300,000 people.

The Counselor is also responsible for the large amount of material distributed for use in the observance of Pan American Day. In 1939 160,000 pieces of printed and mimeographed material were sent gratis to 16,620 correspondents, scattered from Minnesota to the Strait of Magellan. This is a service that is rapidly increasing from year to year.

The office of the TRADE ADVISER, when first created in 1919, was held jointly with that of Chief Clerk, but the following year the two were separated. The Trade Adviser had charge of certain publications, kept in touch with financial developments, compiled labor information and performed such duties as his title would indicate. As the calls upon the Union increased, much of this work was delegated to newer divisions, and at present the Trade Adviser devotes his entire time to furthering cooperation between commercial and industrial interests throughout the Americas.



PEDRO DE ALBA

Assistant Director of the Pan American Union.

By 1917 the correspondence with educational institutions, educators and students in both North and South America had become so voluminous that a Section of Education was established under the direct charge of the Assistant Director. Among its early activities were a campaign on behalf of the study of the Spanish and Portuguese languages and literatures and Latin American history in schools and colleges of the United States; the publication of educational articles; assistance to students from Latin America in the United States; cooperation with educational, cultural, and scientific institutions and associations throughout the Americas; and the preparation of studies on aspects of education in this hemisphere.

After the section became a separate division in 1924, its scope continued to widen,



THE PATIO OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

The patio with its fountain and tropical plants is one of the most admired features of the building, which was designed by Paul Philippe Cret and Albert Kelsey. More than 200,000 visitors from almost every nation in the world, among them many students, are welcomed each year.

and in 1929 its name was fittingly changed to the **DIVISION OF INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION**. It collects and disseminates information on the various aspects of the cultural movement in the twenty-one American republics, concerning itself with the fields of education, science, literature, and the arts. It also contributes to bringing about closer and more fruitful relations between individuals and institutions engaged in the various aspects of intellectual life on this continent; encourages the translation and publication of articles and books indicative of the cultural progress in the Americas; promotes inter-American travel by individuals or groups of educators, scientists, and other professional men and women; sponsors the exchange of art exhibitions, school work, and school correspondence; and publishes in Spanish and Portuguese technical pamphlets on educational topics, and in English, Spanish and Portuguese a mimeographed review on

cultural activities throughout the continent. The name of the English edition is *Panorama*. This division also issues once or twice a year in Spanish and Portuguese a mimeographed publication containing items of interest to Latin American teachers.

Inasmuch as agriculture is the basic industry of all the republics of America, a separate **DIVISION OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION** was established in 1928, in compliance with a resolution passed at the Sixth Conference. In addition to making available to the people of the entire continent the most recent results of agricultural research, the division works closely with the national departments of agriculture of the American republics, collecting information on specific subjects, supplying samples of seeds, encouraging the propagation of new crops, recommending the variety of a crop best suited to a specific region, and making studies of agricultural



#### A SUMMER CONCERT OF LATIN AMERICAN MUSIC

Almost one hundred concerts of Latin American music have been given at the Pan American Union, those in the summer taking place in the garden. The broadcasts of these concerts have introduced many composers to music lovers in American countries other than their own.

material from all parts of Latin America. The publication of special series of technical papers on agriculture and on the cooperative movement is a widely appreciated service.

In accordance with a recommendation of the Seventh International Conference of American States held at Montevideo in 1933, the TRAVEL DIVISION of the Union was installed on January 1, 1935. Since its establishment, it has worked to promote inter-American tourist travel, acting in close conjunction with the leading transportation companies serving the Americas and the official and private organizations interested in travel in the countries members of the Union. It has developed an extensive publicity and information service designed to make better known the pleasures of travel in the Americas, and to this end has compiled or collected information on means of transportation, schedules, hotels, highways, points of interest, cus-

tom requirements, and immigration regulations. Visitors to the Pan American Union are attracted to the office of the Travel Division in one of the main corridors, because of the handsome posters always on display. Many pause to make inquiries concerning routes to Latin America, and other prospective travelers are helped by correspondence.

International law and the development of machinery for the preservation of peace have always been subjects of major interest at the International Conferences of American States, and a comprehensive organization has been developed to carry on the work of codification. In this activity the Union, through its JURIDICAL DIVISION, serves as the central coordinating agency and maintains close contact with the several National and Permanent Committees, and with the Committee of Experts on the Codification of International Law. This work, begun in compliance with a resolu-

tion of the Seventh Conference (Montevideo 1933) was first carried on under the supervision of the Assistant Director; in 1937 it was made a separate office.

The Juridical Division performs the several duties in connection with the function of the Pan American Union as a depository of treaties, conventions and other diplomatic instruments signed at Pan American Conferences or otherwise coming under its jurisdiction; publishes a semi-annual report on the status of inter-American treaties as regards signatures,

adherences, ratifications, and denunciations; and is charged with the task of registering all bilateral or multilateral treaties, conventions, and other agreements signed or approved by the countries of the Union, either between or among themselves or with non-American States. It is also concerned with the codification of public and private international law and the unification and uniformity of legislation; preparation of material on legal and technical subjects for consideration by general and special conferences of American States



#### PUBLICATIONS OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

Information on the twenty-one countries members of the Pan American Union and on the multifarious activities of the Union is offered in a wide variety of publications.



THE MAIL ROOM

In the Mail Room hundreds of thousands of mimeographed and multigraphed publications are prepared every year, many of them for distribution preparatory to the continent-wide celebration of Pan American Day.

and by the Governing Board; consideration of the measures that may be taken to carry into effect such conclusions of the conferences of American States and of the Governing Board as involve legal problems; promotion of interchange between lawyers and legal associations and organizations of the American nations; and attention to inquiries relating to treaty matters, international law, and domestic law of the American republics.

Since July 1923 the Union has had a division devoted to finance. Originally established to give greater attention to inquiries relative to the financial situation of the Latin American republics, it grew

in scope, and after administrative changes became in 1937 the DIVISION OF ECONOMIC INFORMATION.

The duties of this division, as at present constituted, are to serve as a center of information on economic and financial matters in the Americas; prepare in English and Spanish *Commercial Pan America*, a mimeographed monthly review begun in accordance with a resolution of the Montevideo Conference; formulate material for commercial and economic conferences; prepare and revise the illustrated booklets in the Nations, Cities, and Commodities series, which are sold in large numbers to schools, other institutions, and individuals; and

acquaint itself with municipal affairs in the Americas.

Until January 1, 1940, the Division of Economic Information had also, as far as its staff and time permitted, kept abreast of labor developments in the Americas. On that date the DIVISION OF LABOR AND SOCIAL INFORMATION was created, to serve as a clearing house for facts about such matters; maintain contact with labor organizations in the different countries; and undertake the compilation of data concerning labor activities and related legislation in the various American republics.

Although an independent establishment, the PAN AMERICAN SANITARY BUREAU has had its offices in the Pan American Union building since May 1921, and its activities are carried on in close cooperation with the Union.

The Sanitary Bureau was established in accordance with a resolution on international sanitary police adopted by the Second Conference. The resolution recommended the calling of a general convention of representatives of health organizations of the American republics, which should designate a permanent executive board of at least five members, to be known as the "International Sanitary Bureau," with permanent headquarters at Washington. The Sixth International Sanitary Conference of the American Republics (Montevideo 1920) reorganized the Bureau, and provided for the publication of a monthly *Bulletin*, which was begun with the May 1922 issue. The name was changed to Pan American Sanitary Bureau by action of the Fifth International Conference of American States (Santiago, Chile, 1923).

The Bureau is interested primarily in the prevention of the international spread of communicable diseases, and also in the maintenance and improvement of the health of the people of the twenty-one

American Republics. Under the provisions of the Pan American Sanitary Code (1924), it has become the center of coordination and information in the field of public health in the American Republics; in this work it is greatly aided by traveling representatives who are constantly in the field. It also acts as a consulting body at the request of national health authorities, and carries on epidemiological and scientific studies.

In addition to these administrative divisions in constant touch with governments, institutions, and individuals, the Pan American Union is served by several offices to which much of its smooth functioning is due.

The CHIEF CLERK not only purchases supplies and enforces administrative rules relating to the personnel of the Union, but also has charge of the sale and distribution of publications and supervises the exhibit material.

Thanks to the ACCOUNTANT'S OFFICE, the modest funds of the Union derived from a specified quota per thousand inhabitants of each country, member of the Union, are safeguarded and scrupulously disbursed.

The DIVISION OF PRINTING supervises the technical side of the publication of all printed material issued by any department of the Union. It also has charge of the file of more than 35,000 photographs from all the countries of the Pan American Union. These photographs not only are employed in illustrating publications of the Union but are lent for use in books, newspapers and periodicals.

The activities of the MAIL ROOM are an index to those of the Union as a whole. In addition to attending to the mail for the fiscal year 1938-39 the pieces of the incoming mail numbered 117,969 and the outgoing 633,468 letters and packages and 1,151,122 pieces of printed and mimeographed matter, all of which passed through this department), the Mail Room



has charge of photography, duplicating (7,249,687 impressions were made by mimeograph or multigraph in 1938-39), and the inspection and repair of motion pictures.

The correspondence of all the divisions of the Union is kept in a central FILE ROOM where it is available for consultation by members of the staff.

It is largely due to the efforts of the SUPERINTENDENT OF BUILDING AND GROUNDS

and his staff that the Pan American Union has remained for thirty years one of the show spots of Washington.

The foregoing is a brief sketch, in general terms, of the manifold activities carried on within the walls of the "clearing-house of Good Will," which is ever at the service of the Americas.

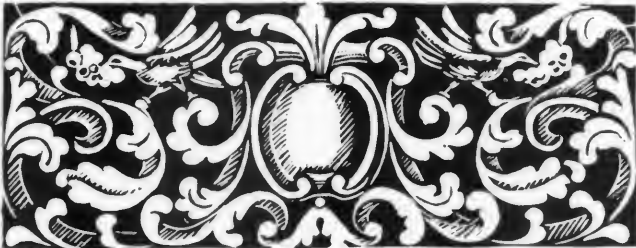
Below is appended a list of the Directors and Assistant Directors of the Pan American Union during its first half-century:

#### DIRECTORS OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

	<i>Years</i>		<i>Years</i>
WILLIAM E. CURTIS.....	1890-1893	W. W. ROCKHILL.....	1899-1905
CLINTON FURBISH.....	1893-1897	WILLIAMS C. FOX.....	1905-1907
JOSEPH P. SMITH.....	1897-1898	JOHN BARRETT.....	1907-1920
FREDERIC EMORY.....	1898-1899	L. S. ROWE.....	1920-

#### ASSISTANT DIRECTORS OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

	<i>Years</i>		<i>Years</i>
FRANCISCO J. YANES.....	1910-1924	PEDRO DE ALBA.....	1936-
ESTEBAN GIL BORGES.....	1924-1936		



De la Revista de la Escuela de Bellas Artes, Quito

# A Half Century of Pan Americanism

RICARDO J. ALFARO

*Ex-President of Panama; Charter Member and Individuo de Número of the Society of International Law and of the Panamanian Academy of History; Member of the American Institute of International Law and of the Académie Diplomatique, Paris; Corresponding Member of the Academy of History, Madrid, the National Academy of History, Caracas, and the American Academy of History, Buenos Aires; etc.*

ON OCTOBER 2, 1889, an event took place in the placid city of Washington that awakened unusual interest in political and diplomatic circles. In this northern capital, statesmen recently arrived from the Latin American republics joined representatives of the United States in an international conference. Eminent personages, whose names are writ large in the history of their countries, had been selected to attend the meeting. Brazil had sent the renowned jurist Lafayette Rodrigues Pereira. Two illustrious statesmen, Roque Sáenz Peña and Manuel Quintana, were eagerly awaited from Argentina. The veteran diplomat José Marcelino Hurtado, the talented Carlos Martínez Silva and the eloquent Clímaco Calderón represented Colombia. Emilio Varas of Chile, Jacinto Castellanos of El Salvador, Nicanor Bolet Peraza of Venezuela, and Fernando Cruz of Guatemala also were prominent. The delegate of Ecuador was José María Plácido Caamaño, and from Uruguay came Alberto Nin. The Peruvian Félix Zegarra and the Mexican Matías Romero, men of special distinction, were honored by being chosen vice presidents of the conference. Other leading delegates were Juan F. Velarde of Bolivia, Manuel Aragón of Costa Rica, Horacio Guzmán of Nicaragua, José Decoud of Paraguay, Jerónimo Zelaya of Honduras, and Arthur Laforestrie of Haiti. The delegation of the United States was large and representative. In addition to Secretary of State Blaine, other conspicuous members were

Andrew Carnegie, the philanthropist and pacifist whose name is affectionately enshrined in the annals of Pan Americanism; John B. Henderson, the brilliant Senator from Missouri; Henry Gassaway Davis, financier; Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, lawyer; and William Henry Trescot, the diplomat who had discharged a delicate mission to the Governments of Chile and Peru.

These representatives of the American States gathered in the Diplomatic Hall of the State Department for the opening session. Subsequent meetings were held in the Wallach Mansion, located on the corner of Eighteenth and I Streets. Of the nineteen States then existing on the continent (Cuba and Panama had not yet become independent nations), all except the Dominican Republic, which had declined the invitation, were represented in that memorable gathering. The endeavor to have all the nations of America assemble in conference to deliberate upon subjects of interest to all thus became a reality in the international life of the hemisphere. As a consequence the Greek stem meaning totality was linked to the name *America*, and the words *Pan American* and *Pan Americanism* and their derivatives were created to enrich the lexicon of international politics.<sup>1</sup>

What were the antecedents, what the beginnings," *New York, The Macmillan Company, 1920*), "*The New York Evening Post*" first used the adjective *Pan American* on June 27, 1882, in connection with Blaine's first proposal for a conference of American States.



JAMES G. BLAINE

Blaine, who worked nearly ten years for the convocation of the First International Conference of American States, was its President.

prospects for the future, when for the first time in history the Latins and the Anglo-Saxons of this continent gathered around a conference table?

That meeting represented many decades of more or less well-defined aspirations in favor of American unity; it represented the resurrection of the grandiose project that Bolívar had tried to realize by means of the Congress of Panama; it represented the comprehensive action of United States diplomacy in contrast to the restricted action of Latin diplomacy in the congresses of 1847, 1856, and 1864, which reflected a period of estrangement and suspicion; and finally, it represented a nine-year struggle

in the United States by enlightened men who understood the moral and economic unity of the western hemisphere and fought the passive but potent forces of ignorance, inertia, and prejudice.

The proposal to hold an assembly of the American republics in Washington did not have its origin, as is generally believed, in the official action of James G. Blaine. The idea had been suggested in the Congress of the United States more than a year before that eminent man became Secretary of State. Blaine adopted the idea and put it into effect, for he doubtless saw in it the concrete means of realizing his plans for continental rapprochement.

Those plans of Blaine were the result of the effect produced on observant minds by the political and commercial events of the period. After the Congress of Panama, when Adams and Clay were strongly advocating inter-American approximation, the course of events had tended to foster suspicion and rancor in the south, isolation and indifference in the north. The annexation of Texas, the Mexican War and the consequent territorial expansion, William Walker's filibustering expeditions, the various incidents that changed the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine and destroyed faith in it, and, finally, sporadic expressions of the "manifest destiny" of the United States to extend its domination southwards, were all matters that aroused visible antagonism for many years in the Iberian republics. On the other hand, the Civil War and the stormy reconstruction period that followed caused the United States to concentrate its energies on the fundamental and urgent task of healing the wounds inflicted on national prosperity by that tragic internal struggle, and thus to slight the task of fraternizing with the southern countries. The cause and effect of that estrangement was the supine ignorance prevalent in the United States about those nations, which a mendacious legend had painted in the popular imagination as incapable of economic production and inept in self-government, and as the irretrievable prey of backwardness, poverty, religious fanaticism, and perpetual anarchy.

But as the United States grew in population, commerce, and industry, the country began to look toward the vast expanse from the Río Grande to Cape Horn. During the decade from 1870 to 1880, foreign trade figures began to make it clear to statesmen and financiers that the United States ought to intensify relations of every kind with the Iberian republics. Statistics showed with cold eloquence that in its

dealings with Latin America the United States had an unfavorable trade balance, while the balance of trade with Europe was greatly in its favor. However, Latin America as a whole bought from Europe much more than it sold to that continent, European goods virtually enjoying a monopoly in the southern nations of the western hemisphere. One North American traveler described the situation in these words:

It always grieved me exceedingly, and was particularly offensive to my sense of the fitness of things, to find almost everything in the way of foreign merchandise throughout the length and breadth of my routes of European manufacture. At different points along the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, in many cities of the plains, in various towns on the mountain slopes, on the apex of Potosi and on the tops of other Andean peaks higher than Mount Hood, I have gone into stores and warehouses and looked in vain—utterly in vain—for one single article of American manufacture. From the little pin with which the lady fastens her beau-catching ribbons to the grand piano with which she enlivens and enchants the hearts of all her household; from the tiniest thread and tack and tool needed in the mechanic art to the largest plows and harrows and other agricultural implements and machines required for use on the farm—all these and other things, the wares and fabrics and light groceries and delicacies sold by the apothecary; the fermented malt and spirituous liquors in the wine saloon; the stationery and fancy goods in the bookstore; the furniture in the parlor and the utensils in the kitchen, are, with rare exceptions, of English, German, Spanish, or Italian manufacture. And what makes the matter still more unsatisfactory and vexatious to the North American and more expensive and otherwise disadvantageous to the South American, is that these articles are, as a general rule, inferior both in material and make to the corresponding article of American manufacture.<sup>2</sup>

A primary cause of this situation was felt to be the lack of adequate communications between the United States and the countries to the south, and this opinion was

<sup>2</sup> "International American Conference," Washington Government Printing Office, 1890, Vol. IV, p. 305.

strengthened by the fact that the most satisfactory trade relations were those with Mexico. With this adjacent country land and sea communications were easier, especially since the construction of railways connecting with the United States system was being rapidly pushed.

In this propitious atmosphere, on January 31, 1880, Senator David Davis of Illinois, by request of Representative Hinton Rowan Helper, presented to the upper house a bill "for the encouragement of closer commercial relationship between the United States and the Republics of Mexico, Central America, the Empire of

Brazil, and the several Republics of South America." The preamble to the bill stated that to the south of the United States were industrious and progressive nations "with whom the people of the United States hold, and desire to maintain, the most friendly relations and with whom a closer and reciprocal interest in trade and commerce ought to be encouraged," with whom there were no means of communication "except by long sea voyages," and it advocated the construction of a through railway, extending along the eastern slope of the Andes with branches to the most important river systems, to



THE WALLACH MANSION, WASHINGTON

Here the First International Conference of American States held its sessions, except for the first, which took place in the Department of State.



GROUP OF DELEGATES TO THE CONGRESS ON THE STEPS OF THE WALLACE MANSION.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN STATES.—FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY BILL, WASHINGTON.

From Harper's Weekly

DELEGATES TO THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES  
WASHINGTON, 1889-90

The Commercial Bureau of American Republics, which has since evolved into the Pan American Union, was created on April 14, 1890, by this Conference, over which James G. Blaine presided. *Harper's Weekly* said in its issue of December 28, 1889: "The South American countries attended to the choice of their delegates with great pains. They have sent an able and brilliant body of men. Some of them are profound scholars and skilled linguists; others are trained and experienced diplomats, learned jurists, experts in finance, masters of commercial law, practised administrators, specialists in questions of international trade, or parliamentarians of reputation and skill."

give rapid communication between North and South America.

The main body of the bill read in part as follows:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order to initiate such action as may lead to the adoption of measures that may form a basis for the organization of an international administration, to which shall be intrusted the duty of carrying forward the work of constructing said railroad, that the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and requested to invite all the Governments of the said several Republics of Mexico, Central America,*

South America, and the Empire of Brazil to send duly appointed delegates to meet in convention in the city of Washington, upon the third Monday in June, eighteen hundred and eighty, to adopt such measures as may be considered the most practicable to carry forward the proposed work in the interest of peace, commerce and mutual prosperity.<sup>3</sup> . . .

This was the first official action taken in the United States toward the meeting of a Pan American assembly. As we have seen, it was inspired by the desire for trade, but that does not deprive the Davis

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 294.

Helper bill of either priority of initiative or intrinsic merit. History has repeatedly shown that in the development of international relations mercantile traffic opens the way for diplomatic interchange and for friendship between nations. And it is equally true that the strongest relations are always those that are founded on common and harmonious economic interests.

Other events had the cumulative effect of pointing, so to speak, to the need for summoning all the American republics to a congress. The arbitration of the *Alabama* claims had focused the attention of the entire world on the advantages of arbitration as a peaceful and just means of settling international conflicts. Several nations in America had had recourse to arbitration to decide their boundary disputes, while others had signed with one another very broad and comprehensive general arbitration treaties. That signed by Colombia and Chile on September 3, 1880, was absolutely unrestricted in scope; it designated the President of the United States as Permanent Arbitrator to decide any conflict that could not be settled through diplomatic channels. This treaty aroused in Colombia a generous enthusiasm, which found expression in a proposal to call a second Congress of Panama, whose main object would be to have all the sister governments subscribe to the saving principle incorporated in the Chilean-Colombian pact. To this end the Foreign Office of Bogotá announced that the President of the Republic would go to the capital of the Isthmus and invited the American nations to send to that city delegates empowered to sign similar conventions with Colombia and with each other.

In spite of an enthusiastic response from most of the republics of the continent to this noble proposal of Colombia, adverse circumstances prevented the holding of

the congress. Foremost among these was the war that broke out between Peru, Bolivia, and Chile, but that serious armed conflict served to stimulate in the minds of those who loved peace their devotion to the cause of arbitration.

This, briefly, was the continental state of mind when, at the beginning of President Garfield's administration on March 4, 1881, James Gillespie Blaine was appointed Secretary of State. A journalist, writer, orator, and statesman, Blaine was then a towering figure in United States politics. As Representative, as Speaker of the House, and as Senator, Blaine had given twenty years of distinguished service to Congress, where his persuasive eloquence, farsightedness, magnetic personality, and manifold and all-inclusive talents had made him outstanding. His ideas were those of a cosmopolitan mind, far removed from chauvinistic self-absorption and narrow provincialism. One of his biographers says that the globe in his library was a source of inspiration to him:

On it he would trace, with a friend, the paths and progress of mankind. He saw overpopulated Europe with its four hundred millions divided into hostile camps, forever jostling one another, and overcrowded Asia with its eight hundred millions, laborious, patient, silent, and between them our own continent stretching north and south,—the natural entrepôt of both worlds but unaware and inactive.<sup>4</sup>

Blaine was particularly interested in tariff questions, and in dealing with them had shown himself to be a moderate protectionist. He believed in the efficacy of customs barriers insofar as they were necessary to permit the development of national industries, but at the same time he was convinced that true prosperity cannot be based on the ruin of or damage to others, but must be founded on the prosperity of

<sup>4</sup> Gail Hamilton [*Mary Abigail Dodge*], "*Biography of James G. Blaine*," Norwich, Conn., *The Henry Bill Publishing Company*, 1895, p. 503.

DELEGATES TO THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES, MEXICO, 1901-02







Upper group, top row, left to right: Antonio Bermejo, Lorenzo Anadón and Martín García Mérou of Argentina; Fernando E. Guachalla of Bolivia; Carlos Martínez Silva and Rafael Reyes of Colombia; Joaquín Bernardo Calvo of Costa Rica; and Alberto Blest Gana of Chile. Second row, left to right: Federico Henríquez y Carvajal and Quintín Gutiérrez of the Dominican Republic; Luis Felipe Carbo of Ecuador, who also represented the Dominican Republic; Joaquín D. Casasús of Mexico; Joaquín Walker Martínez, Emilio Bello Codesido and Augusto Matte of Chile. Third row, extreme left: Henry G. Davis of the United States; extreme right, Francisco A. Reyes of El Salvador. Fourth row, left to right: William I. Buchanan and Volney W. Foster of the United States; José Hygino Duarte Pereyra of Brazil; Genaro Raigosa of Mexico; Baltasar Estupinián of El Salvador; Antonio Lazo Arriaga and Francisco Orla of Guatemala.

Lower group, top row, left to right: Charles M. Pepper and John Barrett of the United States; Fausto Dávila, of Honduras, who also represented Nicaragua; José Leonard, of Honduras. Second row, left to right: José López Portillo y Rojas, Rosendo Pineda, Alfredo Chavero, Manuel Sánchez Mármol, Emilio Pardo, Francisco L. de la Barra, and Pablo Macedo, of Mexico; J. N. Léger of Haiti. Third row, left to right: Luis F. Corea of Nicaragua; Cecilio Báez of Paraguay; Isaac Alzamora, Alberto Elmore, and Manuel Alvarez Calderón, of Peru; Juan Cuestas of Uruguay; and José Gil Fortoul and Manuel M. Galavís of Venezuela.

those with whom one deals. To his mind, reciprocity complemented protection, and he understood that in order to sell more it is essential also to buy more. Blaine saw in the southern nations a vast market where an outlet might be found for the surplus manufactured goods and agricultural products overflowing from the young and vigorous industry of the United States. In those nations he saw also geographic continuity, historic bonds forged by the common experience of transition from colonial life to independence, the similarity of democratic institutions notwithstanding the existence of the Brazilian Empire, ruled by a liberal and enlightened monarch, Dom Pedro II. And at the same time Blaine saw that in order to bring about on this continent economic rapprochement and its consequences, social and human intercourse, peace would have to be maintained abroad as well as at home. Peace and trade, arbitration and friendship, these should be, therefore, the aims of continental action, and to attain those aims, the most effective means would be an international conference of all the American States, such as Senator Davis had proposed the year before.

Dr. A. Curtis Wilgus, in his scholarly monograph entitled *Blaine and the Pan American Movement*,<sup>5</sup> propounds the theory that the idea of union to promote peace was a secondary consideration of the celebrated statesman, a conclusion the author reached after a careful study of his speeches and writings. Blaine himself, on the other hand, contradicts that assertion by word and by act. The circular letter sent in 1881 to the American States, inviting them to meet in Washington, mentioned exclusively means of preventing war among the American nations as the purpose of the conference. In a letter written to the

*Chicago Weekly Magazine* in September 1882, Blaine stated that the two main objectives of President Garfield's foreign policy were: first, to maintain peace and prevent war in North and South America and second, to promote commercial relations. Perhaps it would not be bold to say that to Blaine the prime consideration was the conference itself, the international contact, the exchange of ideas on a common problems, by means of which the best way to develop joint action on the manifold subjects that might be discussed could be studied and decided.

President Garfield, in complete agreement with this idea of his Secretary of State, authorized Blaine to invite the States of this continent to the conference he had in view. Nevertheless, it proved impossible to do anything while Garfield was alive, because on July 2, before he had been in office four months, the crime occurred that sent the ill-starred President to his grave on the following September 19.

Vice President Chester A. Arthur assumed the Presidency of the United States and to him Blaine, with the other Cabinet members, presented his resignation. Arthur requested him to continue in office until December, and authorized him to send the invitation approved by the late President. Blaine did so through the respective legations, by a circular letter addressed to them on November 29, 1881. The letter commenced by expressing the constant interest of the United States in continental peace, then stated the belief that the time had come for all governments of the continent to join forces to ensure by every means in their power the maintenance of peace. It went on to say:

Impressed by these views, the President extended to all the independent countries of North and South America an earnest invitation to participate in a general congress, to be held in the city of Washington on the 24th day of November, 1882, for the purpose of considering and discussing the

<sup>5</sup> "Hispanic American Historical Review," Washington, Vol. V, No. 4, Nov. 1922.



DELEGATES TO THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES, RIO DE JANEIRO, 1906

Standing together are the Baron of Rio Branco, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil and president of the Conference, who is famous for the boundary settlements that he effected by arbitration; Elihu Root, then Secretary of State of the United States, and Joaquim Nabuco, first Ambassador of Brazil to the United States.

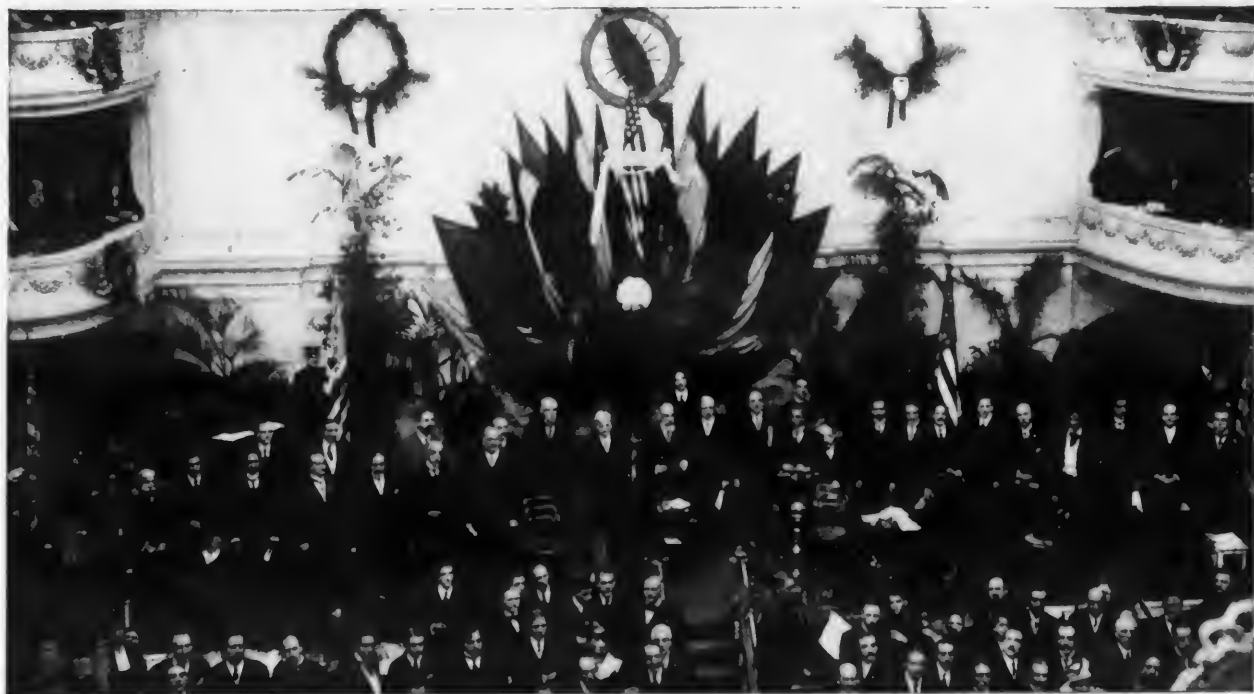
methods of preventing war between the nations of America. He desires that the attention of the congress shall be strictly confined to this one great object; that its sole aim shall be to seek a way of permanently averting the horrors of cruel and bloody combat between countries, oftenest of one blood and speech, or the even worse calamity of internal commotion and civil strife; that it shall regard the burdensome and far-reaching consequences of such struggles, the legacies of exhausted finances, of oppressive debt, of onerous taxation, of ruined cities, of paralyzed industries, of devastated fields, of ruthless conscription, of the slaughter of men, of the grief of the widow and the orphan, of embittered resentments that long survive those who provoked them and heavily afflict the innocent generations that come after.<sup>6</sup>

The invitation met with sympathetic response from the southern governments.

<sup>6</sup> *Senate Document 232, 51st Congress, quoted in "International American Conference," Vol. IV, p. 256.*

But before the enthusiastic replies elicited by the invitation could be received, an unexpected, as well as extraordinary, event occurred. Blaine's resignation was accepted and Frederick T. Frelinghuysen was appointed to succeed him. This change gave the political enemies of Blaine a chance to machinate to discredit and destroy his diplomatic labors, especially in the field of continental policy. On January 9, 1882, Secretary Frelinghuysen sent to William H. Trescot, one of the special envoys accredited to the governments of Chile and Peru, a communication in which he said:

The United States is at peace with all the nations of the earth, and the President wishes hereafter to determine whether it will conduce to



Photograph by Harris & Ewing

**OPENING SESSION OF THE SECOND PAN AMERICAN SCIENTIFIC CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, 1915**

Among the series of conferences of a technical nature convened under the auspices of the Pan American Union the scientific congresses have an important place. The Eighth will take place at Washington in May as part of the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Pan American Union.

that general peace, which he would cherish and promote, for this government to enter into negotiations and consultation for the promotion of peace with selected friendly nationalities without extending a like confidence to other peoples with whom the United States is on equally friendly terms. If such partial confidence would create jealousy and ill will, peace, the object sought by such consultation, would not be promoted.<sup>7</sup>

This unfortunate act, which backed by such feeble arguments, was equivalent to the cancellation of the measure definitely decided upon by the late President and by his successor, provoked Blaine's ire. Finding himself discredited and attacked with unbridled injustice, he saw in that manoeuvre a magnificent opportunity to awaken American opinion not only by defending his action but also by publicly proclaiming his policy of peace, prosperity, and continental brotherhood. To that end he wrote on February 3 an open letter to President Arthur, in which he criticized caustically but subtly the change of front of the Department of State. The document deserves to be recalled:

The suggestion that a Congress of all American nations should assemble in the city of Washington, for the purpose of agreeing on such a basis of arbitration for international troubles as would remove all possibility of war in the Western Hemisphere, was warmly approved by your predecessor . . . . After your accession to the Presidency I acquainted you with the project, and submitted to you a draft for the invitation. You received the suggestion with appreciative consideration and, after carefully examining the form of invitation, directed it to be sent . . . . In a communication, recently sent to the Senate, addressed by the present Secretary of State the ninth of last month to Mr. Trescott, now on a special mission to Peru and Chile, I was greatly surprised to find a proposition looking to the annulment of these invitations, and I was still more surprised when I read the reasons assigned.<sup>8</sup>

Blaine went on to cite the paragraph given above from Secretary Frelinghuysen's letter, and added:

If I correctly apprehend the meaning of these words, it is that we might offend some European powers if we should hold in the United States a Congress of "selected nationalities" of America. This is certainly a new position for the United States, and one which I earnestly beg you will not permit this government to assume. European Powers assemble in Congress whenever an object seems to them of sufficient gravity to justify it. I have never heard of their consulting the Government of the United States in regard to the propriety of their so assembling, nor have I ever known of their inviting an American representative to be present; nor would there, in my opinion, be any good reason for their so doing. Two Presidents of the United States, in the year 1881, adjudged it to be expedient that American Powers should meet in Congress for the sole purpose of agreeing upon some basis for arbitration of differences that may arise between them, and for the prevention, as far as possible, of wars in the future. If that movement is now to be arrested for fear it may give offence in Europe, the voluntary humiliation of the United States could not be more complete, unless we should petition European Governments for the privilege of holding the Congress.

It is difficult to see how this country could be placed in a less enviable position than would be secured by sending in November a cordial invitation to all the Independent Nations in America to meet in Washington for the sole purpose of devising measures of peace, and in January recalling the invitation for fear it might create "jealousy and ill will" on the part of monarchical governments in Europe. It would be difficult to devise a more effective way for the United States to lose the friendship of its American neighbors, and it would certainly not add to our *prestige* in the European world. Nor can I see, Mr. President, how European Governments should feel "jealousy and ill will" toward the United States because of an effort on its part to assure lasting peace between the nations of America, unless indeed it be the interest of the European Powers that the American Nations should at intervals fall into war, and bring reproach on Republican institutions. But from that very circumstance I see an additional and powerful motive for American governments to be at peace among themselves. . . . To revoke that invi-

<sup>7</sup> "Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States. . . . 1882," Washington, Government Printing Office, 1883, p. 58.

<sup>8</sup> Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 521.



THE OPENING SESSION, CONFERENCE FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE, BUENOS AIRES, 1936

President Agustín P. Justo of Argentina and President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States arrived together. The Conference, which met at the invitation of Argentina and the suggestion of President Roosevelt, made several important advances towards the preservation of American solidarity and peace.

tation for any cause would be embarrassing; to revoke it for avowed fear of "jealousy and ill will" on the part of European Powers would appeal as little to American pride as to American hospitality.<sup>9</sup>

It was unquestionably this letter that led President Arthur to submit to Congress the question of whether the conference should be held or not. The President said in his message that when he sent the invitation he was unaware that between certain republics of America there existed differences that might militate against the successful outcome of the gathering; and in this connection he mentioned the controversies between Chile and Peru, between Mexico and Guatemala, and between the Central American States. He added that, as President, he had the constitutional right to call such a conference, but notwithstanding that fact, he desired Congress to give its opinion as to the wisdom of calling it.

The message was severely criticized and caused a strong unfavorable reaction. A bill introduced into the Senate on April 24 by Senator Coekrell authorized the appointment of a special commission to promote commercial intercourse with the Central and South American countries and to inquire into the possibilities of railway communication with each other and with the United States. Another bill, presented the same day by Senator Morgan of Alabama, repeated the bill introduced two years before by Senator Davis, on the calling of a continental assembly. Between June 5 and August 7, 1882, says Wilgus in the monograph cited above, 23 petitions were introduced into the two houses requesting that the peace conference be called. But as Congress took no affirmative action, Secretary Frelinghuysen declared in a note of August 9 that the conference was indefinitely postponed.

Thus Blaine's first attempt came to naught, but the Pan American movement continued to show signs of great vitality. Either because of the intrinsic merit of the proposal, or through Blaine's powerful influence on public opinion, measures intended to produce the desired rapprochement with the southern republics multiplied in Congress. Senator Coekrell again presented, in February 1883, his bill of the previous year. Representative Jordan made a similar motion in the House. In January 1884 Representative Townshend proposed the organization of a commercial league or customs union between the American nations, a proposal that he renewed the following year. Coekrell returned to the charge with another bill on the appointment of a commission of three members, who should visit the principal countries of Central and South America to gather data on how to develop trade and strengthen friendly relations between the United States and those countries. When the bill became law, President Arthur appointed to the commission Solon O. Thacher, Thomas C. Reynolds, and George H. Sharpe, who was later replaced by William Eleroy Curtis. This commission performed its duties ably and presented illuminating reports, which were of great value in later deliberations. In January 1886 Representative Worthington proposed that an inter-American congress be held to discuss the question of arbitration, and similar bills were presented in the Senate in February by Senator Logan, in March by Senator McKinley. The Davis Bill was presented once again in both houses. In April Representative McCreary introduced a bill authorizing the organization of a conference to deal with topics relating to arbitration and trade. The same measure was proposed in another bill presented by Senator Frye and approved by the Com-

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 522.

mittee on Foreign Relations. During 1887 and 1888 the bills of a similar nature introduced into the legislature were so many that it would be tedious to list them all. In the latter year Townshend repeated his proposal for a *Zollverein* and the McKinley and McCreary bills, upon which no action had been taken, were again introduced. The Frye bill was at last approved by both houses and on May 10, 1888 became law.<sup>10</sup> In compliance therewith Secretary of State Bayard sent to the American governments a letter dated July 13, inviting them to send delegates to a conference to open in Washington on October 2, 1889. Blaine's Pan American cause had triumphed, and fate willed that he should taste the fruits of his victory. In the presidential election of 1888 the Republican candidate, General Benjamin Harrison, was victorious, and on assuming office the following year appointed Blaine Secretary of State for the second time. Thus it was that on October 2, 1889, when the First International Conference of American States opened, James Gillespie Blaine crowned with splendid success his political labors of almost a decade, and marked the advent of an era of understanding, cooperation, and solidarity in the international life of the New World.

On December 20, 1889, during a visit made to New York City by the delegates to the First Pan American Conference, they were guests at a banquet at which one of the speakers, the great Elihu Root, uttered the following words:

... We hail you, gentlemen, not only for the immediate results which we expect from this international conference, but for the bright promises of the future. The vision of one generation is the project of the next; the project of this generation is the accomplished fact of the next; the fact of this generation passes into history with the next, and

<sup>10</sup> For a more detailed account of measures proposed in or taken by Congress relative to an inter-American conference, see "International American Conference," Vol. IV, pp. 293-375.

all the world wonders that men have so long been blind. . . . You gentlemen who participate in this conference between all the peoples of the free Western Hemisphere are the advance guard in the greatest movement since civilization began towards the brotherhood of man and the federation of the world.<sup>11</sup>

It is impossible to consider the development and influence of this and subsequent continental assemblies without recalling those words, so full of wisdom and of prophecy. The vision of the precursors of American unity, Miranda, Maia, Egaña, Thornton, Rozas, del Valle; the accurate understanding of Jefferson and Monroe; the consuming zeal of Bolívar and Clay; the constant aspiration of great minds throughout the continent during the sixty-three years that had elapsed since the Congress of Panama, in spite of failures and errors,—all these have been translated into tangible reality for the whole world to see during the half-century of constructive and fruitful Pan Americanism that has just been completed.

The conference at Washington was to continental action what the foundation is to a building. The single fact that the republics of America met to deliberate on their destiny and to discuss problems of common interest gave that congress immense significance. Because when opinions were exchanged, sentiments and ideas that had been floating in the American atmosphere solidified and the great ideals and principles that are the polestar and lodestone of intracontinental relations crystallized in final and irrevocable form. These were: the principle of the juridical equality of States, a fact chiefly emphasized by the representatives of the most powerful and wealthy nations at the meeting; the ideal of a stable and permanent peace, which had been hailed as the prime motive of the movement for rapprochement; the increase of trade,

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 295.



which is the life blood of relations between nations; the condemnation of territorial gains made by force; compulsory arbitration as the humane and rational method of settling controversies between sovereign nations; the equality of nationals and foreigners in matters of civil law and the procedure and responsibilities connected therewith; uniformity and standardization of mercantile, port, and sanitary practices; cooperation, in a word, which was assured by the establishment of a common center of activities, an organization of united America. This was created at the Washington Conference with the name of "Commercial Bureau of the American Republics," later changed to the shorter and more significant title, "Pan American Union."

Including the meeting of 1889-90 that opened the cycle of Pan American assem-

blies, eight regular and general conferences have been held in the last fifty years, at Washington, Mexico, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Santiago, Habana, Montevideo, and Lima. In addition to these, there have been about a hundred special conferences dealing with scientific, economic, commercial, postal, medical, sanitary, and agricultural matters, journalism, education, civil aviation, electrical communications, highways, railways, homiculture, child welfare, customs procedure, automotive traffic, the codification of international law, and other subjects.

Three special conferences of extraordinary scope and significance have also been held: namely, the International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration, Washington, 1928-29; the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, Buenos Aires, 1936;



THE FIRST MEETING OF THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS

At the meeting, which took place in September-October 1939, several important declarations and resolutions essentially American in character were adopted. These included the establishment of a neutrality zone and the creation of an Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee.

and the Consultative Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Panama, 1939.<sup>12</sup>

This half-century of contact through conference has had evident results for the republics of the New World.

It should be noted in the first place that because of the labors of these conferences, America is today the only continent in the world organized as a unit for international action. Thanks to these conferences, America is, and has been since 1889, an association of nations, with an Assembly consisting of their periodic meetings, some general, some specific; with a Council, the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, composed of official representatives of the twenty-one republics; with its permanent Secretariat, composed of the considerable organization headed by the Director General of the Union, as the executive officer of the Board.

This association of nations differs, as is well known, from the League in Geneva in that the latter is essentially political, while the former says in its statutes that it is a "moral union." Nevertheless, a complete analysis of the facts discloses that the Pan American conferences have with growing frequency touched upon essentially political matters, such as those having to do with the maintenance of peace, continental security and solidarity, neutrality, political asylum, the definition of the aggressor and sanctions, the mainte-

nance of democracy, and resistance to totalitarian ideas. The very codification of international law, which the American republics are engaged in carrying out, although intrinsically a task of a juridical nature, implies the discussion and signing of pacts creating political bonds. It is not too much to state, therefore, that as these conferences have developed, they have increasingly entered the domain of politics, and that the functioning of continental solidarity demands political action. Nor could it be otherwise, because since the State is a political entity, it follows logically that an association of States must be one, too, if they have resolved to deal jointly with the matters that touch the very essence of their international life, such as peace, territorial integrity, independence, belligerency, or neutrality.

The adoption of a system of consultation to consider these questions is a measure that creates a very strong political bond. It would be contrary to the facts to maintain, for example, that the Consultative Meeting recently held at Panama, where the most pressing problems posed by the European war were discussed and decisions of great scope were reached, was not as political an act as the most political that could be performed by the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva. The agreements signed at the Meeting at Panama have set neutral America and warring Europe face to face, and international history for the first time witnesses all America speaking with one voice and acting as a single entity, to express and defend its common ideas, aspirations, and rights. The gradual transition from purely moral, social, humanitarian, commercial, and cultural action to openly political action can therefore be considered as the result of these conferences that transcends all others.

It should likewise be observed that these conferences have tended to increase spir-

<sup>12</sup> For a brief summary of the achievements of the Pan American Conferences up to that of Buenos Aires in 1936, permit me to refer the reader to my "Commentary on Pan American Problems," Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1938.

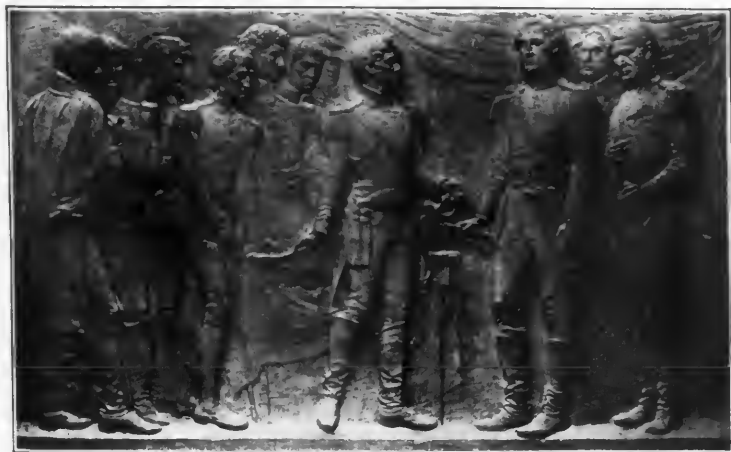
For a detailed list of the conferences held by the American Republics see the excellent publication of the Department of State entitled "Inter-American Conferences, 1826-1933; Chronological and Classified Lists," by Dr. Warren Kelchner, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1933. This list does not include the meeting held in Caracas on the occasion of the centenary of the birth of Bolívar in 1883, or the Bolivarian Congress held in Panama in 1926, to which all the nations of America sent representatives to commemorate the centenary of the celebrated Congress that met on the Isthmus at the invitation of the Liberator.

ritual unity and harmony between the countries of our hemisphere, and that the Pan American idea, at first restricted to diplomatic and other highly cultured circles, has now been accepted by the people in general. This result has not been achieved without setbacks or difficulties. Along the path of Pan Americanism there have been stumbling and delay, slips and backsliding. It is easy to observe that from the Second Conference to the Sixth, inclusive, reasons for antagonism, suspicion, and prejudice between Latin and Anglo-Saxon America tainted the continental atmosphere. But withal, the contact of men and nationalities in the deliberative halls had the slow and subtle, but strong and continuous, effect of smoothing asperities, dissolving prejudices, checking lack of confidence, and placating animosity. The conciliatory policy of the United States from 1929 to 1933, and the

"Good Neighbor Policy" developed since then, intensified understanding and goodwill to such a degree that at the Montevideo Conference of 1933, at Buenos Aires in 1936, and at Panama in 1939, American solidarity rapidly rose to heights hitherto unattained.

Of course much still remains to be done. There are still problems awaiting solution, barriers to be torn down, causes of friction to be removed. But the work already accomplished is a cause for legitimate satisfaction now, as well as a hopeful promise for the future. As we pause on the highway of history to estimate the distance covered in a half-century of continental rapprochement, we see the majestic figure of free and united America clearly outlined on the crest of constructive achievements, radiating confidence in her destiny and inspiring respect in all nations of the globe.

WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 1939.



THE MEETING OF BOLÍVAR AND SAN MARTIN IN GUAYAQUIL

A bas-relief on the façade of the Pan American Union.

# International Life and International Law in America

## Their Development During the Last Fifty Years

ALEJANDRO ÁLVAREZ

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THE NATIONS of the New World are preparing to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Pan American Union. The date is indeed a memorable one, for the Pan American Union has wielded and continues to wield an ever-growing influence on the international life of the continent. It represents today a veritable League of Nations of the New World.

Dr. L. S. Rowe, the eminent Director General of the Pan American Union, has for many years devoted himself heart and soul to the development of that institution, with which his name will be forever linked.

### I

#### INTERNATIONAL LIFE AND INTERNATIONAL LAW IN AMERICA

*Importance of Studying the Subject, especially at the Present Time*

Since 1914 the world—and above all, Europe—has been and still is passing through one of the greatest social cataclysms ever recorded in the history of mankind, a cataclysm of such magnitude that many persons have grave fears for the future of western civilization.

For a quarter of a century we have been witnessing a most strange and disconcerting spectacle. On the one hand, in two continents, Europe and Asia, the nations of which they are composed, particularly the great powers, have been often at war. Some of these countries have been animated by antisocial sentiments—hatred, envy, desire of revenge. Hence international law, as well as treaties, have frequently been violated.

We find none of that in the New World however. Among the nations of the continent peace prevails, coupled with a full flowering of moral forces and sentiments of solidarity and cooperation. International law is always held in respect and high honor.

It is worthy of note that the great power of the American continent, the United States, which commands the respect and consideration of the great powers of other continents, lives fraternally with all the nations of the New World, even the smallest, treating them all like equals.

Inasmuch as the international institutions and doctrines of the New World, particularly during the past fifty years, have assured greatness and prosperity, it is important at the present time to en-



THE CENTRAL AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF 1907

Through the good offices of the presidents of the United States and Mexico, the representatives of the Central American Republics met in the headquarters of the International Bureau of American Republics in Washington, to discuss their common problems.

amine their most salient features in an effort to draw from them the lessons they offer.

I shall try to make such a study, by a new method capable of revealing the characteristics of international life and international law in the Western Hemisphere: an examination of the major factors which have influenced and which are now influencing the life of nations. Among these factors, there must be considered especially those of a psychological character, by which I mean all that there is of the intangible in this life; sentiments in all their divers aspects, mind, spirit, ideals. International life and international law will thus appear closely intertwined, so that their study must be similarly connected.

A constant comparison between Europe and America in this respect is also an element in this new method of study.

In addition to these objectives, this method of approach will permit me to emphasize significant facts concerning international life and international law in general, as well as their evolution.<sup>1</sup>

## II

## PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LIFE OF THE NEW WORLD

In the New World there are but two great races, the Anglo-Saxon (United States) and the Latin (Latin America). Through a set of circumstances—notably their geographical situation, their enormous extent of territory and sparse population, and the absence of a historic past

<sup>1</sup> I have used this new method for some time in my course at the Institut des Hautes Études Internationales, University of Paris. (For a résumé of this method, see Álvarez, "Le Continent Américain et la Codification du Droit International. Une nouvelle 'École' du Droit des Gens," Chapter IV, No. VII, Paris, 1938.)



A SESSION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

The Palace of Justice, Buenos Aires, was the meeting place of this Conference, which took place in 1910 under the presidency of Antonio Bermejo, a delegate of Argentina.

and of deep-rooted ethnological, economic, or other rivalries, besides the manner in which the nations of the New World came into being—these nations constitute a moral unit, especially from the political and international point of view.

These factors gave birth among the American nations to a spirit, a sentiment, and a mentality common to all of them.

They have particularly a feeling of continental solidarity, an international consciousness which is essentially their own; they are peace-loving, prizing justice without being Utopian; confidence reigns among them.

This psychology permitted them, from the first days of their independence, to adopt a form of government unknown in

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the Old World at that time: constitutional, republican, democratic, liberal, with equality for all.

From the viewpoint of their mutual relationships, the new nations from the beginning have striven to assure a lasting peace among themselves. With that purpose, they chose to organize the community that they form and to subject all their relations to international law. Their desire also was to unite and harmonize their interests and to establish among themselves a spirit of cooperation in their principal fields of activity. This is Pan Americanism.

This movement has been developed particularly through the Pan American Conferences, at which all the countries of the New World have assembled periodically since 1889. An organization was created—the Pan American Union—to centralize this activity.

In addition to this rapprochement of a continental character, the Latin nations of the Western Hemisphere have attempted to harmonize their interests in certain orders of activity. This is Latin Americanism. These two movements, Pan Americanism and Latin Americanism, far from being opposed to each other, as some would have us believe, on the contrary are in accord and in reality complement each other.

Although the policy of hegemony of the United States in regard to some of the other republics of the American continent, and certain wars which broke out in Latin America, has to some extent impeded the Pan American and Latin American movements, still it has not destroyed them. The idea of continental solidarity has retained its hold. The renunciation by the present Administration of the United States of that policy of supremacy has strengthened the confidence of the Latin countries toward their north-

ern neighbor, and as a result Pan Americanism has surged mightily forward and has acquired new orientations.

International life in the New World, then, has followed an unbroken upward path; it has never been deflected and still less has it ever retrograded because of disasters, as is unfortunately the case in Europe. The increasing greatness of our continent rests, therefore, upon solid and stable bases.

The study of international life in the Americas and of the international law to which it has given rise comprises two periods: from the dawn of independence to the First International Conference of American States, and from the date of the First Conference to the present time. During the first period they were developing freely, becoming invested with certain special characteristics which have not been sufficiently stressed. In the second period juridical studies and the Pan American Conferences revealed and accentuated those characteristics by directing and orienting that life and law.

### III

#### FIRST PERIOD OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE AND INTERNATIONAL LAW IN THE NEW WORLD

Bolívar, the illustrious Liberator, was not only a great warrior; he was also a great statesman. He had a prophetic vision of the destiny of the continent. From the earliest days of the independence of the new nations, it was his wish to establish a political bond between them. In 1826, in response to his invitation, some of the Latin American countries met in a Congress at Panama. A Treaty of Perpetual Union, League, and Confederation signed at that Congress constituted a veritable League of Nations of the New World. As I have already noted elsewhere, some of the articles of that Treaty coincide in startling



Courtesy of *Ilustração Brasileira*

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF AMERICAN JURISTS, RIO DE JANEIRO, 1912

Sixteen countries were represented by notable authorities on international law, of whom the author of this article was one. They appear here with their secretaries. The president of the meeting was the distinguished Brazilian jurist, Epitácio Pessoa, later President of the Republic.

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fashion with those of the present Pact of the League of Nations.<sup>2</sup>

Insofar as international law is concerned, the two great schools of that law which exist in Europe, the *Anglo-Saxon* and the *Continental*, are found also in America, the former in the United States and the latter in the countries of Latin America.

However, the identity of the forms of government and the other circumstances which I have just indicated create in the American continent a unity of viewpoint in international matters far greater than that of other continents, and the same situations likewise create the particularities that exist in the law. Because of this fact a new school has arisen, more important than the ones just mentioned: the *Pan American School*.

It is appropriate to examine the principal characteristics of this new school—that is to say, the characteristics of the international law of the New World, during that first period. It is evident that here psychology plays a role of prime importance.

From the beginning of independence, the belief was common among American statesmen, although without previous agreement, that the international law in force in Europe was consequently applicable to this hemisphere, without the necessity of any manifestation of will on their part. They believed equally, however, that they had the right to protest or to reject any principles of politics or of international law in effect in Europe which menaced their independence or opposed their development, and that they could proclaim other principles to replace discarded ones in conformity with the new conditions governing their existence.

They believed, too, and asserted, that the principles that they proclaimed should be

respected throughout the American continent by all States, even those of other continents, whether or not they had previously adhered to those principles. In other words, the New World invested the fundamental principles which it proclaimed with the same character that the national legislation of the various countries enjoyed; in short, the American nations believed that their principles must be respected on their territory by all nations.<sup>3</sup>

They believed, finally, that by agreements among themselves, they could regulate in their reciprocal relationships matters of both world and American import, in such manner as would best conform to their interests and ideas.

In accordance with these beliefs, the statesmen of America, without any prior agreement, predicated the international law of the New World upon postulates, or rather upon fictions, as well as upon the great principles that characterize it. These fictions, which are two in number, are much more important than certain others which form part of the basis of universal international law.

1. In the New World there was no territory which might be considered as *res nullius*; all was under at least the virtual sovereignty of the new nations, even the uninhabited and unexplored regions. That fiction was absolutely contrary to the principles of international law in force at the time.

2. The Latin countries of the New World came into being as nations in 1810. That was a great fiction, for at that date none of them had yet acquired independence.

These two fictions gave rise to two great principles of international law in America, which I shall forthwith discuss.

Insofar as the great principles themselves

<sup>2</sup> See Álvarez, "La Réforme du Pacte de la Société des Nations sur des bases continentales et régionales." Report presented to the Union Juridique Internationale, 1926. Page 28.

<sup>3</sup> Project No. 2, on "General Declarations," of the American Institute of International Law, 1925, which I drafted, points out expressly the postulates indicated above.



#### THE CHRIST OF THE ANDES

This famous monument, on the frontier between Argentina and Chile, commemorates their settlement of the boundary dispute between them by arbitration, and symbolizes the will to peace of the Americas.

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are concerned, they also are of course very important.

From the beginning of Latin American independence, certain statesmen, likewise without previous agreement among themselves, proclaimed three principles which they considered necessary to assure the liberty and full growth of the new republics. These principles concerned: *right to independence; non-colonization of the American continent; and non-intervention in internal or external affairs of the American nations*, particularly by extra-continental powers.

Furthermore, the American republics manifested the desire of not intervening—that is, of not becoming directly entangled—in the affairs of European countries. That desire, however, is not incompatible with their wish to maintain close relations with the countries to which they owe their civilization. In fact, since the earliest days of their existence, they have signed numerous conventions with those countries.

The three, or one might say the four, principles just enumerated, were summarized by President Monroe in his famous message of 1823, to which the republics of the New World subsequently gave their support.

Although those declarations, known as the Monroe Doctrine, were explicitly formulated by a President of the United States, nonetheless they represent the ideas of all the countries of the Western Hemisphere. But the great republic of the north, as the most powerful, declared its readiness to defend those principles by force if necessary. For this reason the Monroe Doctrine has been considered as a policy of the United States, when in reality the principles which it expresses have a *juridical* and *continental* character; in fact, as we have just said—and we repeat it—they are an expression of the juridical conscience and of the will of the nations of the American continent. It is only the *defense* of

those principles by force that constitutes a policy of the United States alone. That defense, furthermore, has been accepted by all the American nations without being considered an intervention, but rather as a sanction applied to an infraction of a fundamental provision of international law in America. All the other countries of the continent may of course join the United States when defense is required.

These principles and their eventual support by force have permitted the republics of the Western Hemisphere to preserve their independence by precluding their falling under the domination of European countries. Through this circumstance the American continent has retained an individuality, a personality not possessed by the other continents.

In addition to these four fundamental principles, there are others of similar character and origin which crystallized after independence—that is, during the nineteenth century:

(a) The delimitation of the boundaries of the new countries must be made in accordance with the principle of *uti possidetis*; that is to say, the administrative limits established by the mother country and in effect in 1810.

(b) Nearly all the constitutions or laws of the various American countries have incorporated the principle of equality of nationals and foreigners in the acquisition of civil rights.

(c) No State of the American continent can cede any portion of its territory to an extra-continental power. The reason for this is that such an act might endanger the security of other American nations.

(d) No extra-continental State, even in consequence of a war, can occupy, even temporarily, any portion whatever of the American continent.

All the foregoing points of departure, with the principles already stated, make



THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AMERICAN STATES  
The president of the Conference was Augustín Escobar, Chile.

up what is called *American Public International Law*. They are not written; their origin is psychological: in the conscience of nations, made manifest by the declarations of their statesmen and approved by continental public opinion.

Insofar as the juridical literature of the first period is concerned, it is very meager but important. Certain publicists, notably Lastarria of Chile and Alberdi of Argentina, touched upon various subjects pertaining to international life in the New World, such as the Confederation of Latin States, the Monroe Doctrine, and others. But nothing was written in that epoch on the development and the particularities of international law in America.

#### IV

#### SECOND PERIOD OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE AND INTERNATIONAL LAW IN THE NEW WORLD

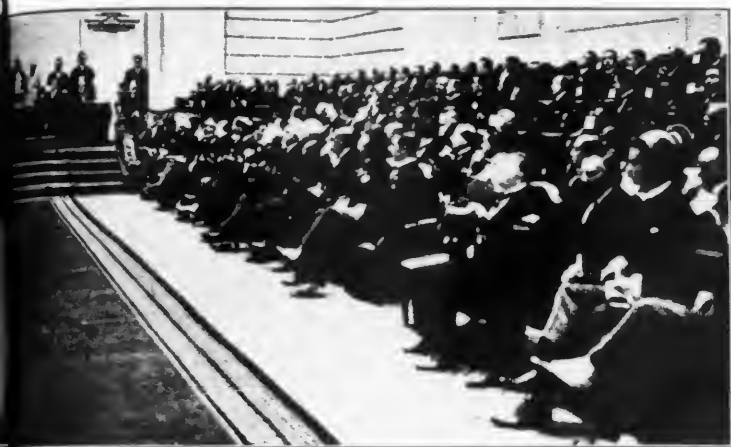
##### *Juridical Works*

The second period of American international life and international law should be especially stressed.

At first the progress achieved by international law in Europe passed naturally in theory or in practice, to the American continent. Because of this fact, the New World has made considerable contributions to the development of universal international law. This is particularly true in the fields of arbitration, international unions, diplomatic and consular agents, etc. But this subject is already well known and I need not dwell upon it here.

On the other hand, the application and development of international law in the New World began in this period to be invested with special characteristics which may well be brought out in detail. Certain juridical studies, as well as the practice of States, played a very important role in this respect.

The juridical studies were made by individuals; by associations, particularly the American Institute of International Law, or by the National Associations of International Law of which the latter is composed; and finally, by the International Commission of American Jurists



RICAN STATES, SANTIAGO, CHILE, 1923  
 Chile, a well known statesman and diplomat.

which met at Rio de Janeiro in 1927 for the purpose of undertaking the codification of international law.

Practical accomplishments are evident above all in the work of the Pan American Conferences.

Insofar as the individual studies are concerned, they differ greatly in value and importance. Certain works on international law in general, written by American jurists, are of appreciable value. But, imbued with the idea of European jurists on the universality of all the doctrines of international law, these works have followed European theory very closely and have failed to recognize the special characteristics of international life in the Western Hemisphere. All that they have done is to cite, along with European cases, certain cases which have occurred in the American continent, following the example of Pradier Fodéré in his *Traité de Droit International Public Européen* (8 volumes, 1885-1906).

Since 1905, and especially since 1909, I have devoted my efforts to a study of the

particularities of international law in the New World and have brought my work together under the title, *Droit International Américain*.<sup>4</sup>

As for juridical associations, the American Institute of International Law was founded in 1912, through the efforts of the eminent jurist, James Brown Scott, and the writer. The purpose of the organ-

<sup>4</sup> See Álvarez, "Le Droit International Américain," Paris, 1909. Since 1909 there has been considerable literature on certain of the characteristics of international life in the New World, especially on Pan Americanism, the Pan American Conferences, the Monroe Doctrine, American International Law, etc. The most important, in my opinion, are the works of the eminent Colombian jurist, Jesús María Yepes: "La Codificación del Derecho Internacional Americano y la Conferencia de Rio de Janeiro," Bogotá, 1927; "El Panamericanismo y el Derecho Internacional," Bogotá, 1930; "La Contribution de l'Amérique Latine au Développement du Droit International Public et Privé," Recueil des Cours de l'Académie de Droit International de La Haye, 1930, Tome 32; "Les Problèmes Fondamentaux du Droit des Gens en Amérique," Recueil des Cours de l'Académie de Droit International de La Haye, 1934, Tome 47; "Le Panaméricanisme au point de vue historique, juridique et politique," Paris, 1936; "Alejandro Álvarez, Créateur du Droit International Américain," paper presented to the Premier Congrès d'Études Juridiques Internationales, in "Premier Congrès d'Études Juridiques Internationales," Paris, 1937, and reprint, Paris, 1938.

ization was to extend the knowledge of international law in America and to study its characteristics there. In 1916, while all Europe was at war, the Institute met in Washington and approved a *Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations*, presented by Dr. Scott, President of the Institute. During the same year I published, in my capacity as Secretary General, a work entitled *Le Droit International de l'Avenir*,<sup>5</sup> addressed to the Associations of International Law of which the American Institute is composed.

In 1917 Dr. Scott presented to the same Institute, which was then meeting in Habana, a project on *Bases relating to the Organization of a Court of Arbitral Justice*.

At the same time I also presented various projects relating to international law, some of them treating of matters of prime importance, such as: *Fundamental Bases of International Law*, *Fundamental Rights of the American Continent*, *Regulation of Neutrality in Naval War*, etc.<sup>6</sup>

The first of my projects was aimed at terminating the uncertainty, nay, even the anarchy, which exists in universal international law. The purpose of the second was to reaffirm and to complete the great principles of American public international law of the first period (see Section III). The third project proposed the establishment of a new concept of neutrality which, in lieu of upholding the idea that the rights of belligerents should prevail over those of neutrals, took the opposite point of view, that the rights of neutrals should take precedence over those of belligerents.

In 1923 I presented to the Fifth Pan American Conference a number of proj-

<sup>5</sup> See Álvarez, "*Le Droit International de l'Avenir*," Washington, 1916.

<sup>6</sup> See "*Final Act of the Habana Meeting of the American Institute of International Law*," Supplement to the *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 11, No. 2, April 1917, pp. 47-53.

ects, among them the ones indicated above. At that Conference it was decided to use those projects as a basis for the labors of the International Commission of American Jurists which was to meet in Rio de Janeiro for the codification of international law.

In 1925 the American Institute of International Law drafted various projects relating to the law of nations, with a view toward facilitating the work of the Commission of Jurists. The majority of those projects were based upon my studies.

Some of the national societies of international law, which are members of the Institute, have initiated or worked out in detail some very important projects. In this respect the work of the Argentine, Brazilian, and Panamanian societies should be particularly mentioned.

The second assembly of the International Commission of American Jurists, which met in Rio de Janeiro in 1927, worked out twelve projects of convention for the codification of international law, which will be taken up in Section VIII of this article.

## V

### APPLICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW IN THE NEW WORLD

#### *Conception of the Law.—Relations between International Law and Politics.—Relations between National and International Law.—Comparison of European and American Theory*

Next after the juridical labors of which I have just been speaking and the practice of the nations of the New World, it is appropriate to examine the application, the development, and the idiosyncrasies of the law, comparing them with the theory and practice which prevail in Europe. Such an exposition will bring into relief the progress of international law in America, particularly during the last fifty years.

In order to understand the subject

thoroughly, it is necessary to begin by considering the nature of international law, which is quite different from that which is ordinarily ascribed to it.

As I have already shown elsewhere, this law is psychological in its origin, in its fundamental postulates, in its sources, and in many of its great principles, as well as in many other matters which fall within its domain.<sup>7</sup>

It is psychological, too, in the sense that in order that it may be applied and respected, there must exist among the nations certain conditions, notably a uniformity of viewpoint in international affairs, a spirit of international order and cooperation, confidence, and good faith. All these conditions were better fulfilled in America than in Europe during the course of the nineteenth century, and they prevail here, especially at present. It is unnecessary to expand this matter.

International law is likewise psychological in the sense that it ought to reflect new conditions in the life of nations, as well as to be guided by the universal conscience.

In the future, therefore, international law should include, as far as possible, the notion of the *duty* of States to each other, as regards both individuals subject to the jurisdiction of other States and the general interest, and also harmonize all these interests. Consideration should also be given to all aspects of each subject included in the domain of this law, such as its political, economic, social, and moral phases.

Hence international law increasingly tends to acquire a *social*, or rather a truly *international* character, instead of being, as it was in the beginning, *individualistic* and *inter-State*, that is, a law between particular States, established for the sole pur-

pose of defining their interests from the point of view of individual nations.

We shall now examine two topics underlying universal international law and compare them with the American doctrine.

1. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL LAW AND POLITICS.—The idea most widely held by publicists, especially those of past centuries, is that politics should be entirely abolished in international relations, so that all nations may be governed by the rules of law.

Experience has shown this idea to be false. Politics perforce stands side by side with law, for many relations between, and activities of, States are incapable of being subjected to precise juridical rules, and should be left to politics. Politics, on the other hand, should not be arbitrary, but should always respect the great principles of international law.

But in this respect there is a striking difference between Europe and the New World. In Europe, as a result of the dynamic quality of international life, the complexity of international relations, the growing material interdependence of States, national chauvinism, the existence of vital interests which, because of their character, are almost always at stake, together with such antisocial sentiments as imperialism and the spirit of revenge, politics has invaded the domain of law, and although it sometimes felicitously fills lacunae, it often conflicts with law. Since 1914, and especially just now, the standards of law are seldom applied in important matters within the realm of law; it is politics that is in the saddle.

In America, there is none of this: international life is less dynamic; there is no great material interdependence among nations. On the other hand, there is a great moral solidarity; national feeling is very strong, without being chauvinistic; there are rarely vital interests at stake;

<sup>7</sup> See Álvarez, "Le Continent Américain et la Codification du Droit International: Une nouvelle 'École' du Droit des Gens," Chapter IV. Paris, 1938.

there are no antisocial sentiments. To be sure, politics does exist, but it is made up of confidence, cooperation, and respect for law. Law and politics go together, complement each other, and are seldom in conflict.

Questions between nations that in other continents are ordinarily political in character—such as boundary disputes—are juridical in character in the New World. As a result, the reasons behind any dispute are well known, and any subsequent hostilities are limited to the countries concerned.

This ascendancy of law over politics in America often misleads European public opinion, which does not evaluate properly the attitude of the New World nations on many subjects, especially on neutrality.

2. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTERNAL LAW AND INTERNATIONAL LAW.—Most publicists, especially our contemporaries, state that international law takes precedence over national law. This doctrine is being denied today by the Nazi concept of international law, for it gives precedence to national law.

The American nations are unwilling to accept any doctrine that states in so many words the primacy of international law because, they say, no one knows exactly, especially just now, which principles of this law in force cannot be contravened by national legislation; moreover, such legislation might be held constantly in check, under the pretext that it is in conflict with international law. What the American nations want, then, is to have it made clear just which principles national legislation should always respect.

This doctrine was embodied in articles 2 and 3 of the draft Convention on the *Fundamental Bases of International Law*, approved at the second meeting of the International Commission of American Jurists. Article 2 states, "*Positive International Law forms a part of the law of every State . . .*" and article 3, "Na-

tional laws should not contain provisions contrary to *Conventional International Law.*" (Italics mine.)

## VI

## OTHER FUNDAMENTAL POSTULATES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW IN AMERICA

*Comparison with the Doctrine prevailing in Europe on this Matter.*

There are still other very important subjects dealing with the fundamental postulates of international law, on which American ideas do not always agree with those dominant in Europe.

1. THE SOURCES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. On this topic the theory is not at all clear, the confusion arising from circumstances it is unnecessary to discuss here.

The juridical conscience of nations is the origin of the most basic principles of universal international law, such as respect for the pledged word; refusal to inflict unjust injury upon another State; and reparation for any wrong thus inflicted. These principles do not need express acknowledgement by States; they are taken for granted, and their violation rouses the world conscience to indignation. It is inconceivable, moreover, that they could ever be abrogated by a treaty or convention.

Therefore, although this source, the conscience of nations, is not specifically mentioned by jurists, it must be recognized.

In the New World, in addition to the universal principles cited above, great principles particularly American in character have their origin in the conscience of the American States.

I shall not dwell at length on what this conscience is. I shall only point out that it involves a psychological factor, national sentiment (or rather the sentiment of the élite), which finds expression at a given moment through authoritative channels and continues to exist without need of renewal. We have seen that at





SESSION OF THE SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES,  
HABANA, 1928

The president of the Conference was Antonio Sánchez de Bustamante, an eminent Cuban jurist.

the beginning of the nineteenth century the great principles of American public international law had their origin in the conscience of the New World, as expressed in declarations made by certain statesmen, to which American public opinion has given its approval (see Section III).

Ever since there have been Pan American Conferences, the principles of American international law have been stated in declarations or resolutions adopted by all the States of the New World, represented at these Conferences; seldom have such principles been established by treaties or conventions, although publicists usually claim these as the sources for the principles of international law.

The reason for this fact is that these great principles spring from the juridical

conscience of nations, as has just been stated; if the States, therefore, clearly show their will in this respect, that suffices to invest the principles with the character of juridical precepts. That happens especially when it is said that the principles enunciated are part of American international law.

In the next section I shall indicate the principles proclaimed by the Pan American Conferences.

In the preambles of treaties signed by European states, the signatories have sometimes declared that they recognize certain principles as belonging to universal international law, such as, for example, that no state can be deprived of its rights without its consent (preamble to the Four-Power Peace Pact, signed at Rome June 7, 1933).



#### THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION

On January 5, 1929, the delegates to this conference made an important addition to the machinery of peace in the Americas by signing a General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation, a General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration, and a Protocol of Progressive Arbitration.

But in America, the declarations or resolutions of the Pan American Conferences have greater importance, for they are drafted expressly for the purpose by all the States of the continent.

2. THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF NATIONS.—Certain rights, called fundamental (especially independence and sovereignty) are absolute in the New World, that is, they cannot be limited by other States. That is why there are no States of limited sovereignty and no perpetually neutral States in America. But the American nations do recognize that all these rights may be restricted on behalf of general or continental interest.

3. APPLICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.—In Europe, as a result of circumstances mentioned in Section V above, international law and treaties are often violated. That has been especially true since the cataclysm of 1914. In America, the violation of international law or of treaties signed by the States is considered unjustifiable under any circumstances.

4. SANCTION OF PUBLIC OPINION.—This is more effective in the New World than in Europe.

In the Old World, nations violating the principles of international law often justify themselves by alleging political considerations, or by misrepresenting the facts by means of propaganda. As a result of these and other circumstances, public opinion cannot express itself in any uniform way or with sufficient force to condemn these violations.

In America, the sanction of public opinion is more uniform and effective. To foster it, the latest Pan American Conferences have emphasized the education of opinion in each nation as well as moral force.<sup>8</sup> They have also tried to utilize various

existing factors for educating public opinion, such as the press, broadcasting, and motion pictures.

5. LACUNAE IN INTERNATIONAL LAW; MEANS OF FILLING THEM.—For a long time publicists have differed greatly as to the solution to be given to international questions of a juridical nature not provided for in international law. It is ordinarily held that in such cases recourse should be had to the principles of justice and equity.

As regards international practice, certain Hague conventions, especially that on *Laws and Customs of War on Land* (1907), provide that in cases not covered by the provisions of treaties or conventions, recourse should be had to the principles of international law. And the convention adopted by the same conference relative to the creation of an International Prize Court provides in article 7 that if no generally recognized rule of international law exists, the Prize Court should give judgment in accordance with the general principles of justice and equity. But the convention does not state what is meant by these expressions.

After the war, some ground was lost in this field.

Article 38 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice permits the court, in addition to applying the general principles of international law, to decide a case in accordance with the principles of justice and equity, but only if the parties agree thereto.

In America, there is greater uniformity of theory in this respect.

Starting with the belief that no question between States should remain without solution, it has been decided that, in default of treaty provisions, recourse may be had to conventions signed by the nations but not yet ratified, if ratification is pending; and in default of such conven-

<sup>8</sup> Obvious proof of the above assertion is to be found in the attitude recently adopted at the League of Nations by the Latin American States with regard to the Russian invasion of Finland.



Courtesy of the Embassy of Chile

#### SETTLEMENT OF THE TACNA-ARICA QUESTION

This historic act took place in May 1929 in the Chilean Foreign Office. In the center of the picture appear (left) César Elguera, Ambassador of Peru in Chile, and (right) Conrado Ríos Gallardo, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chile, who, in representation of their respective countries, attached their signatures to the document containing the bases of agreement for the settlement of the Tacna-Arica controversy.

tions, to the principles of justice and equity, stating exactly what is understood by these words. (See articles 15-18 of draft convention on *Fundamental Bases of International Law*, which I presented to the American Institute of International Law in 1917 and to the Fifth Pan American Conference in 1923; articles 11-16 of draft convention on *Fundamental Bases of International Law*, drawn up by the Institute of International Law in 1925; articles 7 and 8 of draft convention on *Fundamental Bases of International Law*, approved by the Second Meeting of the Commission of American Jurists in 1927.)

#### VII

#### THE GREAT PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE AND INTERNATIONAL LAW PROCLAIMED BY THE PAN AMERICAN CONFERENCES

The republics of the New World meet at regular five-year intervals in the Inter-

national Conferences of American States often called Pan American Conferences designed to coordinate their interests in the principal fields of their activity.

In pursuit of this purpose, these Conferences sign or adopt conventions, declarations, and resolutions on the most varied matters: political, economic, juridical, ethical, social, cultural, and intellectual. A reading of the Final Act of each Conference, containing all these instruments throws much light on the subject we are discussing.

It may therefore be said that there is a tendency in these Conferences to develop international life and international law in the New World.

We shall list the chief agreements signed by the American States for this double purpose at the Pan American Conferences.

At the First Conference (Washington, 1889-1890), various resolutions were

adopted. One of them stated that the principle of conquest is not recognized as admissible under American public law. Another proclaimed as a principle of American international law the equality of nationals and foreigners in the acquisition and enjoyment of civil rights and, consequently, the non-recognition by any State in favor of foreigners of obligations or responsibilities other than those established by the constitution and the laws in favor of nationals. Other recommendations adopted dealt with an international American monetary union and the establishment of an international American bank, as well as a draft treaty on compulsory arbitration of international controversies.

At the Second Conference (Mexico, 1901-02), a convention was signed dealing with the rights of aliens, in which stress was laid on the equality of civil rights for citizens and aliens; hence, the American nations would "not owe to, nor recognize in favor of, foreigners any obligations or responsibilities other than those established by their Constitutions and laws in favor of their citizens." Several treaties, including one on arbitration of pecuniary claims, were also signed. Moreover, some nations signed a Treaty on Compulsory Arbitration.

The Third Conference (Rio de Janeiro, 1906) passed, among others, a resolution to the effect that the delegates of the American States to the Second Peace Conference at The Hague in 1907 should be instructed to endeavor to secure by the said Assembly the celebration of a General Convention of Compulsory Arbitration.

Among the conventions signed at the Fourth Conference (Buenos Aires, 1910) was one in favor of compulsory arbitration in matters of pecuniary claims.

At the Fifth Conference (Santiago, Chile, 1923), a Treaty to Avoid or Prevent

Conflicts between the American States was signed. The many resolutions passed included those on principles and procedure in public health administration; the preparation of an International Maritime Sanitary Code; and a recommendation to the American Governments that they incorporate in their laws the principle recognizing the right of the poor to free medical assistance from the Government.

Another resolution recommended that the program of future conferences include the study of international questions relating to social problems; still another suggested the study of the bases for making closer the association between the American Republics and for making effective the solidarity of the collective interests of the American continent.

The Sixth Conference (Habana, 1928) signed a convention accepting the Code of Private International Law prepared by the eminent Cuban jurist Antonio Sánchez de Bustamante, and ten other conventions on different subjects of public international law, notably, status of aliens, treaties, diplomatic officers, and asylum. Resolutions or agreements on the following subjects were also adopted: condemnation of aggression as illicit and recommendation that the American States employ all pacific means to settle conflicts arising between them; the study of problems relating to the material betterment of workers in the countries of the American continent; the consideration of the adoption of a common unit of currency for all the American States; the convocation by the Pan American Union of a Pan American Congress of Municipalities. The Conference also voted recommendations relative to the meeting of a Pan American Congress of Rectors, Deans, and Educators and one of Journalists, and several resolutions on improving means of communication of all kinds between the different countries of the continent.



#### THE CHACO DISPUTE BROUGHT TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION

The representatives of Bolivia and Paraguay and of the five mediating countries, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and the United States, signed in Buenos Aires on June 12, 1935 the protocols of peace between the first two countries named. In the first row, from left to right, are: Luis Alberto Cariola, Ambassador of Chile in Argentina; Felipe Barreda Laos, Ambassador of Peru; Tomás Manuel Elío, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia; Alexander W. Weddell, Ambassador of the United States; José Carlos de Macedo Soares, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil; Carlos Saavedra Lamas, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Argentina; Luis A. Riart, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Paraguay; and José Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva, Ambassador of Brazil. The other members of the conference who signed the protocols were Hugh Gibson, Special Ambassador Plenipotentiary of the United States; Eugenio Martínez Thédy, Ambassador of Uruguay; and Felix Nieto del Río, Special Delegate Plenipotentiary of Chile.

In the same year the International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration met at Washington, and there a General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation, a General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration, and a Protocol of Progressive Arbitration were signed.

The Seventh Conference (Montevideo, 1933) approved several conventions, including those on nationality, extradition, and political asylum.

The Conference also adopted a Convention on the *Rights and Duties of States*, in which their juridical equality was proclaimed, the fundamental rights of States were declared not susceptible of being affected in any manner whatsoever, and the right of any State to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another was denied. The convention also stated that the contracting parties established as their rule of conduct the obligation not to recognize territorial acquisitions or special advantages obtained by force, and that the territory of a State is inviolable and may not be the object of even temporary military occupation.

The Conference passed many important resolutions, including those on: good offices and mediation; the condition of intellectual workers; the international responsibility of the State, in which the equality of the foreigner with the national was once more affirmed, and the statement made that diplomatic protection cannot be invoked in favor of foreigners until they have exhausted all legal measures established by the laws of the country before which action is begun, except in cases of the denial of justice; lowcost housing; the social and economic conditions of intellectual workers; the establishment and study of an Inter-American Organization of Economic and Financial Cooperation, setting forth the bases of this organization; and the stabilization of currency and the

possibility of adopting a common monetary system. Finally, as in the previous Conference, various resolutions were adopted on improving means of communication between the various American States.

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace (Buenos Aires, 1936), besides adopting conventions on various aspects of international law, especially a Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation, and Reestablishment of Peace and on other related topics, approved an Additional Protocol relating to Non-intervention. A *Declaration of Principles of Inter-American Solidarity and Cooperation* was also signed on this occasion.

Because of the importance of the last-mentioned document, it is well to reproduce it here in full:

The Governments of the American Republics, having considered:

That they have a common likeness in their democratic form of government, and their common ideals of peace and justice, manifested in the several Treaties and Conventions which they have signed for the purpose of constituting a purely American system tending towards the preservation of peace, the proscription of war, the harmonious development of their commerce and of their cultural aspirations demonstrated in all of their political, economic, social, scientific, and artistic activities;

That the existence of continental interests obliges them to maintain solidarity of principles as the basis of the life of the relations of each to every other American nation;

That Pan Americanism, as a principle of American International Law, by which is understood a moral union of all of the American Republics in defense of their common interests based upon the most perfect equality and reciprocal respect for their rights of autonomy, independence, and free development, requires the proclamation of principles of American International Law; and

That it is necessary to consecrate the principle of American solidarity in all non-continental conflicts, especially since those limited to the American Continent should find a peaceful solution by the means established by the Treaties and Conventions now in force or in the instruments hereafter to be executed,

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace

DECLARES:

1. That the American Nations, true to their republican institutions, proclaim their absolute juridical liberty, their unrestricted respect for their several sovereignty and the existence of a common democracy throughout America;
2. That every act susceptible of disturbing the peace of America affects each and every one of them, and justifies the initiation of the procedure of consultation provided for in the Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation and Reestablishment of Peace, executed at this Conference; and
3. That the following principles are accepted by the international American community:
  - (a) Proscription of territorial conquest and that, in consequence, no acquisition made through violence shall be recognized;
  - (b) Intervention by one State in the internal or external affairs of another State is condemned;
  - (c) Forcible collection of pecuniary debts is illegal; and
  - (d) Any difference or dispute between the American nations, whatever its nature or origin, shall be settled by the methods of conciliation, or full arbitration, or through operation of international justice.

It should be pointed out that Pan Americanism is not, as this Declaration claims, a principal of American international law, for Pan Americanism consists, not in the moral union of all the American republics, but in the approximation of their interests: moral union is the basis of Pan Americanism.

The Conference for the Maintenance of Peace also adopted various resolutions concerning international ethics and moral disarmament; public performances and peace; radio broadcasting; the press; the teaching of civics; inter-American conferences on education; and the humanization of war.

At this Conference, as at its predecessor, consideration was given to the creation of a League of American Nations and an Inter-American Court of International Justice, but definite action was postponed until a later date.

At the Eighth Pan American Conference

(Lima, 1938), a *Declaration of American Principles* and a *Declaration of the Principles of American Solidarity* were adopted; both are of vital interest in the international life of the New World. The second is also known as the *Declaration of Lima*.

In the first Declaration, intervention of any State in the affairs of another is condemned, as is the use of force as an instrument of international policy, and the solution of differences of an international character by peaceful means is advocated. It also affirms that relations between States should be governed by the precepts of international law, and recommends respect for the faithful observance of treaties, which may be revised only by agreement of the contracting parties; peaceful collaboration between representatives of the various States and the development of intellectual interchange among their peoples, as conducive to mutual understanding; economic reconstruction to foster peace among nations; and international cooperation, as a necessary condition to the maintenance of peace.

In the Declaration of Lima, continental solidarity and the decision of the American governments to collaborate in the maintenance of the principles on which the said solidarity is based are reaffirmed, as is the decision to maintain and defend these principles against all foreign activity that may threaten them. In case the peace, territorial integrity, or security of any American republic is thus threatened, all the American republics proclaim their common concern and their determination to make effective their solidarity by coordinating their respective sovereign wills by means of the procedure of consultation established by previous agreements. Finally, to facilitate such consultation, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American republics will meet, when they believe it advisable, and at the initiative



any one of them, in the capital of some American country.

At this Conference a resolution on the defence of human rights was also adopted, in which once more war as a means of settling international differences was condemned. Other important resolutions dealt with nonrecognition of the acquisition of territory by force; condemnation of persecution for racial or religious motives; definition of the aggressor; importance of radio broadcasting of cultural information; radio in education; the relations of Pan American organizations with other international bodies; the receptive capacity of the American countries for immigration; means of communication, of all kinds, between the different American countries; periodic unofficial meetings of Treasury representatives; the meeting of an Inter-American Penal Congress; and the convening by the Pan American Union of a World Economic Conference.

The Consultative Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics (Panama, 1939) was a true Pan American conference, at which several very important declarations and resolutions essentially American in character were adopted.

These were concerned particularly with: economic cooperation; the reaffirmation of American solidarity; the neutrality of the American republics; the humanization of war; contraband of war; the maintenance of international activities in accordance with Christian morality; and protection of the inter-American ideal against subversive ideologies.

The most important accomplishment of this Conference was the resolution known as the Declaration of Panama, concerning the establishment of a zone of American neutrality. This document defined a zone of from 100 to 300 miles in the waters adjacent to the American continent, in

which the belligerents were forbidden to commit any act of war.

The declaration was most timely. The opinion current in certain European centers is that the American nations have no right to establish such a zone without the consent of the belligerents. The American nations do not share this opinion. A celebrated case has already occurred: British cruisers attacked the German battleship *Admiral Graf von Spee* in the zone fixed by the Declaration of Panama. The American nations were aroused over this incident, and the twenty-one republics sent a collective protest to the belligerents, informing them that they will consult together to take energetic measures if the neutral zone is again violated. An Inter-American Neutrality Committee is now sitting at Rio de Janeiro to present to the governments recommendations relating to the neutrality of the American States.<sup>9</sup>

#### VIII

#### CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW IN AMERICA

The Pan American Conferences have discussed two very important phases of international law: its codification, and the best methods of making it effective.

It is worth noting that the nations of the New World have decided to proceed with this work without the aid of other continents.

The idea of codification was brought up at the Congress of Panama in 1826; it

<sup>9</sup> Concerning the Pan American Conferences, see, in addition to my various publications on this subject: William Sanders, "International Law and International Peace in the Americas," published by the Pan American Union, Washington, D. C., 1940. The Union has also issued important publications on the results of the various Pan American Conferences of a general or special character. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has published under the title of "International Conferences of American States 1889-1928," Washington, D. C., 1928, the text of all treaties, declarations, and resolutions approved by the first six conferences. The Seventh and Eighth Conferences will be covered in a supplement to the above mentioned volume to be published in the near future.



took definite shape in conventions signed at the Second Pan American Conference of 1901-02, by which the American States decided to proceed with the codification of both public and private international law.

According to a convention signed at the Third Pan American Conference, the codification should be undertaken by a commission of American jurists, two from each country. Two meetings of the commission have been held at Rio de Janeiro, in 1912 and 1927.

To facilitate the task of the first meeting, the Government of Brazil had its eminent representatives prepare the drafts of two complete and systematic codes: one on public international law, by Senhor Epitacio Pessoa, the other on private international law, by Senhor Rodrigues Pereira.

At that meeting I presented, in my capacity as delegate of Chile, Costa Rica, and Ecuador, my recently published study, *La Codification du Droit International* (Paris, 1912), in which I contended that codification of public international law should be not a unique, complete, and systematic work like the codes of private law, the belief hitherto current, but a gradual and progressive work.

I also maintained that this task should be begun with a preliminary study, which should to some extent bring into focus both the international law of the period and its special features in America. In a word, codification, even as regards matters of world-wide interest, should be in accordance with the ideas and needs of the New World.

These ideas were approved by the Commission.

The second meeting of the Commission, in 1927, took under consideration various juridical studies: the draft codes of public and private international law presented to the first meeting by the Brazilian delegates; the 30 projects, on various subjects, that

had been prepared by the American Institute of International Law in 1925 and that were based on works of mine already mentioned, as well as on my projects presented to the Fifth Pan American Conference in 1923; and finally, certain proposals drafted by the Argentine Society of International Law.<sup>10</sup>

With the help of this material, the second meeting prepared twelve draft conventions on various subjects of international law.

The Sixth Pan American Conference, in 1928, adopted a complete draft Code of Private International Law, the work of the eminent Cuban jurist Sánchez de Bustamante, which the American Institute of International Law, as well as the second meeting of the Commission of Jurists, had already approved. It also adopted several draft conventions on matters pertaining to public international law.

The Sixth Conference, as well as those that have followed it, tried to establish the methods to be used in the work of codification.

American codification, even in matters of world interest, has always conformed to the ideas and needs of the New World. But if this is carried too far, the result may be that the nations of the New World will regulate not only matters of continental interest, but also those of world interest, in a manner different from that established by universal international law, and do so without the participation of States in other continents.

To obviate this difficulty, I have long maintained that there should be some coordination between the codification undertaken by the American States and the world codification being carried out under the auspices of the League of Nations. This idea has the approval of eminent

<sup>10</sup> See: "International Commission of American Jurists; 1927 Meeting," Vol. IV, *Historical Exposition*, pages 7-12 (Rio de Janeiro, 1927).

jurists, and the First Conference on Codification of International Law held at The Hague in 1930 adopted a recommendation on my proposal, which was supported by 14 delegations. The recommendation reads as follows:

The Conference, considering it to be desirable that there should be as wide as possible a coordination of all the efforts made for the codification of international law,

#### RECOMMENDS

That the work undertaken with this object under the auspices of the League of Nations and that undertaken by the Conferences of American States be carried on in the most complete harmony with one another.

The same idea is expressed in two clauses of the preamble to resolution LXX, on methods of codification of international law, adopted by the Seventh Pan American Conference.

Notwithstanding these desires to establish some connection between American and world codification, nothing has yet been done in this respect.<sup>11</sup>

The States of the New World have decided to undertake, in addition to the codification of international law, another work of prime importance, one that assumes an international character: the uniformity, even unity, of civil legislation in the States of the New World.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> For the development of my ideas on this subject, see: Álvarez, "La Codificación du Droit International" (Paris, 1912); "La Codificación del Derecho Internacional en América" (Santiago de Chile, 1923), presented to the Fifth Pan American Conference and included in the official works of the Conference; "Le Nouveau Droit International Public et sa Codification en Amérique" (Paris, 1924); "La Codification du Droit International," a report presented to the Union Juridique Internationale in 1926; "La Reconstruction du Droit International et sa Codification en Amérique" (Paris, 1928); "La Codification du Droit International," a report presented to the Institut de Droit International in 1930; "Le Continent Américain et la Codification du Droit International: Une nouvelle 'École' du Droit des Gens" (Paris, 1938).

<sup>12</sup> See the subcommittee report at the 1927 meeting of the International Commission of American Jurists, in *op. cit.*, pages 157-160; also "Report on the Progress of the Codification of International Law in the Americas, November 1938-November 1939," Pan American Union, 1939.

#### IX

### FEATURES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, INTERNATIONAL LIFE, AND INTERNATIONAL LAW IN AMERICA

From the above outline of the international life of the New World, it is evident that the American States form not simply a community, but a truly international society, although one lacking the chief characteristics of a civil society: the existence of superior authority, and that of the three powers—executive, legislative, and judicial.

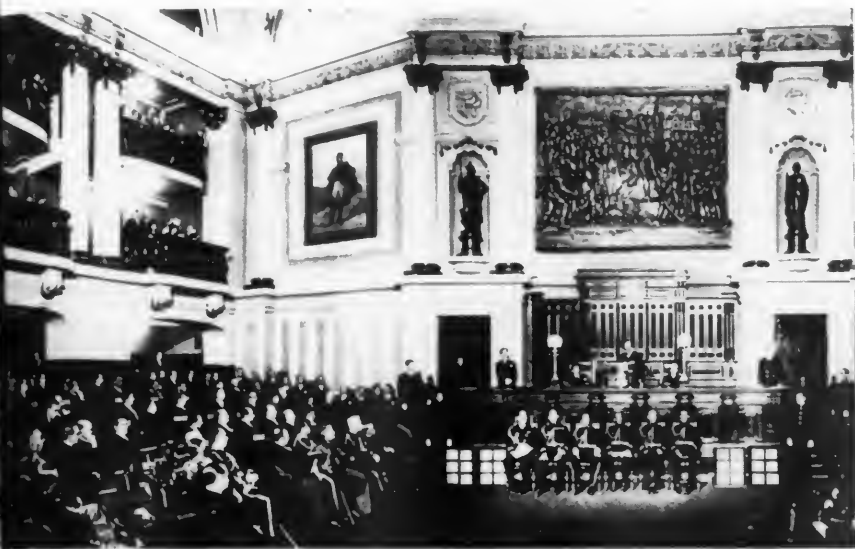
This international society is based on moral and emotional factors; its members, especially the Latin States, form a true family of nations, united by a strong feeling of continental solidarity. They have faith in their republican and democratic form of government, and are determined to maintain it or defend it against foreign influences. Moreover, they are eager to harmonize their interests and their activities.

The American continent is increasingly aware of its moral unity, as well as of the value of the spiritual forces that gave it birth and nourish it.

To discuss their common interests, the American republics meet often in conferences called for special purposes, as well as periodically in the general Conferences. They have also developed a common organization—the Pan American Union.

They wish also to strengthen their bonds with other continents. For this purpose, they are now desirous that a link be established between the Pan American Union and the League of Nations; this idea I propounded in reports presented in 1922 to the Institut de Droit International and in 1926 to the Union Juridique Internationale.

As for international law, the States of the New World are trying to codify and develop it in conformity with the new



THE EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES, LIMA, 1938  
 President Óscar R. Benavides of Peru addressed the opening session; the president was Carlos Concha, then Peruvian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

conditions of society, especially those of American life, and to base it on moral values, such as public opinion, which they wish to strengthen; in other words, they want international law to keep step with politics and ethics.

On the other hand—and I wish to emphasize this point—international law in America, in addition to its contribution to universal international law, has the special features just pointed out.

International law in America has other very important aspects, which should also be mentioned. They may be summarized as follows:

(a) Proclamation of principles that, without being fundamental in character, play a very important role in the international life of the New World.

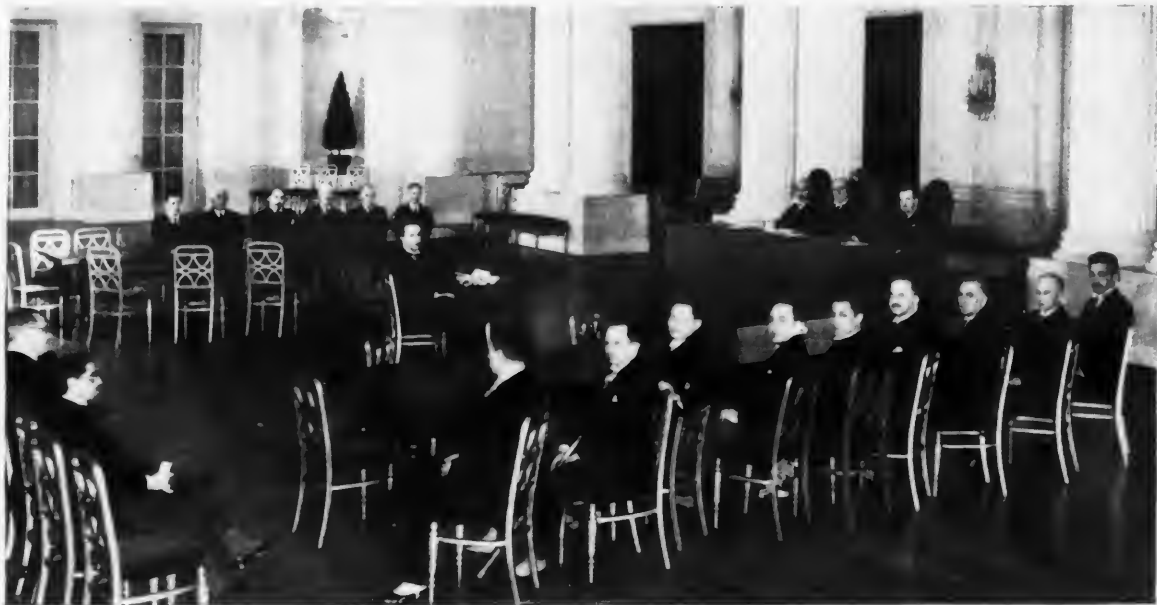
(b) The existence in the New World of problems *sui generis*, that is, peculiar to the

continent, or of problems that, having world characteristics, have special aspects here. Two of these problems are immigration and the establishment of boundaries.

The American States have tried to solve these problems by the application of suitable principles, usually American in origin, as, for example, the establishment of boundaries by the *uti possidetis* of 1810, as already stated.

(c) The nations of the New World are unwilling to have certain forms of States and certain international situations existing in Europe introduced into their continent: real union, semi-sovereign States, protectorates, zones of influence, and others of this sort.

(d) New World jurists have also proclaimed doctrines adapted to conditions on the American continent (the Drago



INAUGURAL SESSION OF THE GUATEMALA-HONDURAS ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL, 1931

The tribunal, composed of the distinguished jurists Charles Evans Hughes, Chief Justice of the United States, Luis Castro Ureña of Costa Rica, and Emilio Bello Codesido of Chile, handed down at the Pan American Union an award on the boundary between Guatemala and Honduras, which has been fully executed by the parties.

Doctrine, the Wilson Doctrine, the Tobar Doctrine) and we shall not dwell upon them here.

(e) Certain American nations have included in their constitutions or their laws matters relevant to international law or to national policy: refusal to have recourse to war, the solution of conflicts by peaceful means, diplomatic claims, or neutrality.<sup>13</sup>

Such legislation, of course, is binding only on the nation that adopts it, but often it can affect, to a greater or lesser degree, other countries, as in the case of the Neutrality Law of the United States.

All these special features of international law have been isolated instances, and have even escaped the notice of New World jurists, who are generally imbued with the idea that international law is universal in scope.

As has been said, I have been endeavoring since 1905 to bring to light all these special features of international law in America, and more than thirty years ago, I published *Le Droit International Américain* (Paris, 1909).

Objections to the theory there advanced have been made in the name of the universality of international law. Today the idea is accepted by all jurists except those who have been misled by the title of my book. American international law is a fact that has been expressly recognized by the Pan American Conferences, which have declared that certain of the principles they proclaim belong to this realm.

I should like to quote here a passage from the address delivered by the Hon. Sumner Welles, Undersecretary of State of the United States, at the recent Conference at Panama; the ideas expressed coincide exactly with those I have long held on this subject.

Near the end of his address, Mr. Welles said:

We have created an American system, an American way of life, which is our chief contribution to world civilization. This way of life we must make every effort to protect, to safeguard, to pass on intact to future generations of our own peoples. . . . To accomplish this we must, and we can, resolutely defend our continent from all menace of aggression, direct or indirect.

American international law, in the sense that I have just indicated, does not tend to create a special international law for the nations of the New World, distinct from universal international law, as those who object to my thesis have claimed. It aims at presenting international law in its true light; namely, all its principles—and with still more reason, its rules—are not universal in character. Although some, especially the most fundamental, are universal, others are only continental and have a special American character, while still others are of a regional, even *inter partes*, nature. Moreover, certain American principles should in the future be included in universal international law, as we shall see below.<sup>14</sup>

#### X

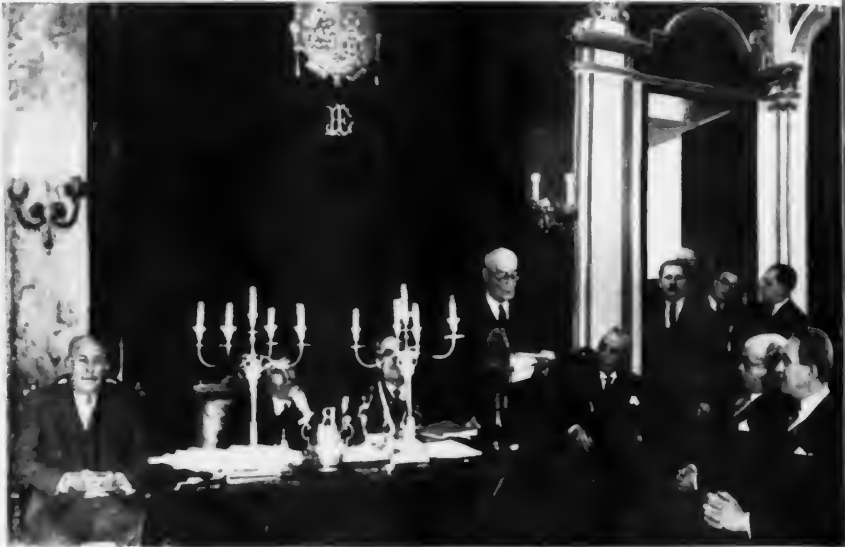
#### NEW TENDENCIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, INTERNATIONAL LIFE AND INTERNATIONAL LAW IN THE NEW WORLD

The international community, international life, and international law in the New World have followed a continuously ascending path ever since the American republics achieved independence. Certain tendencies thereof, already manifested, at present promise to continue in similar fashion.

First of all, some States in the New World would like to complete the American international organization by creating a League of Nations like, and closely related to, that at Geneva. I do not share this opinion,

<sup>13</sup> *The Pan American Union has published the laws, treaties, and regulations relating to neutrality in force in the American Republics.*

<sup>14</sup> See Álvarez, "*Le Continent Américain et la Codification du Droit International*" (Paris, 1933, Nos. III-V).



Courtesy of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

**DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, ADDRESSING A MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE AT LIMA, 1938**

Seated, left to right: Isidoro Ruiz Moreno, Legal Adviser, Argentine Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Carlos Concha, then Minister of Foreign Affairs of Peru; Alfredo Sol y Muro, then Rector of the University of San Marcos, now Minister of Foreign Affairs; Afranio de Mello Franco of Brazil, now Chairman of the Inter-American Neutrality Committee; Humberto Solari Hurtado, Secretary of the University; and Ricardo J. Alfaro, Secretary General of the Institute.

since the Pan American Union serves as a League of Nations of the New World.

As regards international law, the idea of its reconstruction, because of the crisis through which it is passing, is beginning to come to the surface in America more perhaps than in Europe.

This crisis, which is world wide, is especially due to the strictly juridical character that publicists have given to international law by separating it, to some extent, from international life itself. Hence sufficient attention has not been paid to the changes that have taken place in this life since the middle of the nineteenth century, changes due to the appearance of various factors, for the most part hitherto unknown.

To end this crisis, I have long contended in various publications that we should proceed to the reconstruction of international law. By reconstruction I mean a critical examination of its conception, basis, fundamental postulates, and great principles, so that they may correspond with the conditions of the life of nations. Such reconstruction should, therefore, reflect these new conditions, especially from the psychological, economic, and social points of view.

The States of the New World have accepted this idea, at least tacitly.

Indeed, the Sixth Pan American Conference, in 1928, paid tribute to my studies on this subject in the following resolution:



The Sixth International Conference of American States,  
RESOLVES:

To recognize and applaud the work of scientific reconstruction of international law carried out by the illustrious jurist, Dr. Alejandro Álvarez, through the reports presented to the first and second Assembly of Jurists of Rio de Janeiro, and to the Fifth and Sixth Pan American Conferences, and recommends that those scientific works be taken into account by future conferences which may deal with the codification of international law.

The Institute of International Law, at its 1929 meeting in New York, also recognized the need for the work of reconstruction recommended in my report. I also propounded this idea at the Conference for the Codification of International Law at The Hague in 1930.<sup>15</sup>

This work of reconstruction should culminate in a *Declaration of the Main Principles of Modern International Law*.

What is of particular interest at present is not the regulation of special subjects included in international law, as some jurists maintain, but an agreement on the main principles.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States, and Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, have repeatedly said that one of the best ways of safeguarding peace in the future is to promote the main principles of international law.

Long convinced of the need for such a Declaration, I proposed to the Hague Conference on Codification in 1930 that institutions dedicated to the study of this law be asked to draft such a declaration, and the proposal was supported by members of 14 delegations.

The Conference voted a resolution to this effect.

The work was very difficult to accomplish; not only was the task complex, but

there were no connecting links between these various institutions. That, however, was no cause for discouragement.

The five great juridical associations of an international character that devote themselves to the study of international law—the Institut de Droit International, the American Institute of International Law, the Académie Diplomatique Internationale, the Union Juridique Internationale, and the International Law Association—had already independently included on their agenda the subject *The Codification of International Law*, and each of them appointed me to report on the matter.

In this capacity, I presented to all these institutions a draft *Declaration of the Main Principles of Modern International Law*, preceded by an Exposition of Motives.

This draft Declaration was discussed and approved by the three last-named associations. The first has not yet considered it because of its crowded calendar; the second, because at that time it had suspended its activities, which it has only recently resumed.

In the Exposition of Motives of the Declaration, we pointed out its special characteristics. We want to emphasize the fact that it incorporates the main principles of American international law mentioned earlier in this article, so that they may be given world-wide application.

The approval of this Declaration by the above-mentioned associations gives it considerable moral authority. Some jurists hope that it will be progressively incorporated into international law, and others have already used it as the basis of their labors.

#### NI

#### DUTIES OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT AT THE PRESENT MOMENT

The nations of the New World, in the conflict now ravaging Europe, have tried

<sup>15</sup> See: Álvarez, "Les Résultats de la Première Conférence de Codification du Droit International," in *Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, Paris, mars-avril, 1931, pages 210-25, and reprint.

to remain neutral, that is, to take no direct part in hostilities. But that does not mean that they are indifferent to the cataclysm; on the contrary, they are following events with the greatest interest.

The American continent, rightly called "the Reservoir of Humanity," realizes that in these tragic days it has a double duty to perform: as regards the Old World, by cooperating with it in all phases of its activity, so that it may emerge from its present painful situation, and as regards western civilization, by preserving it from the effects of the present catastrophe.

This last duty, this mission, devolves upon it from the fact that peace reigns among the American nations; their spirit is deeply imbued with the idea of solidarity and cooperation; they value moral factors highly; and they have established a solid international organization and contributed to the development of international law.

The American continent is, therefore, destined to play a great role, not in determining the conditions of peace, a matter that concerns chiefly the belligerents, but in establishing a *new international order*, for which the whole world longs, and to which there is constant reference, although no one specifically defines it.

This *new order* is nothing but the recon-

struction of the life of nations in the main fields of their activity: theoretical, political, economic and financial, social, moral, and international.

It is fitting for the New World to take the initiative in all these matters. It is a new phase of Pan Americanism.

Such an initiative should consist, in my opinion, in having the Pan American Union collect, or rather combine, all the general or specific conventions, resolutions, or declarations adopted at the Pan American Conferences on every phase of the above-mentioned subjects. In addition to this compilation a very delicate juridical task is required: a study of the ensemble of international life throughout the world, especially in Europe and America, accompanied by a consideration of the great problems international life now raises. This study might, if necessary, serve as a point of departure for any labors that the Pan American Union might see fit to contribute to the reign of peace in the future.

We hope that the Pan American Union, in celebrating its first fifty years, will undertake the study of this *new order*, and show the world what, in the opinion of a whole continent, is the orientation that should guide the international life of the future.

# Reminiscences of the First International Conference of American States

*Lima, November 29, 1939*

Dr. L. S. ROWE,

*Director General of the Pan American  
Union,*

*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR DR. ROWE:

I have just had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 14th instant, in which you ask me to contribute to the special issue of the BULLETIN of the Pan American Union to be published in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Union some reminiscences of the First International Conference of American States, which met at Washington in 1889-1890, and at which I was attaché to the Peruvian delegation.

You are very kind to think that my memories of that historic assembly would interest readers of the BULLETIN. I must confess, however, that my lack of experience fifty years ago somewhat blinded me to the importance that that gathering was to have for the future of our countries, and therefore I unquestionably failed to give it the attention that it merited. My memories of it, therefore, are hardly worth preserving in so important a publication as the BULLETIN of the Pan American Union; but, since it is you who make the request, I cannot refuse to set down a few of my memories, even if they are rather beside the point.

Although my memory is poor, I cannot forget the very charming and friendly Mr. Blaine; the dean of American diplomats, Don Matías Romero, so helpful with ad-

vice to those who were arriving in Washington for the first time; the United States delegates, Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Flint; Mr. Curtis, the first director of the Bureau of the American Republics; Dr. Guzmán, the delegate from Nicaragua, who served as Secretary to the Congress; those two great orators, Sres. Quintana and Sáenz Peña, from Argentina; Sr. Mendonça from Brazil; Sr. Bolet Peraza from Venezuela, whose friends sent him from Caracas the head of one of the statues of ex-President Guzmán Blanco that had been demolished; Sr. Caamaño, delegate from Ecuador, whom his enemies tried to embarrass by sending abusive lampoons to the delegates in Washington; and naturally I cannot fail to mention Sr. Zegarra, the delegate from my own country who, as first Vice President of the conference, filled the position to general satisfaction.

As for matters related to the workings of the Congress, I must confess frankly that I found the sessions very dull. There was much discussion over matters that did not seem to be of great importance, while the subject that we felt to be of prime concern was not approved—the acceptance of compulsory arbitration. Fortunately, two recommendations—on the study of the Pan American Railway, and the establishment of the Bureau of the American Republics, respectively—contributed to a greater knowledge of and closer relations between our countries; although what we expected to be a railway, turned out to be a highway. But the Bureau of American

Republics, today the Pan American Union, has through its BULLETIN, and especially through your efforts, dear Dr. Rowe, done much to make us better known to each other.

As proof of the indifference and ignorance prevalent at that time as regards our countries, let me give you two examples, for as we say in Spanish, "One button is enough for a sample":

In the capital of one of the southern States the delegates were invited to inspect a public school. All the students were assembled, and the principal asked the delegates if they would like to question the students, but, as none of us offered to make such an examination, an Englishman, the correspondent of one of the great New York newspapers, stepped forward and asked those who could tell what the language of the South American countries was, to raise their hands. One of the children who had volunteered shouted, "German;" another said, "French;" another, "Latin;" and one, who was not far astray, answered "Portuguese."

A small friend of mine, the son of a Senator, asked me a question that was often put to me, whether there were pianos in my country; after answering him, I looked at his hands, and remarked on what good beefsteaks they would make, at which the frightened youngster said, "I knew, Mr. Elguera, that you wore feathers in your country, but I did not know that you ate people, too."

Thanks to the good work carried on by the BULLETIN, such incidents cannot occur now, a fact I have verified on the different occasions when I have revisited the United States.

The social life was most agreeable; the delegates were overwhelmed with official and unofficial attentions. Everything was very simple, for Embassies were not yet in

fashion. Any morning President Harrison could be seen out driving in a small carriage with his wife, holding the reins himself. On the streetcars one might meet the Vice President, Mr. Morton, or Alexander Graham Bell, or other outstanding individuals. There was not the slightest difficulty in visiting public offices. I spent many days in watching with interest the casting of great cannon, and it never occurred to any one to ask who I was or what I wanted at the Navy Yard.

From one of the windows of the office of the Bureau of the American Republics, I enjoyed the great parade of nearly 80,000 veterans of the Civil War, who held their first reunion in Washington after the war. I could admire the training and discipline of the American public at election time, when President Harrison, the Republican candidate for re-election, was opposed by the Democrat, Grover Cleveland; people standing around the bulletin board outside the newspaper offices applauded when the vote seemed to be favorable for their party, while the others were silent, and the same thing happened when the situation was reversed. No one said anything or made a nuisance of himself.

I must close these few scattered remarks which, as I said at the beginning, are not worth inserting in the BULLETIN, but I wish to state emphatically that I liked your country so much that I prolonged the three or four months' visit that I had planned for five years. And as if that were not enough when I returned to Peru I brought with me as my wife a daughter of General MacParlin; this was the best and most successful step I ever took in my life, and it was the First Pan American Conference that I have to thank for it.

With greetings from my wife, I remain

Very cordially your friend,  
MANUEL ELGUERA

# Inter-American Agricultural Cooperation

HENRY A. WALLACE

*United States Secretary of Agriculture*

On this fiftieth anniversary of the Pan American Union, it is fitting to discuss one vitally important phase of cooperation between the Americas—cooperation in the agricultural field. The Pan American Union has been a pioneer in effecting closer inter-American ties of every nature.

In this work, its Division of Agricultural Cooperation, whose working relationships with the United States Department of Agriculture are so friendly and cooperative, has played a significant role.

The trend of world history highlights the urgency of cementing ties between the Republics of the Western Hemisphere. Our ties in the past, and those of our Latin American neighbors, have been with Europe. Bonds of trade and bonds of culture have kept our interest centered across the Atlantic. Now, with several of the powers of Europe at war, we gaze at the terrible scene, and realize how fortunate we are in the western world.

But the outbreak of hostilities in Europe has created difficult situations which confront all of the American Republics. More than ever, our cooperation should be wholehearted and effective.

This does not imply that we were not conscious of the need of effecting closer ties with Latin America prior to the outbreak of the current European conflict. The fact is that the good neighbor policy and a considerable part of the machinery necessary to put it into force has been in existence for some years. President Roosevelt undoubtedly was thinking of our Latin American relations, as well as our relations with the rest of the world, when,

on January 2, 1940, in his address to Congress on the state of the Union, he declared: "In these recent years we have had a clean record of peace and good will. It is an open book that cannot be twisted or defamed. It is a record that must be continued and enlarged."

## *Rise of the Program of Cooperation*

In initiating this work and in carrying it forward, not only the President but the Members of Congress, his Cabinet, and nearly all the departments and agencies of the Federal Government, have played a part. At the request of President Roosevelt, there was established in May 1938, an Interdepartmental Committee to examine the subject of cooperation with the other American Republics, and to draft a concrete program designed to render closer and more effective the relationship between the Government and the people of the United States and our neighbors in the 20 Republics to the South.

The work of the Interdepartmental Committee was undertaken in the conviction that the peoples of the New World, within the sphere of their separate and independent entities, are one in their belief in the efficacy of practical day-to-day economic collaboration. There is ample reason to believe that this feeling is being shared to an increasing extent by citizens in all the American Republics. With the crystallization of this sentiment there will develop, to an even greater extent than at present, a lasting reciprocal cooperation yielding economic benefits to all nations concerned, a concrete demon-

stration of friendship in a peaceful American world.

*Agriculture's Role in the Cooperative Program*

Because agriculture plays such a vital role in the economies of all the countries of the Western Hemisphere, especially those of Latin America, the field of action in connection with inter-American agricultural cooperation is of unique interest. This action must necessarily be undertaken with regard for the agricultural resources of the Americas, particular attention being paid to the major crops that are now being produced and those whose production might advantageously be developed or expanded.

It is well known, for instance, that four of the 20 Latin American nations (Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Paraguay) and the United States lie wholly or mainly within the temperate zone, while 16 countries are for the most part tropical or semi-tropical. Yet a considerable part of the agricultural production of Latin America consists of temperate zone products and these enter to an important extent into the foreign trade of a number of Latin American nations.

For instance, agricultural imports into the United States from Latin America, which have made up as much as 90 percent of our total imports from that region, are to the extent of 50 percent made up of supplementary products, or commodities the like of which are produced in this country. The relatively large share of temperate zone products that enter into the Latin American exports to the United States is accounted for by the fact that large parts of the tropical or semi-tropical areas like the vast Amazon Basin in Brazil and large areas in southern Venezuela, southwestern Colombia, eastern Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia are regions still largely uncultivated. This would seem to suggest the advisabil-

ity of exploring the possibilities of greater agricultural production in Latin America along tropical and semi-tropical lines, particularly for products that have a market in the United States.

Upon the foregoing fundamental considerations have been based to a large extent most of the activities concerned with inter-American agricultural cooperation. On the one hand, we are seeking greater collaboration on the part of all the American Republics with respect to the marketing and production of those commodities concerning which there is a hemisphere surplus. On the other hand, in cooperation with the countries of Latin America, efforts are under way to develop and expand their production of tropical and semi-tropical commodities which, as complementary products, may find a market in the United States and thus enhance the purchasing power of the countries of origin for the products of temperate zone countries. The work that is being done along these and other subordinate lines of agricultural cooperation should be discussed at this point.

*Commodity Collaboration in the Western Hemisphere*

The first line of action mentioned above seeks to bring about more orderly production and marketing in the Americas of those commodities which Latin America and the United States produce in excess of present and probable future requirements of the Western Hemisphere. This problem has been tackled on a worldwide basis with respect to a number of important commodities of international commerce, notably tin, rubber, and sugar. Considerable progress had been made up to the outbreak of European hostilities in the direction of an international agreement on wheat. Early in September 1931 a meeting was held in Washington



Courtesy of United States Farm Security Administration

#### A WHEAT FARM IN WASHINGTON

Both North and South Temperate Zones have vast regions where wheat flourishes. Argentina and the United States together produce more than a billion bushels of wheat a year, over 200 million bushels more than the amount needed for their domestic requirements.

attended by representatives of the United States and nine other countries (of which three—Brazil, Mexico and Peru—were Latin American countries), to consider the possibility of working out an international arrangement with respect to the production and marketing of cotton.

The possibility of collaboration on a commodity basis within the Western Hemisphere, at least during the period of the current European War, is being actively explored. Such collaboration would contemplate at the minimum no further expansion of production of those items for which world supplies, especially in Western Hemisphere countries, are in excess of world requirements when considered on either a peace-time or a war-time basis.

At this point I wish to review briefly the situation, as it relates especially to Western Hemisphere countries, of several of the more important items of world trade—cotton, wheat and sugar.

World production of cotton has been increasing in recent years in spite of the restrictions on production in the United States, and at the same time international trade in cotton, as reflected in the imports of the deficit countries, has declined. Furthermore, there was a carryover of American cotton at the beginning of the current 1939-40 season of about 14 million bales of cotton, a quantity about equivalent to a normal cotton crop in the United States.

The combined annual output of the cotton-producing countries of the Western



#### LOADING COFFEE AT SANTOS WITH MECHANICAL CONVEYORS

Santos is the leading coffee port in the world, shipping annually about 10 million bags of coffee, a product for which the United States must rely entirely on imports.

Hemisphere in recent years has averaged about 15 million bales. This quantity exceeds domestic requirements of the United States and Latin America by as much as six to seven million bales.

In the case of wheat the general picture is that before the war importing countries were taking about 550 million bushels of wheat annually, while exporting countries were producing between 750 and 900 million bushels to fill those requirements. If the war continues for some time there may be some expansion in export trade resulting from decreased production in Europe. But there is little prospect for this expansion to be sufficient even to catch up with current export supplies.

The United States and Argentina are by far the most important wheat producers in the Pan American group. In addition, within the Western Hemisphere, there is Canada, which is the most important wheat-exporting country in the world. The

United States and Argentina together produce more than a billion bushels of wheat per year and need less than 800 million bushels for domestic requirements. Generally speaking, other Latin American countries are deficit wheat producers, but altogether they absorb only a little more than 50 million bushels a year. This means that at a minimum there are 150 million bushels (usually it is much more) of wheat being produced in the United States and Argentina in excess of requirements within the Pan American group.

Sugar and coffee also afford examples of staple items of commerce which are being produced in the Western Hemisphere far in excess of Western Hemisphere requirements. In the case of sugar, there is in existence an international agreement which is designed to bring about a balance between world export supplies and world import requirements. Up to the present time no progress has apparently been made with respect to



coffee, although the principal producer, Brazil, has been struggling for many years with the problem of surplus production.

The foregoing are simply examples of major commodities produced within the Western Hemisphere in surplus amounts. Every effort is being made to develop cooperative production and marketing policies with respect to these and perhaps other major commodities in the Western Hemisphere.

#### *Cooperation in Production of Complementary Products*

Another very significant phase of the work of inter-American agricultural cooperation aims to give Latin American countries greater purchasing power, not by means of loans, but by the development

of a wider basis of complementary trade between those countries and the United States. The nature of our trade with Latin America clearly indicates that this is necessary if there is to be any substantial and permanent increase in this trade.

In 1938, for example, our exports to Latin America had a value of approximately 400 million dollars. A little more than one-tenth consisted of agricultural commodities and about nine-tenths was made up of non-agricultural products. In contrast, our imports from Latin America in the same year, valued roughly at 448 million dollars, were about four-fifths agricultural and one-fifth non-agricultural. Of the agricultural imports, almost half consisted of supplementary goods, that is, those which are the same as,



A CACAO PLANTATION

Cacao, a tree native to the Americas, is grown in warm climates. Each pod seen in the picture contains a number of beans, which are ground and otherwise treated to make chocolate or cocoa. The United States, a large consumer of chocolate, obtains more than 40 per cent of its imports from Latin America, especially Brazil.

or readily substituted for, the products of United States agriculture. Among the principal complementary items are coffee, bananas, cocoa, and certain fibers, the most important of which are henequen and coarse wool. The supplementary items include sugar, vegetable oils and oil seeds, meat and meat products, molasses, and unmanufactured tobacco. It might be added that in the respects noted the situation in 1938 is somewhat typical of that of recent years.

While supplementary agricultural products have composed more than 50 percent of the total agricultural imports from Latin America in recent years, it would not be wise to count upon greatly increased imports of such products as a basis for greater purchasing power for American products in Latin America. The reason for this is that, for the most part, United States production of such products has by

no means reached its full potentiality and is more likely to expand than to contract. This applies in particular to such commodities as flaxseed and other vegetable oil materials, fruits and vegetables, and grains. Furthermore, the loss of foreign markets for certain of our staple export crops is likely to give impetus to increased production of those kinds of products which are now imported. Cane sugar alone accounts for between 40 and 50 percent of the value of supplementary agricultural imports from Latin America.

There may be an opportunity to increase imports of certain other supplementary products such as, for instance, cattle hides and the less competitive types of wool. But such increases will probably not bulk large in our total import trade with Latin America. It is safe to conclude, therefore, that, with regard to supplementary agricultural products, there is n



Courtesy of Herbert C. Lanks

#### CUTTING A BUNCH OF BANANAS

Large amounts of United States capital are invested in the banana industry in the countries bordering the Caribbean. Bananas, an agricultural product complementary to crops grown in this country, were imported in 1939 to the value of \$29,082,667.



Courtesy of United States Department of Agriculture

#### A PRIZE-WINNING URUGUAYAN SHEEP

Wool is a valuable export commodity from Uruguay and Argentina.

basis for anticipating any great expansion in imports in the years immediately ahead. Naturally, imports of such products will be larger in periods of favorable business conditions in the United States than in periods when business activity is at a low level. But, upon the whole, it does not seem likely that imports of such supplementary products will achieve the level reached in the period 1936 to 1938 within the next few years, unless there are crop disasters in the United States comparable to those of the droughts of 1934 and 1936.

Turning next to the complementary agricultural products, it will be noted first of all that they are without exception now free of import duty in the United States. There is, therefore, nothing that can be done by the United States to improve their terms of entry. In fact, practically all of these products have now been bound on the free list in trade agreements with one

or the other of the Latin American republics. With free entry into the United States market assured for some time to come, what are the prospects of larger imports into this country from Latin America in volume or value in the next few years?

Coffee is much the most important of the complementary products imported from Latin America. In this particular case there is not likely to be any substantial increase in the volume or value of coffee imports. In the first place, the demand for coffee in the United States is relatively inelastic. Secondly, since there is a heavy surplus of coffee in Latin American countries as a whole, the value of coffee imports into the United States would probably not rise greatly even if larger quantities were imported. It is of interest to note that there was no substantial change in the value of coffee imports from Latin America during the entire period from 1932 to 1938.

On the other hand, imports of some of the other complementary products, such as bananas, cocoa, coarse wool and spices, seem to be quite sensitive to economic conditions in the United States. In other words, the value of the imports of those products is closely associated with the level of economic conditions in this country.

For the most part the principal complementary agricultural products imported from Latin America are not imported in substantial amounts from other parts of the world. For this reason it is not possible for important shifts to take place in the

production of a higher percentage of imports of the major complementary items from non-American countries to Latin America.

It appears that any very considerable and permanent increase in the trade between the United States and Latin America must await the production in Latin American countries of new complementary products to serve as a means of widening the basis upon which to increase sales from Latin America to the United States. What are some of these new products, the production of which might be developed in Latin America for sale to the United States, and what are the possibilities for their production in the Western Hemisphere?

Foremost of these is rubber. The Dutch and British East Indies furnish over 90 percent of the world's rubber supply. The United States' purchases have amounted to as much as 80 percent of the world's production in certain years and imports of rubber into this country from the East Indies alone amount to nearly a billion pounds a year, valued at nearly 250 million dollars. Imports of rubber from Latin American sources are negligible in spite of the fact that the rubber tree, *Hevea brasiliensis*, is a native of tropical America and is the original source of the world's cultivated rubber.

If the proper cooperative effort were made, it probably would be possible to expand substantially the production of rubber in Latin America to a point where it could compete on even terms with rubber from the East Indies. There are high-yielding strains of rubber now in existence in Latin America which can offset the labor advantages of the Far East, particularly because the latter is greatly handicapped by an industry built up on low-yielding strains. It also appears that there are disease-resisting strains which would not be subject to the South Ameri-



Courtesy of the Ford Motor Co.

#### YOUNG RUBBER TREES IN BRAZIL

The Ford Motor Co. has about 14,000 acres of rubber in production on its Brazilian plantations. It will be noted that these trees have been budded; this is done in order to utilize the high yielding strains of rubber which enable America to compete with the low labor costs of the Far East.



#### A FIELD OF HENEQUEN IN HAITI

Henequen, which provides the fiber also known as sisal, is a tropical crop complementary to United States agriculture.

can leaf-spot disease, which is the principal physical handicap to rubber production in the American tropics.

Two United States firms are at present producing rubber in Latin America. The Ford Motor Company began in 1928 in Brazil to explore rubber-growing possibilities. Now this company has about 14,000 acres of rubber in production. Later the Goodyear Rubber Company, in both Costa Rica and Panama, began investigating rubber possibilities on a small scale. It has about 2,000 acres in production. These plantings are merely indications of what might be done, for to supply our needs of rubber would require possibly 2,000,000 acres.

Abacá is another plant of tropical agriculture that might be developed to advantage in Latin America. The production of abacá, which supplies the Manila hemp of commerce, the raw material necessary for naval cordage for which no satisfactory substitute is known, is now in the hands of Japanese growers in the Philippine Islands.

Approximately 75,000 acres of land would be utilized in meeting our domestic requirements for Manila hemp. There is every reason to believe, on the basis of a 2,000-acre planting in Panama, that abacá could be produced satisfactorily in the American tropics. Such an industry located within reasonable reach of the United States would be a decided asset in case of war.

Then there is the cinchona plant, which is the source of quinine. The United States now depends for quinine supplies on the tropical East Indies. Quinine must be available for health purposes, particularly in the case of war. It should be noted also that there is need for a large available supply of quinine at low prices for the poor people in the tropics. The cinchona plant, which yields the quinine, is a native of South America, and it is quite probable that with the necessary cooperation and research a profitable industry for producing quinine can be developed in this hemisphere.



#### CENTRAL AMERICAN MAHOGANY

Latin America is rich in many kinds of hard woods.

To the foregoing list may be added other agricultural plants, such as those yielding tropical vegetable oils, drugs, perfumes and flavoring extracts; herbs; tea; and a number of tropical fruits. In addition, tropical America is rich in many kinds of hard woods. United States supplies of high-grade virgin hard woods will apparently be exhausted before the needed quantity of high-grade second-growth becomes available. Here again it is desirable that the potentialities of tropical Latin America be explored. It may be that supplementary supplies of hard woods from this area can be obtained to bridge the gap between the time when existing supplies of virgin domestic hard woods are exhausted and the time when the needed quantities of second-growth material become available.

Thus, there appear to be in the American tropics the physical resources for the production of complementary agricultural products on an extensive commercial scale. These resources, however, will not be developed beyond the present scale unless

positive effective assistance is given by the United States and the countries involved. For one thing, the expansion in such production is in most cases a long-term undertaking, requiring in the case of rubber, for example, from five to seven years for commercial production. Secondly, there has been relatively little scientific research looking toward the development of these resources comparable to that which has taken place, for instance, in the British and Dutch possessions in the East Indies.

If, therefore, the productive resources of the American tropics are to be effectively developed so as to result in a material increase in inter-American trade and improved relations between the Americas, the active interest and cooperation of the governments of the United States and Latin America is the first essential. Co-operatively the governments can provide the greater share of the initial technical and the scientific skill.

In this connection a review of what is already being done by the United States

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Department of Agriculture and a number of Latin American governments should be of interest. During the past year it has been possible for the United States Department of Agriculture to comply with requests received from Haiti, Ecuador, Paraguay and Colombia for the services of agricultural experts to look into the possibilities of developing new complementary crops.

#### *Recent Work Undertaken*

Atherton Lee, director of the Puerto Rico Experiment Station of the Department of Agriculture at Mayagüez, was appointed as agricultural adviser to the Government of Haiti in August 1938, and spent a large part of the following 15 months in that republic. His work had the assistance of the well-developed Service Technique, the agricultural experiment organization of the Government of Haiti, and resulted in a series of practical recommendations which included the introduction of new crops, the further development of banana production, reforestation and conservation. Recently Thomas A. Fennell has been assigned as full-time agricultural adviser to carry on the work inaugurated by Mr. Lee.

Following the signing of the reciprocal trade agreement with Ecuador in August 1938, a request was received from the Ecuadorean Government for a survey of the agricultural economy of the country. Charles L. Luedtke, acting agricultural attaché at Buenos Aires, made an extensive survey of Ecuador about a year ago. His report has been completed following consultation with scientists of the Department of Agriculture, and has been submitted to the Ecuadorean Government. In November 1939, Mr. Lee and Mr. Luedtke completed an additional agricultural survey at the request of the Ecuadorean Government.

In February 1939, Dr. E. N. Bressman,

scientific adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture, and Paul O. Nyhus, agricultural attaché at Buenos Aires, made an agricultural survey of Paraguay, following which an extensive report was submitted to the Paraguayan Government. With respect to the export market, the report indicated some of the limitations on the further production of cotton, sugar and tobacco, and the commercial possibilities of starch-producing plants, such as mandioca, were cited. The report likewise covered the question of agricultural transportation facilities, conservation of soil and forestry



Courtesy of E. P. Killip

#### BARBASCO OR CUBE

This plant, which is native to the Amazon basin, is a source of rotenone, a valuable insecticide.

resources, and methods of training agriculturalists. The survey was made at the instance of the then Minister of Paraguay to Washington, who has since been inaugurated President of Paraguay.

As a result of a visit by Dr. Bressman to Colombia in March 1939, there has been an increased interest on the part of the Colombian Government in the development of tropical agricultural products, particularly those which might enter into complementary and non-competitive trade with the United States. The Colombian Government recently requested additional advisory service and Mr. Lee and Mr. Luedtke were assigned to this work.

Other forms of cooperative ventures involving agricultural specialists have sought to control such diseases and pests as afflict livestock and plants, and thus to protect the agriculture of the Americas. For instance, there has been under way for some time a joint study between technical experts of the United States Department of Agriculture and the Mexican Department of Agriculture to find methods of controlling the pink boll worm. The Bureau of Plant Industry is maintaining an informal cooperative arrangement with the Division of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington which also involves cooperation with Mexico and Central America. Under this arrangement the Bureau of Plant Industry details personnel, the Carnegie Institution furnishes the funds, and the governments concerned supply the facilities. Mycology and plant disease surveys and entomological work in Latin America have been conducted by specialists of the Department of Agriculture, generally through informal cooperation with private concerns and research institutions in those countries. In the winter of 1936-

37 the Bureau of Agricultural Economics detailed a marketing specialist to Habana, Cuba, for a period of approximately five months for the purpose of studying the methods used in the inspection of vegetables for export to the United States and to advise the Cuban Government with respect to certain problems encountered in its winter vegetable industry. From time to time, moreover, Latin American governments have obtained specialists from the Department of Agriculture for special studies in economics and marketing.

#### *Proposed Institute of Tropical Agriculture*

Finally, one project that looms large in plans for future inter-American agricultural cooperation is the proposed Tropical Institute of Agriculture, which would be established with private funds in a Latin American Republic. It is hoped that our Government can help initiate this project, cooperate in maintaining it, and furnish some of the technical specialists. Such an institute would provide a place where research could be conducted under suitable conditions with respect to tropical agriculture. Not only would it be instrumental in training the scientific personnel for the long-time task of developing tropical agricultural production in Latin America, but it would bring together students in agricultural sciences representing the various American nations and thus permit mutual understanding between these men, who would later become the leaders of agriculture in their respective countries, by serving as a scientific center where cooperative research projects would be formulated and developed. The institute would, moreover, strengthen the cultural relations between the Americas and serve as a symbol of amity.



# Fifty Years of Inter-American Trade

GEORGE WYTHE

*Liaison Officer, United States Department of Commerce*

DURING the last half-century there has been a steady trend toward closer economic relations among the American republics. In addition to the increased mercantile interchange, there have been revolutionary advances in transportation and communication facilities, and a drawing closer together in other fields of economic cooperation. Approximately mid-way in the course of this half-century the Panama Canal was completed, and within the last decade air lines and radio communications have been developed throughout the Americas. Prior to 1890, practically all of the capital and technical skill required for the development of industry in Latin America was brought in from Europe, but an inter-American flow of investment funds began during the latter years of the century and has assumed vast proportions. While the United States has furnished the larger part of this capital, Argentina and Chile—to mention two outstanding instances—have also invested substantial sums in neighboring countries.

The American nations have a common historical background in that they were all settled from Europe and received their original economic impulses from the Old World. All have been engaged in the task of subduing their frontiers and in bringing their hinterlands into production. In the field of international trade, all have been notable chiefly as exporters of staple foodstuffs and raw materials. Although the United States occupies a unique position in that it is not only a leading industrial nation but is also an outstanding producer and exporter of agricultural and

mineral products, it was not until the time of the World War that United States exports of finished manufactures, plus semi-manufactures, exceeded 50 percent of the total value of exports. The growth of inter-American trade during the last fifty years has resulted primarily from the industrial expansion of the United States, which has caused an increased demand for the raw materials which the other American nations produce, and has enabled it to supply in return the machinery, motor vehicles and specialties which the southern republics need.

In recent years the trade of the twenty-one American republics among themselves has comprised about 27 percent of their aggregate international commerce.<sup>1</sup> The larger part of these inter-continental exchanges has consisted of exports to and imports from the United States. The trade of the Latin American countries among themselves has never been very large, and in recent years only about 7 percent of the total international trade of the twenty republics has been with Latin American countries. Even during colonial times the commercial relations among the various territories embraced in common allegiance to the Crown of Castile were not extensive, as they were not allowed to trade with one another except by special permission, and every effort was made to canalize the trade of the different areas with the metropolis. Although the evolution of the Hispanic-American countries

<sup>1</sup> See Tables I and II. The statistical tables cited herein were prepared through the courtesy of Grace Witherow, Finance Division, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.



#### CHANGING THE TRADE ROUTES OF THE WORLD

The transit of the Panama Canal by the *Ancón* on August 15, 1914, completed "the greatest liberty man has ever taken with nature" and re-routed the commerce of the Americas.

since independence has tended to accentuate their national distinctiveness, their economic evolution has been along generally parallel lines, with the result that the main lines of communication have led toward the industrialized regions of Europe and North America rather than between neighboring South and Central American states.

At present the principal currents of inter-South American trade are those between Argentina and Brazil, on the East Coast, and between Chile and Peru, on the West Coast. On the average, Brazil sends around 5 percent of its exports to Argentina and obtains 13 percent of its imports from Argentina. The balance is considerably in Argentina's

favor, owing almost entirely to the fact that Argentina supplies most of Brazil's large imports of wheat. On the other hand, Argentina has been developing its own yerba maté plantations and is thus reducing its former large imports of these native tea leaves from Brazil. However, Brazil is supplying a larger proportion of Argentine lumber requirements.

Chile has for many years purchased from Peru the raw sugar required by its domestic refining industry, and more recently has become a customer for Peruvian petroleum products. In return Chile exports to Peru a variety of agricultural products, also lumber and some manufactured articles.

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In addition to these major movements, there is considerable border, seasonal and transshipment trade. Practically all of the foreign trade of interior countries like Bolivia and Paraguay must pass through neighboring South American countries. Argentina brings large quantities of Uruguayan building materials from across the Río de la Plata. In years of crop failure, Uruguay buys potatoes and other agricultural products from Argentina. Ecuador supplies shoes, cotton goods, soap and other necessities to the southern part of Colombia, which is inaccessible to the industrial centers of Colombia. In Central America, too, there is considerable border traffic in livestock and food products.

The United States has had active trade relations with its southern neighbors from the earliest days of independence and even dating back to colonial times, but in these earlier periods most of the commerce was with the West Indies. Vessels flying the Stars and Stripes also made a strong bid for commercial leadership in South America during the days of the clipper ships, and as early as the 1840's and 1850's the United States frequently provided the best market for the produce of the Spanish West Indies (Cuba and Puerto Rico), Venezuela, Brazil, and sometimes Colombia. But the rise of steam navigation and the outbreak of the Civil War again gave European traders the advantage, while in the 70's and 80's American efforts were concentrated upon opening up the West.

Meanwhile, after a half century of political settling down, the South American countries were beginning an era of colonization and economic development. The aggregate foreign commerce of South America increased 90 percent from 1870 to 1889. Argentine foreign trade increased 307 percent during this period. As the South American countries developed,

United States imports from that region at first expanded much more rapidly than exports, and the United States became, and has since remained, the principal outlet for the raw materials and food products of Latin America. The foundations were thus laid for a mutually profitable triangular trade. Vessels carrying rubber, coffee, hides and wool from South America changed their cargoes in United States ports for grains, provisions, and specialties destined to Europe. From English or continental ports the ships returned to Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro, either directly or via New York. United States trade with Mexico also expanded, particularly after the railways began to push southward. By 1881, the United States was the best market for Cuba, Mexico, Venezuela, and Brazil, the second best for Central America, Haiti and the Dominican Republic, and Uruguay, the third best for Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and Peru. In that year Great Britain provided the principal outlet for four Latin American countries, and France was the leading market for three.

The statistical data for earlier years are incomplete, but since 1910 the United States has normally taken around one-third of the combined exports of the twenty Latin American republics, although the proportion has at times run considerably higher (in 1917, a war year, the United States took 52 percent). The ratio varies in individual countries, being highest for Central America, Cuba, and Mexico, and diminishing in the case of the countries further removed geographically. In recent years the United States has consistently been the best customer for thirteen or fourteen out of the twenty Latin American countries, and the second best market for several others.

Great Britain is the second largest market for Latin America as a whole, taking

from 16 to 20 percent of the aggregate value of its exports. Germany is normally in third place, its share being 10.9 percent in 1910 and 10.3 percent in 1938. Before the World War, France purchased about 8 percent of the total, but its share has now dropped to 4 percent. Belgium takes around 5 percent.

As has been mentioned, United States exports to Latin America advanced more slowly than imports from that area. In 1889, the United States probably furnished about 15 percent of the combined imports of the republics to the south. This ratio increased to 25.03 percent in 1913 and to 35.8 percent in 1938. During the World War it ran as high as 55 percent.

During the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century Great Britain had

been the leading source of supply for Latin America as a whole, although the United States early came first in Cuba, and France held the lead most of the time in Colombia and Uruguay and for many years prior to 1888 was usually ahead of Britain in Argentina. During this period the principal item of importation was cotton and woolen textiles, which are characteristic English exports. But as soon as the leading nations began to develop textile industries of their own, and made broader demands upon the world markets, the British share of their import trade started a decline that has continued up until the present time (24.4 percent of the total in 1913, 12.2 percent in 1938).

Germany is normally in third place as a supplier of merchandise to Latin Amer-



Courtesy of J. Stirling Getchell, Inc.

#### AUTOMOBILES FOR THE AMERICAS

Motor vehicles form a considerable part of United States exports to Latin America.



Courtesy of Standard Oil Company of New York

#### LA SALINA FIELD AND REFINERY, VENEZUELA

Within the past decade, Venezuela has become the world's leading exporter of crude petroleum.

ica, its share being 17.1 percent in 1938, which is only slightly larger than the 16.6 percent it had in 1913. Belgium comes fourth (3.8 percent), and France fifth (3.5 percent). It will thus be seen that in recent years the United States has sold approximately as much to Latin America as its four nearest competitors combined.

In the foregoing paragraphs we have been considering the position of the United States in Latin American export and import trade, as judged by the trade returns of the latter countries. We may now reverse the picture, and basing our observations upon United States trade statistics, consider the significance of Latin American trade in relation to the total foreign commerce of the United States. Viewed in this perspective, it will be found that the southern republics depend upon the United States as an outlet for their produce to a greater degree than the United States depends upon those markets

for its exports. While the United States takes about one-third of the aggregate value of Latin American exports, and in the case of several individual countries buys from 50 to 90 percent of the total, Latin America has not, at any time during the period under review, taken as much as one-fifth of the total annual exports of the United States.<sup>2</sup> During the 70's and 80's of the last century, while the United States grain and meat trade with Europe was at its peak, Europe received around 80 percent of United States exports, while 10 percent or less went to Latin America. The proportion taken by Europe gradually declined after 1890, but there was no substantial improvement in United States exports to Latin America until after 1900. The last decade of the nineteenth century was a disturbed and hesitant period. The decade 1880-89 had been a time of feverish progress in South America, mark-

<sup>2</sup> See Table III.



#### LA PAZ, BOLIVIA

In the Bolivian mountains are found not only tin but also silver, lead, wolfram, zinc, gold, antimony, copper, sulphur, and bismuth.

ing the high tide of immigration, capital imports, and railway construction. In Argentina the dizzy progress of the 80's culminated in the financial crisis of 1890. In Brazil, the establishment of the Republic in 1889 was followed by a speculative and inflationary period for five or six years, with the result that the remaining years of the century had to be given over to economic reconstruction, and United States trade with Brazil showed a downward trend during those years. Owing to civil warfare in Cuba, its foreign trade was seriously affected. Likewise in Colombia and Venezuela, foreign trade declined in the 90's. Argentine trade revived toward the close of the mauve decade, and Mexican trade began a strong upward movement in the 90's, but the net effect of the depression which marked the end of the century was to bring the

percentage of total United States exports going to the Latin American republics down to the lowest point in history, namely, 5.8 percent in 1898.

But from the turn of the century the trade of the United States with Latin America began a definitely upward march, considered both in absolute values and in relation to exports to other areas. The rapid economic progress of the Latin American countries was of major importance in this respect, while the growth of manufacturing in the United States, the decline in agricultural exports to Europe, and the increasing relative importance of manufactures in United States foreign commerce, were also weighty factors.

One may distinguish four or five significant periods in the history of United States trade with Latin America since 1900.

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The decade 1903-13 was an exceptionally prosperous period in most of the Latin American countries, and international trade expanded by leaps and bounds. Large American investments were made during these years in Mexico and Cuba. The period immediately preceding and following the outbreak of war in Europe was one of crisis and depression, but beginning in 1915 some of the countries made large shipments to the belligerents, at high prices. Latin American raw materials were also in heavy demand in the United States, with the result that the proportion of its total imports derived from that area increased substantially, while the percentage of total exports going to Latin Amer-

ica declined. The dollar value of this Latin American trade reached an all-time peak in 1920, but in view of the inflated prices prevailing at that time it is not clear that the volume of trade was materially larger than in some other years.

There was naturally some recession in United States trade with Latin America after the war, but less than might normally have been expected, as the purchasing power of the leading countries was sustained by a heavy outpouring of dollar investments. During the 1920's an average of 16.7 percent of United States exports went to the Latin American republics. There was a sharp drop in this ratio during the depression years, which reached 12.1



A FARM IN COSTA RICA

In Central America there is considerable border traffic in livestock and food products.



Courtesy of Grace Line

### SUGAR CANE

Cuba is the greatest single source of sugar. In South America Argentina, Brazil, and Peru grow considerable amounts of sugar cane. Chile buys sugar for refining chiefly from Peru, which takes from Chile in return a variety of agricultural products, lumber and some manufactured articles.

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percent in 1932, but increased again with economic recovery, being 17.3 percent of the total in 1937.

Inter-American trade may now be said to be entering upon a new phase which will be strongly influenced by the outbreak of war in Europe. Before the war the trade statistics for recent years indicated that Latin America was gradually becoming more important in the foreign trade of the United States, and the war will doubtless hasten that trend. The war will tend to stimulate increased imports from Latin America, and will afford these countries an opportunity to make a bid to supply numerous hand-made and specialty articles which were previously supplied by Central Europe. In November 1939 representatives of the leading American importers of this type of goods met with diplomatic and commercial officials of the Latin American republics in a historic meeting under the auspices of the United States Department of Commerce. The Department of Commerce and other agencies of the United States Government have also undertaken to provide facilities to encourage other types of imports from Latin American countries.

Contrary to what appears to be the popular impression, the United States already normally buys considerably more from Latin America as a whole than it sells to that area. This is true even without including the gold and silver which are important items of export from several of the countries. During the twenty years 1919-38, United States net imports of gold from Latin America averaged \$30,130,157 annually, and net imports of silver averaged \$46,634,089 annually. In a few countries the United States normally sells more than it buys, but in the outstanding instance where this relationship prevails—Argentina—that country is more than able

to recoup the difference through exports to Brazil, which in turn always has a handsome export balance in its trade with the United States. Hence, by the normal process of multiangular trade—as opposed to the strait-jacket of “bilateralism”—each country is able to balance its accounts satisfactorily, while making allowance for the “invisibles” such as freight charges, service on foreign loans, and returns on foreign investments.

In 1938 the United States obtained 23.1 percent of its imports from the twenty Latin American republics, which is almost the same proportion as in 1889. The ratio was considerably higher during the World War, and will doubtless go up again if the present war is protracted.

A comparatively short list of primary articles makes up the bulk of the exports from Latin America. A calculation for 1935 showed that the twenty leading items of export accounted for 87 percent of the aggregate value of Latin American exports, the approximate value of these several items being: crude petroleum and derivatives, \$252,837,000; coffee, \$234,805,000; meat and animal fats, \$121,555,000; sugar and molasses, \$119,716,000; corn, \$106,915,000; wheat and wheat flour, \$93,944,000; cotton, \$79,717,000; flaxseed, \$72,242,000; hides and skins, \$57,145,000; wool and animal hair, \$54,887,000; silver, \$74,152,000; copper, \$57,157,000; sodium nitrate, \$30,362,000; tin, \$27,175,000; gold, \$18,446,000; lead, \$23,058,000; zinc, \$13,368,000; bananas, \$28,316,000; crude and manufactured tobacco, \$21,354,000; cocoa beans, \$17,988,000; total of above items, \$1,505,139,000. Most of these articles are exported in a crude or simply processed form, but to an increasing extent these materials are being treated before shipment, and as a consequence there have been developed some highly efficient plants for mechanico-

chemical elaboration, such as the meat packing and refrigerating establishments, sugar and flour mills, petroleum refineries, and smelters and refineries for treating ores.

Exports of finished manufactures probably do not account for more than 2 per cent of the total value of exports from Latin America at present, but in several of the larger countries there has developed a productive capacity beyond the needs of the domestic markets for certain consumer goods, and it is not unlikely that some of these items may become important in world trade. During the first World War several South American countries shipped to the belligerents such things as woolen cloth and blankets, harness and saddles, shoes, and chemical products. Should the present war in Europe be protracted, exports of this type from South America

might become more important than before; and furthermore the branch plants of foreign concerns are in a position to supply to neighboring Latin American countries articles which were formerly imported from Europe.

Industrialization in Latin America has had relatively more influence on the character of imports than on the composition of exports. The writer has made an analysis of the trade statistics of the leading countries for three representative periods, 1911-13, 1925-27, and 1933-35, in an attempt to measure the influence of manufacturing developments upon the foreign trade of those countries. In the case of Brazil and Mexico, the data show that machinery represents a substantially larger proportion of the total value of imports during recent years than for earlier



A CHILEAN COPPER MINE

Copper is one of the twenty leading export commodities of Latin America.

periods. There is a slight relative increase in imports of these items in the case of Argentina. As regards Peru, there has been an increase in comparison with the pre-war years, but some decline in relation to the period 1925-27, when big developments financed by foreign loans were under way. Thus it will be seen that on the whole there is now an increasing demand for machinery and capital goods. The statistics also show a large increase in the percentage of chemical imports in relation to the total. Part of this increase may be attributed to imports of industrial chemicals for further use in manufacturing, but a considerable proportion doubtless represents pharmaceutical and toilet preparations, as the consumption of such articles has, in recent years, increased more rapidly than local production.

The United States trade statistics also confirm these changes in the character of Latin American imports. At one time breadstuffs and provisions were among the leading articles of export to Latin America. In 1889 such articles, together with such natural products as lumber and petroleum, comprised the great bulk of United States exports to the southern republics. Other important items at that time were cotton goods and manufactures of iron and steel. By 1938, only 10 percent of the total value of exports to the twenty southern republics consisted of foodstuffs (of vegetable and animal origin), while 41 percent consisted of machinery and vehicles and another 13 percent was other metal manufactures. Latin American imports of foodstuffs have been reduced as the result of recent campaigns to diversify agricultural production. Imports of United States natural products like lumber and petroleum have also been affected by the expansion of similar industries in Latin America.

During prosperous times the Latin



Courtesy of Herbert C. Lanks

#### SILVER BARS

Mexico is the foremost silver producer in the world, but other American countries also have rich mines. The Rosario Mine in Honduras, one of the three largest in the world, produces each month 200 silver bars such as that shown above, each weighing 125 pounds.

American countries increase their purchases not only of industrial equipment but also of a great variety of consumer goods, particularly of the high-quality merchandise which is not produced locally. In "boom" years the demand for luxuries and semi-luxuries may even increase more rapidly than the demand for capital goods. As the purchasing power of the country grows, its demand upon world markets becomes broader, and the total value of imports rises. Hence, however disturbing the effects of industrialization may be temporarily, in the long run sane and sound industrialization tends to augment

the volume of international interchanges, as is shown by the fact that the major currents of world trade are those that flow between highly industrialized nations. Unfortunately, there is frequently a tendency to become intoxicated with the possibilities of the machine and to push manufacturing too rapidly, with the result that consumers are made to pay dearly for highly protected industries that are not suited to countries with limited populations and restricted purchasing power.

In the long run, the future of inter-American trade must depend upon the increasing productivity of the Americas,

and therefore no part of the hemisphere can be indifferent to developments tending to increase the national output and raise the per capita purchasing power of other areas. The prospects for expanding commerce have therefore been considerably improved by the recent steps that have been taken to set up consultative bodies in the economic field with the view of lending mutual aid in the development of the resources of each country. Inter-American commercial relations may be said therefore to be entering upon a new era which promises to be closer and more fruitful than at any time in the past.



Courtesy of Luis Alzamora

#### PERUVIAN TEXTILES

Peru was proud to exhibit at the New York World's Fair her fine textiles made of different kinds of wool including vicuña and alpaca. Such specialties may find a place in increased imports from Latin America.

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I. *Inter-American trade of 21 Republics in 1937 (statistics of each country)*

NOTE: Value in thousands of dollars (conversion from original currencies at annual rates of exchange)

Country	Imports			Exports		
	From other Latin American Republics	From United States	Total	To other Latin American Republics	To United States	Total
Argentina . . . . .	1 44,255	1 77,558	121,813	63,221	96,687	159,908
Bolivia . . . . .	7,354	5,997	13,351	1,314	3,312	4,626
Brazil . . . . .	51,143	76,167	127,310	24,375	125,854	150,229
Chile . . . . .	14,475	25,698	40,173	6,951	43,896	50,847
Colombia . . . . .	2,378	46,669	49,047	796	67,195	67,991
Costa Rica . . . . .	716	5,048	5,764	315	5,188	5,503
Cuba . . . . .	3,802	88,847	92,649	1,517	150,158	151,675
Dominican Republic . . . . .	172	6,115	6,287	160	5,832	5,992
Ecuador . . . . .	748	4,740	5,488	2,315	4,952	7,267
El Salvador . . . . .	562	4,034	4,596	609	9,413	10,022
Guatemala . . . . .	925	2 9,485	10,410	129	10,334	10,463
Haiti . . . . .	83	4,698	4,781	2	2,500	2,502
Honduras . . . . .	460	6,029	6,489	188	8,563	8,751
Mexico * . . . . .	3,059	105,670	108,729	4,372	138,988	143,360
Nicaragua . . . . .	455	3,045	3,500	328	3,897	4,225
Panama . . . . .	794	11,357	12,151	11	3,698	3,709
Paraguay . . . . .	3,628	646	4,274	3,674	645	4,319
Peru . . . . .	6,605	21,016	27,621	13,646	20,422	34,068
Uruguay . . . . .	9,614	6,091	15,705	6,912	7,808	14,720
Venezuela . . . . .	861	45,388	46,249	1,866	33,577	35,443
Total . . . . .	152,089	554,298	706,387	132,701	742,919	875,620
United States * . . . . .	672,611	.....	672,611	578,203	.....	578,203
Grand Total . . . . .	824,700	554,298	1,378,998	710,904	742,919	1,453,823

1 Real values.

2 Includes estimated figure for insurance and freight.

3 Free port trade excluded.

4 Figures include trade with Canal Zone. Merchandise trade only; gold and silver not included.

II. *Inter-American trade of 21 Republics in relation to their trade with other countries and their aggregate International Trade in 1937*

[Millions of dollars]

21 Republics	Imports	Exports	Total
Inter-American trade . . . . .	1,379	1,454	2,833
Trade with other countries . . . . .	3,323	4,287	7,610
International trade . . . . .	4,702	5,741	10,443
Inter-American trade:			
As percent of total with countries outside Pan America . . . . .	41	34	37
As percent of international total . . . . .	29	25	27

III. Total value of merchandise trade between the United States and the Latin American Republics, 1889-1938 (United States statistics)<sup>1</sup>

[Thousands of dollars]

Years <sup>2</sup>	United States imports from Latin American Republics	Percent of total United States imports	United States exports to Latin American Republics	Percent of total United States exports
1889	174, 145	23. 4	65, 759	8. 9
1890	173, 705	22. 0	74, 157	8. 6
1891	216, 746	25. 7	72, 431	8. 2
1892	267, 544	32. 3	75, 392	7. 3
1893	219, 762	25. 4	86, 016	10. 1
1894	213, 036	32. 5	76, 013	8. 5
1895	193, 114	26. 4	72, 288	9. 0
1896	175, 616	22. 5	74, 396	8. 4
1897	151, 955	19. 9	75, 256	7. 2
1898	132, 324	21. 5	71, 723	5. 8
1899	142, 961	20. 5	85, 944	7. 0
1900	162, 117	19. 1	108, 075	7. 8
1901	192, 102	23. 3	116, 226	7. 8
1902	203, 662	22. 5	112, 477	8. 1
1903	221, 672	21. 6	112, 205	7. 9
1904	254, 350	25. 7	133, 996	9. 2
1905	300, 078	26. 9	156, 543	10. 3
1906	292, 286	23. 8	206, 452	11. 8
1907	332, 633	23. 2	227, 305	12. 1
1908	271, 916	22. 8	217, 000	11. 7
1909	322, 456	24. 6	198, 918	12. 0
1910	391, 441	25. 1	239, 252	13. 7
1911	369, 797	24. 2	270, 663	13. 2
1912	420, 823	25. 5	293, 311	13. 3
1913	441, 406	24. 3	320, 919	13. 0
1914	467, 946	24. 7	279, 362	11. 8
1915	556, 345	33. 2	248, 623	9. 0
1916	759, 211	34. 5	407, 797	9. 4
1917	960, 236	36. 1	584, 738	9. 3
1918	1, 023, 419	34. 7	717, 744	12. 1
1918 (6 mos.)	517, 708	34. 9	349, 601	11. 0
1919	1, 318, 803	33. 8	934, 388	11. 8
1920	1, 766, 078	33. 5	1, 488, 324	18. 1
1921	691, 250	27. 5	758, 070	16. 9
1922	792, 329	25. 5	522, 930	13. 6
1923	1, 026, 097	27. 1	658, 878	15. 8
1924	1, 034, 873	28. 7	736, 696	16. 0
1925	1, 066, 447	23. 8	844, 597	17. 2
1926	1, 041, 678	23. 5	834, 224	17. 3
1927	959, 391	22. 9	804, 030	16. 5
1928	948, 125	23. 2	831, 575	16. 2
1929	1, 014, 127	23. 1	911, 749	17. 4
1930	677, 720	22. 1	628, 176	16. 3
1931	478, 165	22. 9	312, 617	12. 9
1932	323, 190	24. 4	194, 486	12. 1
1933	316, 039	21. 8	215, 680	12. 9
1934	370, 935	22. 4	307, 274	14. 4
1935	460, 997	22. 5	344, 360	15. 1
1936	501, 610	20. 7	395, 045	16. 1
1937	672, 611	21. 8	578, 203	17. 3
1938	453, 517	23. 1	494, 821	16. 6

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from "Foreign Commerce and Navigation of the United States."

<sup>2</sup> Figures cover fiscal years ended June 30, 1889 to 1918; calendar years thereafter.

# A Half Century of Economic Progress in America

ALEJANDRO E. SHAW

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TIMEPIECES register no differences, but time itself has a different significance for each and every one within the infinite variety of men who make up humanity. A single hour, passed in a dream, in the ascent of a mountain, or in a march across a plain, is not the same.

The fifty years which have gone by since the Pan American Union was founded have indeed been full ones for America; the way followed by each of the countries, members of the Union, has not been identical. Thus, if one wishes to make a summary which will neither contain serious omissions nor be a generalization which by its very diffuseness loses all value, the factor time presents the first great difficulty; and to this another—space—must be added. Each presents a complex picture. Nonetheless, an effort at recapitulation is indispensable and it is appropriate that it be made on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Pan American Union, at a time when the world is undergoing upheavals which threaten to unloose centripetal forces similar to those which, breaking the stars into fragments, have given rise to the formation of new worlds.

The concept of "America," once upon a time a mere geographical or literary expression and frequently one of ignorance, is today becoming a reality—a thing which some years ago would have seemed an absurdity to the traveler who during his long and tiring journey through the

several countries observed the differences between them. To clarify ideas and to facilitate the discovery of common characteristics, it might be well to substitute the concept of "New World" for that of "America," as being more applicable to whatever similarity exists between the two hemispheres united by that slender bond, the Isthmus of Panama. In fact, however superficially we analyze the meanings implicit in the word "America," we immediately note the differences which it conceals; but "New World," significant of another mental clime, implies conditions of life common to the only two continents which extend from pole to pole and encompass within themselves every variety of soil and nature.

The concept of "New World" embraces simultaneously the countries of Anglo-Saxon origin, of great industrial and economic advancement, and the others of Iberian origin, first and foremost producers of raw materials. It will be seen immediately that within this diversity there exists a common denominator. The fact that such a common denominator exists constitutes the difference between the atmosphere pervading the Americas and that in other continents. This common and characteristic atmosphere consists of what Bergson has called *devenir*; that is to say, orientation toward a future—an atmosphere quite different from that prevailing in other parts of the globe which, having roots more deeply embedded in the past, cannot enjoy the

same liberty of determining their future course.

The dates 1890-1940 indicate a measure of time, which in reference to nations, comprehends life itself in constant evolution and progress. In this respect these years cannot be static, like the ends of a yardstick applied to inert material, but must rather be taken only as convenient points of reference along the route of history.

*General Reflections on the Period 1890-1940*

There do not exist in all history two absolutely equal periods. The discovery of America, coincident with the Reformation; the French Revolution, coincident with the invention of the steam engine; the war of 1914, coincident with the application on a large scale of all the new forms of creation and transformation of energy—all these constitute during the last centuries what the French term *des tournants de l'histoire*. So too are the years which we consider here, both for what they have comprised and for what they have initiated. They may be divided into three distinct stages: 1890 to the war of 1914; the post-war period with all its problems; and from the depression of 1929 to the present time. The duration of these periods was unequal, but not so their consequences.

*The New World in 1890*

The sixteenth century marked the transition from a static world to a dynamic one. It was characterized by the industrial development of Europe and by an amazing increase in population which, coming as it did along with an increase in wealth and standards of living, was a direct contradiction of the Malthusian theory. The changes in ways of living introduced in those hundred years were greater than in all the years before. It has been correctly said that a person who might have revisited the

earth in different periods before the sixteenth century would not have been greatly surprised. His eyes would have beheld certain visible changes resulting from the natural growth of cities and new construction, but the intimate and fundamental conditions of life and the rules which governed it remained essentially the same. But in the sixteenth century distances were shortened and for manual labor there were substituted forms of energy which were to lead to transformations changing the heritage of centuries.

The period signifies the beginning of that order which still has not completed its growth but which, as it develops, is displacing institutions, nations, and what is more, ideas.

This anniversary of the Pan American Union coincides with the painful and difficult time when the newly arrived order, tired of seeking its place, is attempting to make room for itself by force. In 1890, on the other hand, humanity was enjoying all the benefits which the early flush of the machine age offered with a boundless generosity which, so it appeared, would never meet any obstacles in its path. While the population of Europe increased, the United States received great surpluses of people and still other currents of immigration flowed toward South America. The New World offered virgin territory for a production absorbed with insatiable appetite by the Old. The great problem was to produce; preoccupation with selling did not exist, for as production and exchange increased, so also did the number of consumers.

Proximity to Europe, more stable political conditions (resulting naturally from a greater experience in government), and a more diversified natural wealth brought about in the United States at the end of the last century a degree of industrial and economic progress much more advanced





Courtesy of J. A. de Marval

#### THE HARBOR OF BUENOS AIRES

World-wide trade has brought wealth to the Argentine capital, the third largest city in the Americas, whose population of 2,500,000 is six times greater than it was fifty years ago.

than that of the other American nations. This situation remains unchanged and as a result of it, a comprehensive view of the two hemispheres shows that now as then the first great division lies between that country—to which Canada may be added—and all the others.

Whilst in 1890 industrial development in the United States had already reached such a point that before many more years had passed, industry asked and imposed protective measures, the Latin American republics produced only raw materials and depended for exportation in nearly all cases principally upon only two products. This also applied to the few countries, such as Bolivia and Chile, which exported mineral products at that time, as well as to the essentially agricultural nations.

The industrial situation in 1890 in these two groups, composed of one nation on the one hand and all the other nations on the other hand, was quite different from that of the present time. Manufacturing industries, strictly speaking, did not then exist in the South American countries, while in the United States there were already present all those elements which needed only the action of time to make the country what it is today.

It is interesting to recall that the spectacle of the United States at that time caused the delegates to the first Pan American Conference in Washington to look into the future with astonishing prescience, divining the path which the rest of America would have to follow. The debate between a United States delegate, Henderson, and Sáenz Peña of Argentina, the former speak-

ing as representative of what then existed and the latter of what promised to happen, has earmarks of the present day. There was a clash not only of temperaments but of tendencies. The United States tariff and its consequences were already casting their shadows before them. The situation which was touched upon in a still slightly academic form in 1890 is being repeated today in the course of events between the same countries and in a more or less acute manner between all of them. The question of whether or not the New World will in reality be a New World will depend upon the solution given to that problem.

At the beginning of this period the United States both produced raw materials and manufactured them; it was the only exporting industrial country. It

was preparing its economic independence. Canada, because of its great mineral wealth, its proximity to the United States market, and the abundance of capital in search of that type of investments, naturally soon followed the lead of the United States.

The independence achieved at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the Latin American countries was solely political and the modifications introduced by the wars of independence had not changed the bases of their economic and social life. It is true that the former rigid monopolistic system had disappeared, but development toward the manufacture of raw materials of necessity required a much longer time and the assistance of unusual events.

The distances which separated most of the Latin American republics from each



Courtesy of United States Bureau of Mines.

#### MINING COAL IN THE UNITED STATES WITH AN ELECTRIC DRILL

The industrial development of the United States was tremendously aided by its enormous fuel resources.

other, as well as the different regions within each country, were still very similar to those of colonial times, except where there were maritime communications. When the United States entered the international market with manufactured articles, the remainder of America was devoting itself to increasing its production of raw materials and its communication facilities. The year 1890 marked the initiation of the great construction period for railways and ports, which brought about the era of pre-war prosperity in America. The prime necessities of life, with the exception of foodstuffs, were imported. For example, during the period 1872 to 1890, Argentina, which has since attained its economic and social progress through the importance of its exports, imported more than it exported.

#### 1890-1914

The years 1890 to 1914 marked the development along parallel lines of the two groups which existed at the beginning of that period. The United States continued exporting raw materials on a large scale and pursued its industrialization, entering world markets as a competitor; the second group increased its production of the more easily obtainable raw materials, which constituted its source of wealth. In other words, the industrialization of the United States was accomplished through its own production, while the rest of America facilitated the industrialization of Europe with its exports of raw materials. Europe and Latin America were complementary and reciprocal markets, forming a system of circulation whose essence was mechanical, almost automatic, similar to the action of the contents of two connecting vessels in adjusting their differences of level. These different courses in the progress of the two great groups had many and varied consequences.

Industrialization in the United States resulted in a geometric increase of capital, thus bringing about complete economic independence, not only in the establishment of industries but in their ownership as well. In the remainder of the two hemispheres foreign capital was still a necessity and the main source of wealth continued to be the land. This state of affairs forced the maintenance of close ties between the producers of raw materials and their principal purchaser. As their income grew with their exports, imports increased too, and thus Europe was able to supply the needs of its purveyors with products which dropped in price as the quantity increased.

The new countries had no domestic capital or markets, which was the reason for the existence of such absurdities as the export of wool which had to be repurchased as yarn, or what is even more extraordinary, the exportation of cheese which was then bought again after its processing had been completed. Industry requires capital in large amounts and at low interest rates, as well as technical experience. It was natural that European capital should not be interested in establishing industries while it enjoyed such a favorable position in the matter of loans to Latin American governments, and in the construction of ports, railroads, and public utilities. Instinctively it reserved a part of its savings for its own industrial enterprises.

Commodities followed the same trend as capital, and the London market, hub of this admirable activity, became the financial center of the world and was regulated with oppression for no one, inasmuch as its prosperity depended in the end upon buyers and sellers scattered throughout the world. This synchronization between the movement of capital and commodities should be remembered today more than



A RAILROAD IN THE ANDES

The past fifty years have seen the completion, against tremendous natural odds, of many American railroads, including transcontinental lines in Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Mexico; the Transcontinental Railroad uniting Argentina and Chile; and the lines from Buenos Aires to the Pacific ports of Mollendo, Arica and Antofagasta, by way of the Bolivian plateau, where trains run at the height of the Matterhorn.

ever, because whatever difficulties one encounters will irremediably affect the other. The equilibrium was inevitably delicate and, since all equilibrium depends upon the unalterability of its component parts, it could not last forever.

The profits obtained from the important volume of exports led to the creation of native capital in the producing countries. The vivid example of the benefits of the manufacture of raw materials in foreign countries awakened the interest of enterprising men. The only thing lacking was

the event which would provoke an unbalanced condition in the complex international structure, thereby creating the opportunity for the newer countries to follow the same route of progress as the others.

In distinguishing the difference between the initiation of industrial progress in Anglo-Saxon America and Latin America, one must look for its origin. In addition to the reasons already noted—the absence of capital, of technical experience, and of assured domestic markets—there was an-

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other reason, antecedent and fundamental. The United States possessed coal and power. Latin America had to await electricity, which has been the international leveling instrument in the economic order, since it has brought power within the reach of zones which for lack of fuel could not otherwise have industries. All transformation is the result of divers factors and only when all of them are brought together is the change produced.

In brief, when the First Pan American Conference met, industry as we think of it today could be said to exist in only one of the nations. That nation was a producer of raw materials and an exporter of finished products as well. This explains the extraordinary increase of its wealth, since it could avail itself simultaneously of the advantages which accrued to Latin America through the exportation of raw materials and those which Europe obtained through its manufacture of those raw materials. There was no synchronism, then, in the process of development of the two groups. Something was lacking.

#### *The War of 1914*

The World War marks one of those transcendental periods in which latent or scattered elements strengthen and fuse together. For the United States it meant the opening of markets which the belligerent nations temporarily had to abandon. The new markets, together with the manufacture of armaments, occasioned an increase in industry which produced in a short time a profitable situation which could otherwise have been obtained only after great efforts. The rest of the Americas had to improvise industries to supply the necessities of the moment. The absence of European competition, while American competition still left some doors open, permitted the establishment of industries on a modest scale which, had it

not been for the war, would not have been able to take root. The European war expedited the burgeoning of dormant forces and the utilization of potential elements.

Insofar as the war of 1914 was motivated by the desire of maintaining or acquiring markets, Europe must undoubtedly think now of the great error which hastened its displacement in world markets. The already important United States industries grew even greater, and were soon confronted by the problem of finding outlets for their increased production, while the necessary opportunity was offered to the rest of the Americas also. Every producer wants to obtain the maximum profit from his product, processing it himself as far as possible. This is a law of life, the same that moves a son to establish his own business and that makes the farmers of the fertile plains of Argentina and other countries invest their first savings in threshing machines, which personify for them their immediate and most visible tribute to the industrialist.

Industry causes profound changes in the social organization of nations; it engenders equalities and inequalities on new planes; it creates related currents of sentiment and discontent; it speeds the accumulation of capital. Agriculture and cattle raising depend upon the time factor, moving in slow cycles, and profit therefrom can result only from a coincidence of favorable climatic and marketing conditions. They stand always in need of laborious personal effort and an increase in wealth in these fields can be based only upon hard work and frugality. Industry operates on a different basis. There are no elements of fatigue or of seasons; greater machine production brings lower prices which frequently signify greater profits—quite the reverse from the trend in agriculture. It may be granted, then, that

there is no relationship between the yield of capital invested in land and in industry.

Industry in favorable years tends toward the formation of capital through the all-round activity created. With the savings which it promotes, it creates the resources necessary for the initiation of new enterprises. Through the course of the years it builds up the economic liberation which is represented by the integral manufacture of a product; then, gradually, it permits a financial liberation to follow, providing the means of repatriating loans or acquiring ownership.

All the consequences of the industrialization of Latin America, which began with the World War, have not yet been felt, just as they had not yet been experienced in the United States of 1890. The movement begun or accelerated, as the case may be, by the War, opened an entirely new chapter in the Americas. In the United States economic independence has long since been achieved, to such a point that today it is a creditor nation with large amounts of capital invested outside its frontiers; in the rest of the Americas there is a movement indicative of the beginning of an analogous process. Greater quantities of raw materials are constantly being manufactured in Latin America; domestic consumption is being supplied to an increasing extent, and the pre-war state of affairs is fading more and more into the past—a past which seems to us today, at this distance, to have been one of the happy epochs of mankind.

When the war ended in 1918, there followed the reconstruction period and the belief prevailed that the world was entering upon an era of everlasting peace. The physical necessity of rebuilding what had been destroyed, accompanied by an optimistic spirit, gave to the world a sensation of prosperity that lasted for ten years. Capital, which had been easily created by

industry, sought investment in more industry. Loans obtained by governments were used for public works which, by providing employment and putting money into circulation, increased the domestic markets in each country. Capital applied to industry or to public utilities produced identical phenomena. During the first years of the post-war period this pendulum-like movement continued to give an impulse to this newly started tendency.

#### *United States Tariffs and Economic Nationalism*

The post-war period was one of expansion. Along with and parallel to the processes of industrialization, ways of communication were opened or perfected. More rapid and luxurious boats began to plow the seas; the automobile converted the long road of yesterday into a short one; the airplane cut distances even more; and as far as the human voice was concerned, the radio eliminated all distance. The world seemed to become smaller, while the sphere of individual action widened. The world, of course, remained the same in respect to its surface area, but man, thanks to his technical genius, enlarged his field of activity to such extremes that there soon appeared to be little room left for further expansion. It was then that Valéry could exclaim, "*Le monde fini, commence,*" summing up, with regard to the moment, the thought and incomprehension which were to bring the world to the situation of today.<sup>1</sup>

The growth of industrialism in the United States brought a new problem to manufacturers. Possessed of a market of more than a hundred million people and the largest territorial unit free of frontiers in the world—except for Russia—they be-

<sup>1</sup> See A. E. Shaw, "*Consecuencia morales y sociales de los cambios económicos,*" Domingo Viau y Compañía, Buenos Aires, 1939.



Courtesy of the Monterrey Chamber of Commerce

#### ON THE PAN AMERICAN HIGHWAY IN MEXICO

In the last 15 years there has been a tremendous expansion in highway construction throughout the Americas, which the three Pan American Highway Conferences held since 1925 have helped to encourage. The dream of a Pan American Highway from Washington to Santiago and Buenos Aires is rapidly becoming a reality, and all countries are thus speeding the improvement of their internal economy.

lieved they would find a solution in the application of tariffs that would eliminate foreign competition and reserve the internal market for the country itself. This, in our judgment, is one of the events of the last years of such surpassing importance that without taking it into account, present and future history cannot be understood.

The United States trade barriers eliminated internal worry for a short time; but at the cost of transferring it to the rest of the world, whence the repercussions swung back to the United States, thereby definitely aggravating the situation. By reserving the domestic market for itself and closing it to other countries, it transformed into a surplus a great part of the industrial production of old Europe, which had depended upon the United States market as

one of its important outlets. Unemployment naturally followed, with all its attendant economic, political, and social problems.

If the barriers had not appeared simultaneously with the establishment of industries in other parts of the world, particularly in Japan and China, it is possible that the raw material producing countries, which did no manufacturing of their own, might have absorbed Europe's industrial production, thus mitigating to some extent the consequences of the closing of the United States markets. But the economic destiny of the nations decreed that the forces and currents released by the war and magnified so drastically by the customs barriers of the great North American republic should all act together. The free

circulation of merchandise throughout the world was upset. The fact that it was checked in only one of the great industrial countries was sufficient to interrupt the common circulatory system.

Thus there began the era of local markets as opposed to a world market. The first barriers were followed by others; circumstances forced all countries to follow the same pattern. The South American republics were not slow in following suit, having before their eyes the example of the United States and the earlier one of Germany, and instructed, as they were, in the economic school of List, which offered arguments that justified the measures they were to take.

The world fell to pieces at the very time it was enlarging. The tariffs, destined at first to facilitate local production, were not long in moderating, then diminishing more and more, the international movement of merchandise and goods. The ever increasing difficulties in the whole field of economic activity seemed to confirm the opinions of those who attributed the troubled state of affairs to saturation and who thought that the world was entering upon a period when men would have to stand with idle hands because of lack of employment.

The world was shattered economically when all the discoveries of science were tending toward an elimination of frontiers. Mountains, rivers, and seas were no longer the obstacles they had been before the airplane, the telegraph, radio, and electric power lines. Men, who by their own genius had cleared away the barriers of nature, put other new and deliberate ones in their place. That which nature itself had permitted by yielding, that which should be the destiny of the world as a result of what we call progress, that which should be accepted as a natural law, was thwarted by human instrumentalities.

This constitutes the drama of the present moment—a force, which must and will live, violently endeavoring to cast aside those factors which oppose it. Necessity makes imperative the opening of new breaches which, through the conquest of territories, will permit the reconquest of markets.

The tariffs of the United States were followed by similar measures of defense—measures which were the same though called by different names—in Europe, Asia, and Latin America.

#### *From the Depression to the Present Time*

The depression of 1929, which began with the crash of the New York stock market, had serious consequences throughout the American continent. In some cases the depression was brought about by credit abuses and speculation; in others, the explanation may be sought in the excessive industrialization of countries which formerly had been customers of the old industrial areas, and in the economic barriers which were created and raised after the Treaty of Versailles. There has been much discussion as to whether the depression was a cyclical phenomenon, recurrent and transitory, or whether it was the manifestation of dislocations resulting from fundamental changes. The ten years that have elapsed since the beginning of the depression have proven that a purely monetary explanation is not sufficient. The other explanation finds its justification in the fact that the phenomenon which is blamed continues in action. The question may be asked if industrialization was artificial and avoidable. If it was, the remedy is plain; if it was not, then it is useless to complain, and to oppose it will only aggravate the situation.

The evolution which took place in America is identical with that of the rest of the world. It implies fundamental modifica-



tions in economic organization and in methods of interchange. To attribute the depression to that evolution is to point out a fact, since those modifications by their very magnitude had to destroy the equilibrium, thereby provoking the disturbances whose results afflict us today. But there are disorders which belong to the very processes of life itself.

Industrialization of new countries creates a double dislocation. First, the imported article is replaced by the locally made one and immediately the foreign manufacturer is affected and thereby the whole economy of the country in which he lives. Second, the exporters of raw materials are confronted with a reduced clientele and their country likewise suffers. The interests damaged by this new state of affairs maintain the idea that the raw material producing countries should never have abandoned their position as producers which, by facilitating international exchange, gave prosperity to all.

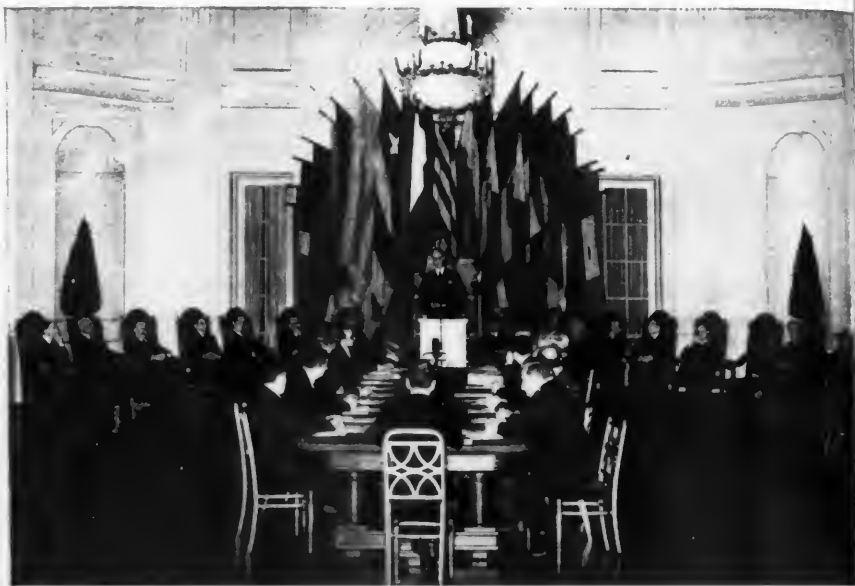
It is true that international trade was easier, more convenient, and more profitable when there was a greater degree of free exchange, but we must not forget that free exchange did not prevail in absolute form. There have always been restrictions. It is true that within the memory of the mature man there have been periods of peace and prosperity. The fact is that those conditions, whose regrettable disappearance gave rise to consequences of one kind or another that we all lament, were due more to an era of economic expansion than to an absence of obstacles. They were the result of the period in which the world came together, in which all the regions joined hands, as it were, establishing an exchange which previously had been impossible. It was natural that the countries which had iron and coal should be first to benefit from the invention of the steam engine. It was logical that the country to profit most from

that invention should be not only the one possessing that mineral wealth beneath its soil, which it soon would be able to export on a large scale, but also one rich in reserve capital. By a unique coincidence, that country was an island with means of transportation already available. It was natural, then, that the industrial revolution should have begun in England, spread to neighboring countries and finally crossed the seas. It moved in the form of circles, opening on and on into wider territory until, limited only by the circumference of the earth, they met. Ours is the era of impact, the era in which the circles overlapped. One cycle ends and another begins.

If the invention of the steam engine had been an isolated occurrence and if it had remained—as has happened time and again in history to so many inventions—in its primitive form for a long period, the privileged situation which it bestowed upon England and other countries of old Europe might have been prolonged. But improvements made the machine independent of its place of manufacture and permitted its transportation to far-away places which, upon its arrival, were transformed.

If the sphere of action is favorable, all movement, once begun, acquires not only force within itself but increased velocity as well. Phenomena such as the industrialization of new countries are too great to be obstructed. Their very existence is proof that they obey superior laws not subject to the will of man; the law of growth is one of them.

It is a positive fact that this development altered the former equilibrium and that the countries which had to defend old markets or, in other cases, new markets in the process of formation, resorted to methods of defense, some in the hope of stopping a movement, others in the hope of speeding it along. A régime of customs protection, the only effect of which was to accent



INAUGURAL SESSION OF THE INTER-AMERICAN FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC  
ADVISORY COMMITTEE

On November 15, 1939, representatives of the 21 American Republics convened at the Pan American Union in accordance with a resolution of the First Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, to advise together on the best means for coping with the economic dislocations brought about by the European war. The Committee's most important project is for the establishment of an Inter-American Bank.

disequilibrium, was imposed in all countries. As exports decreased, means of payment were reduced. What would have happened to the various peoples had they suddenly been forced to do without many imports? Without the intervention of local industry, the standards of living would have dropped even more than they did, and misery would have been greater. Everything, then, during recent years has tended toward the establishment of national industries in the various countries. The industrialization of the world appears, then, to have been imposed by circumstances—the result of a moment of economic determinism. It might well be said that local industry engenders more local industry. The phenomenon of self-multi-

plication is common to all forms of vital activity. But local industry displaces imported goods in the same proportion that it meets local requirements. If it is desired to find formulas that will solve the problem caused by this displacement, it is necessary to regard the problem from a realistic viewpoint.

The depression, insofar as it resulted from an evolution which itself was a consequence of progress, accelerated that evolution, for the difficulties of international interchange obliged all countries more eagerly to pursue their desire to become self-sufficient. It meant for the producing nations a decrease in their wealth because of the lessened consumption of formerly active industrial regions

As their purchasing power in the international market diminished, it was concentrated in the internal markets and the decrease of exports which always is associated with poverty and penury resulted this time in the development of local markets at the expense of the international market. Thus the depression of 1929 expedited an already existing tendency, intensifying both it and its consequences.

Military preparations have been able to conceal the magnitude of the transformation which we are witnessing, postponing the radical methods of adaptation which will be required when labor, now occupied in producing armaments, must again become absorbed in normal occupations which, of course, are those of peace. Armaments have acted as a substitute for orders which had ceased to arrive. Therefore the problems of the economic peace that the military peace will impose will be infinitely greater than those of the latter. The larger task still remains to be accomplished.

The armament race before the outbreak of the present war created an artificial and deceptive prosperity, but if we aspire to realize some degree of stability in our lives, we must contrive the means to mould the economic world, that is, a world made up of the sum of local economies, to the situation created by the increasing industrialization of the whole globe.

There must also be effected the greater mental revolution. There must come a recognition of the fact that the changes introduced by the machine age are permanent; and instead of sighing for the past or opposing the inevitable, we must think in new terms, of a world that is new, in spite of every desire to maintain a structure and concepts which no longer reflect present conditions. All the measures of defense taken to this end have been with

the conscious or subconscious desire of isolating each economy from the consequences of a universal process. The remedy can be based only upon a correlation of the component parts with the whole.

### *America's Present Responsibility*<sup>2</sup>

On very rare occasions Destiny withdraws her inexorable hand from the helm and abandons her command. There follows the tremendous moment in which man can be master. It is the hour of responsibility. If that responsibility is not assumed, the course of events reverts to the inevitable. Through lack of ideals or of reflection, this leads, not toward peace—which is progress—but invariably toward chaos and force. Such an opportunity presents itself only in moments of profound disturbance, when all fetters are cast off, and Destiny herself, frightened or impotent, yields the control. We are living now in one of those hours.

The future of America, and possibly of the white race, will depend upon whether or not the lesson offered by Europe is taken to heart. The occasion calls for something more than the acquisition of wealth; it calls for a correction of defects which will spare future generations, if not the present one, a repetition of such events.

At one time Europe, like America today, had room within its own frontiers and shared the same atmosphere of hope—in some countries hope of conserving what they already had acquired, and in others hope of becoming masters of their own lives. Europe knew that freedom from anxiety which belongs to those who have life ahead of them, and it allowed itself to be dominated by the egoism of those who, certain of their future, gave not a thought to the morrow. But the industrial revolu-

<sup>2</sup> This section was published as an article in *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, October 19, 1939.

tion, by bringing the world closer together, created problems in the countries which first had benefited from the steam engine and other scientific inventions. With the advent of industrial progress in other countries, the same difficulties arose within their borders. The issues which are convulsing Europe today exist in embryo in all the countries which come within the orbit of industrial civilization. The problems are spiritual as well as material, for the reason that all economic discontent breeds theories which offer hopes, and the deeper the adversity, the more extreme will be the theory. Those ideologies, which are so feared, can be neutralized only insofar as the sharpness of the ill that causes them is removed.

At the recent Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics in Panama, the first measures in the present emergency were adopted; thought was first given, naturally, to the near future. The most urgent dispositions were decided upon after consulting the opinions of all the nations concerned. A safety zone was created, greater than any ever hitherto known. More could not be done, but much still remains to be accomplished.

More dangerous than piracy, more pernicious than propaganda, more to be feared than unbelievable invasions, is the spread of such states of mind as hate or despair; and these not only can come from Europe but can be bred upon our own soil. If in the face of disillusion, doubt, and cynicism, an atmosphere of confidence in the future is not created, all evils will be possible here.

Whether the present war be long or short, the conditions that provoked it will be emphasized in the economic order. Industrialization in all countries will receive a new impulse and complementary markets will shrink accordingly. Autarchy will be stimulated anew; that is to say, inter-

national dislocation will be aggravated. In neutral countries production and commerce will demand greater protective measures. Boards of all kinds will increase and economic life will lose the elasticity and fluidity that are indispensable for its expansion. All this requires strong governments and the more drastic the intervention of the government in the economic system, the stronger the governments must be. The necessities of the war have already imposed upon the two democracies measures which are largely irrevocable. Without such measures the two countries would find themselves carrying on the struggle under great handicaps. The other nations will have to follow a similar course, adapted in each case to their own conditions. We find ourselves, therefore, caught in a current of circumstances which, if it is not remedied, will carry the world on toward an even graver situation.

This is America's opportunity. The alternatives are to fight or to share. Ours is the choice. America can still decide between creating closed economies, which, when it is inevitably discovered that these are not self-sufficient, will lead sooner or later to war, or, taking a longer view and listening to inspired thought—the only form of preparing for the future—refuse to permit itself to be led astray by present interests—a sure way to bring down catastrophe tomorrow.

All the nations of America are rich, but in different degrees, just as the degree of economic progress differs from country to country. The responsibility of each one is according to the measure of its own resources.

If within each country collective interests are placed above partial and particular interests and if protectionism of political frontiers is replaced by natural economic frontiers, true units can be created. Thus there would be avoided the cruel and unneces-



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#### A PACKING HOUSE IN ARGENTINA

The excellent Argentine meat finds its largest market in England.

sary conflicts that otherwise would be produced if an effort should be made to create by means of political hegemony complementary units as a market of origin of raw materials and of consumption for manufactured products, which are indispensable in modern civilization.

A purely economic policy leads to conflict, but a policy of economic idealism can bring together the spiritual and the material; it can join men with men, nations with nations. It is, in short, the only policy under which profit does not accrue at the expense of one's neighbor. If the Americas abandon their economic selfishness, they will not need in some future day to resort to arms to rectify boundaries that destroy interchange, the true guaranty of peace. The modern and humane version of *si vis pacem, para bellum* ought to be: "If you wish peace, prepare for commerce."

An economic program cannot be absolute. The essential thing is to correct one

tendency by initiating another. It cannot be expected that all countries should adopt the same policy simultaneously; it will be enough if some of them join together at the beginning. On such a day a true safety zone will have been achieved by the creation of an atmosphere of economic hope, as opposed to the despair of the older countries. Thus, when the wealth of one country is no longer coveted by its neighbor, confidence in the possibilities of a peaceful future will prevail among nations and mutual conditions will be created which will let all of them live. This is the hour of choice between two roads: one which has made Europe what it is today and the other which will make of America the "New World."

#### *The Future*

To try to oppose one's self to the progression of life is worse than vain; it is like damming up water without giving it an outlet. It is necessary to abandon once

and for all the idea that the nations which were first industrialized were destined by a providence of their own that favored them to exploit a greater nucleus of nations which produce raw materials. On the contrary, general industrialization must not only be accepted but furthered; instead of abandoning it to the merey of the profit motive, it must be advanced in accordance with both economic necessities and social concepts. Such a course will be possible under the new ideas of the functions of government, which, by endowing government with greater powers, provide it with means of action which formerly did not exist and responsibilities which transcend frontiers.

The responsible officials of each coun-

try, in lieu of working as heads of opposing bands, must learn to work together as chiefs of different units of a single army—humanity. Instead of local and exclusive economic interests, which look upon those outside their frontiers who pursue identical interests as enemies, there must come recognition of the fact that people of different nationalities have identical rights, inasmuch as all of them, in the midst of like difficulties, are seeking the same end—economic security. This environment of mutual respect demands a greater common culture, and this culture cannot be attained without industrialization, which with its wealth creates means for education and for raising the individual and collective standard of living.



Courtesy of Pan American Airways

#### AIRPLANE FREIGHT

The economic development of regions, especially mining districts, that are inaccessible by railroad highway, has been greatly facilitated by the airplane.

A greater equality among men is fittingly accompanied by a greater equality among nations, but the latter cannot exist while some enjoy the advantages of an advanced economy and others must develop under inferior conditions. This concept will be imposed upon the governments by public opinion, but in order that public opinion may fully comprehend and express such a concept, there is need for a cultural level which still does not exist in every country. There is the difficulty, for example, of speaking the same mental language, an indispensable element for intercourse and mutual understanding between nations.

Industry, it is said, creates social problems—as if they did not exist on the land!—for when men are thus brought together, teaching and the exchange of ideas are facilitated, and the group can make demands beyond the scope of the individual. Labor unions will in time be factors in international union because their aspirations are similar. Eventually that voice which in the clash of vocal organized interests is still scarcely perceptible will make itself heard—the voice of the consumer. Customs barriers will continue to grow until consumers rise up against what appears to be exploitation on the part of privileged groups. There will again be witnessed, under a different guise, the agitation which obliged England after the Napoleonic wars to repeal the famous Corn Laws which at that time had meant high food prices for the new class of industrial workers. This repeal did not impoverish the country, as the affected groups had argued it would. It brought about a lower cost of living, increased sales, and social peace. In a similar manner the changes which now must come will allow a new specialization in the work of nations and will create among them a greater mutual interchange and social and economic peace.

The new international trade must be established on a higher level, not on an inclined plane. Today's advanced civilization must repeat the feats of primitive man. The first interchange took place between men who lived within the same valley; then between the people of the valley and those of the lower slopes. It continued to ascend the mountain on all sides until men on adjoining heights talked and traded with each other.

Were it not for the fact that incomprehension impedes that force which the world has within itself and the aspirations which every man cherishes, present day problems would find a solution. Industrialization is a phenomenon of growth and the evils which it generates come above all from the varying rhythm of its different activities. However painful those activities may be, they are of form and not of essence.

To deny the benefit which international commerce gives to the world would be as grave as to deny the benefit of industrialization. Countries continue to need each other; new needs arise, supplanting those met within a country's own borders. A general improvement of the standard of living will increase the number of consumers and permit a new period of expansion; to raise the problem is to point out its solution. There can never be evil in an inevitable law of growth; there can be no wrong in the fact that humanity from its very origin has followed the processes of evolution and progress. In a world ill fed, ill clad, and ill housed, the problem cannot lie in over-production.

The process will be long or short, depending on how the ruling powers interpret the era. If, instead of clinging to concepts that have lost all value, they will listen also to sentiment, they will soon see that they must think of man himself and not merely of ideological abstractions. A mere discussion of ideas will never cure an illness.

The individual must be given as much thought as the government, and men as much as countries. If the inner voices are hearkened to, the process will be rapid; this generation will attain a new order, and can close its eyes in peace. If not, unrest will persist and in order to restrain force, force will continue to rule.

Old phrases and cloaks continue to hide reality. World conditions are new, and thought, not words, will bring a solution. With a narrow criterion, we shall have only each one's limited market; with broader discernment and a free will, we shall have the interchange we desire. And each community will know how to control the economic factions, modern Guelphs and Ghibellines, Montagues and Capulets, who foment and maintain internal and external struggles worse than religious wars.

It would seem that the Pan Americanism that must rise out of the experience of its first fifty years of life must, if it is to be more effective, be more modest. It will be necessary to begin by seeking within the two continents markets which are complementary or States in a similar stage of evolution so that doors can be opened without impositions and without fears. Before attaining Pan Americanism, many small regional Americanisms will have to be achieved which will constitute indispensable markets for large scale modern production. Present economic zones will have to be succeeded by new ones. Before eradicating barriers, the zones which they envelop today will have to be widened—which will be another form of reducing them. The process requires a humane inspiration—the only inspiration that sees affinities where interest sees only competitors. Whenever markets are free, it will not be necessary to *conquer* them, and progress will continue its forward march, distributing its gifts among an ever increas-

ing number of beneficiaries. Local industry will then be a blessing, because it will permit the fulfillment of a demand which today is unsuspected. Those who today fearing for their profits, exact and impose restrictive measures, will be as astonished to see the results as were the English who at the beginning of the nineteenth century had opposed the lowering of certain import duties. As the machine-age, or in other words, industrialization, creates a greater number of indispensable articles, a greater distribution and circulation will necessarily follow.

That day all regions of the earth will bear fruit equally for all. Attachment to one's native land will not preclude the exchange of one's own goods for another's. Work will be done for the common welfare and will not be based upon the impoverishment of one's neighbor.

To achieve Americanism, a philosophy is needed; that is to say, faith and common hopes. At times when political and economic formulas die, a new formula must be produced whose kingdom will be of this world without disputing that of the next. Economic peace will bring spiritual peace. Magnificent ambition!

All that is required is for America to be itself. It is necessary only to listen more to its own heartbeat and less to outside sounds. It will know then that it wants peace, and recognizing that, it will work for peace without deviation. Others' examples, dark stars in a clear sky, point the way. Whatever leads to conflict and grief is not an ideal. Concern for the modest happiness of each man should guide America; its alliances will be economic, because its thought will be fixed on long periods of peace and not on the disorders of war. America will be itself if it thinks in terms of peace; it will be a "New World" whenever it is composed of men living together in harmony and not



governments in competition with each other. After a hundred years, with an echo more powerful than voice itself, it will answer the call of Canning, inviting it to redress the balance of the Old World.

The Pan American Union is the instrument for studying common problems and facilitating the path of all. In concluding this sketch of a half century of economic progress in the Americas, it is appropriate to repeat with deep emotion the quotation given by a delegate of the United States, John B. Henderson, at the First Pan American Conference:

The old Scythians

Painted blind Fortune's powerful hands with wings  
To show her gifts come swift and suddenly,  
Which if her favorite be not swift to take  
He loses them forever.

Within the changes which we have witnessed—and which humanity will always witness—the cadences that emanate from the depths of the heart have an unchanging value. Thus the verse, embodying a concept formed when the several languages which are spoken today in the New World were still unknown, not only brings together two dates, but unites them with the Eternal.



Courtesy of "Commerce and Industry," Philadelphia

# Inter-American Communications

THOMAS BURKE

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ALTHOUGH the earliest recorded history of man reveals his use of visual or aural signals as a means of conveying and receiving information, the comprehensive development of the science of communications did not begin until the turn of the 19th century. The technique of communications, which originated as a savage art chiefly inspired by primitive military requirements, remained relatively unchanged through ages,—ages that witnessed the extraordinary fecundity of art, literature, and music and the relative sterility of science. The fire beacons of early Greece, the tom-toms of tropical Africa, and the smoke columns of the North American Indian were, it is true, materially improved upon. The heliograph, the heliostat, and the semaphore were developed, as were numerous other signalling devices of varying merit.

But it was not until after the industrial revolution, with its profound effects on every branch of human activity, that electricity was successfully employed in the furtherance of communications. From that point onward, the development of that vital science is an incredible mélange of brains, brawn, and spirit which has been lavish in its benefits but which has imposed upon mankind new and inescapable responsibilities. This is particularly true with regard to the peoples who comprise the twenty-one American Republics. The advent of the cable and the telephone undeniably marked a bettering of international relations, but it remained for the twin miracles of radio and aviation to fuse the bonds of understanding and mu-

tual respect upon which the present principles of inter-Americanism have been conditioned. Therefore, in this review, the term communications will be construed in its broader sense to include cables, telephone, radio (telecommunications), aviation, and shipping.

The history of communications is an extremely interesting record of patient experimentation that has placed upon the shoulders of civilization new and untraditional responsibilities. The present world-wide migrations of giant-winged clipper planes are remote indeed from the crude experiments in the field of aerodynamics which were carried on at the beginning of the 20th century. Radio practically instantaneous and universal dissemination of information marks an almost fantastic advancement from the embryonic Hertzian waves of half a century ago and the speedy and luxurious facilities of modern maritime travel are in happy contrast with the slow and inadequate sea transport services of any period in history. With these thoughts in mind we will undertake briefly to consider the progress which has been achieved in the field of communications within the Western Hemisphere.

## *Aviation*

President Roosevelt, recently writing President Ortiz of Argentina in connection with the progress of aviation, said:

Few of the boldest visionaries of 1929 could have foretold the amazing developments that the immediately ensuing years were to witness in aviation. The pioneer craft which carried the



Courtesy of Pan American Airways

### FLYING THE ANDES

One of the most spectacular achievements of the past 13 years is the establishment of a regular air mail and passenger service between all the American Republics as well as routes across the Atlantic and Pacific.

Routes to Buenos Aires a decade ago have been replaced by great multi-motored planes which today, following the same route, cover the distance in five days, or half the original time.

Similar development has marked the air transportation, both national and international, of all the American Republics.

However, before proceeding with a particularized consideration of inter-American aviation it would be well to examine briefly the background purposes the efforts which have been made toward regulation and coordination on a world-wide scale. In this connection, a vast amount of work has been done by international organizations spe-

cializing in the realm of public and private air law. Basic in the field of public air law is the International Convention for the Regulation of Aerial Navigation which was signed at Paris on October 13, 1919. The International Commission for Air Navigation (C. I. N. A.—Commission Internationale de Navigation Aérienne) is a permanent organization created by the Paris Convention. It is constantly engaged in the codification of the technical annexes thereof.

The International Technical Committee of Aerial Legal Experts (C. I. T. E. J. A.—Comité International Technique d'Ex-

perts Juridiques Aériens) which has been functioning since 1926 has prepared preliminary projects of international conventions for final adoption at periodic diplomatic conferences. Among the more important of these instruments is the international convention relating to air transportation which was signed at Warsaw October 12, 1929 and which contains uniform standards for air transport documents, such as passenger tickets and airway bills, as well as provisions relating to liability of air transport operators in international transportation for damages to persons and property.

In 1933 there was opened for signature at The Hague the International Sanitary Convention for Aerial Navigation and at Rome in the same year there was signed a convention relating to damages caused by aircraft in flight to parties on the surface.

With this universal background, we may now proceed with an examination of the important inter-American aviation relationships. Aviation, surmounting the hazards of the natural topography of the American continent, has overcome the delays, in fact the virtual impossibility, of surface communication in many places. Its advancement has opened remote areas in the Americas and has made their wealth and industry available, for their own profit and the common good, to the markets of the world. It has done something more, something less tangible but equally vital; it has enabled men of different nationalities and tongues to meet in peaceful pursuits and to develop to a happy fruition the potentialities of understanding and good will in the Western Hemisphere.

It was in such an atmosphere that a series of inter-American conferences on aviation was inaugurated with results which trace a happy pattern for other

phases of negotiation. The first conference to give major consideration to aviation appears to have been the Fifth International Conference of American States, Santiago, Chile, 1923. The decisions regarding aviation were significant. Through its resolutions, the conference decided to establish, under the title of the Inter-American Commercial Aviation Commission, an inter-American technical commission to study the policy, laws and regulations concerning commercial aviation, to be composed of delegates from each state which had membership in the Pan American Union. A resolution also provided for the consideration of the member States of drafts of laws and regulations concerning commercial aviation, special customs procedure and the determination of adequate landing places. The Governing Board of the Pan American Union was charged with the responsibility of formulating suitable conclusions of the Inter-American Commercial Aviation Commission in the form of conventions which might be submitted by it to the States belonging to the Union. Such formulation to be made with due consideration of the conventions already existing.

A conference of the Inter-American Commercial Aviation Commission was held in Washington in May 1927. Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Panama, Peru, the United States, Uruguay and Venezuela were represented. This meeting recognized the importance of aviation as a factor in inter-American cooperation. It recommended that the Pan American Union collect and disseminate among its members technical data, including information regarding the plac-

<sup>1</sup> Report, delegates of United States to Fifth International Conference of American States, Santiago, 1923.



Courtesy of Herbert C. Lanka

#### THE TONCONTÍN FIELD AT TEGUCIGALPA

From this, the best equipped field in Central America, Transportes Aéreos Centroamericanos (Taca) operates a useful service to mines and other remote centers of Honduran industry, and flies passenger planes as far south as Panama.

of radio, meteorology and medical science in the development of aerial navigation; supervise the circulation of laws and regulations of the American states bearing upon this subject; promote uniform aerial legislation in the Americas; and perform such other duties as might thereafter be assigned to it. A recommendation was also made to the Bureau of the Pan American Postal Union with headquarters at Montevideo with a view to the signing of agreements between the respective postal administrations to provide facilities for and regulate the carrying of mail by aircraft. Simultaneously there was held in Washington the Third Pan American Commercial Conference, which cooperated through joint sessions of the two groups.

However, the first international instrument in inter-American aviation dates from the Sixth International Conference of

American States, Habana, 1928, at which was adopted a Convention on Commercial Aviation. That convention formulated rules for international air navigation by private aircraft of the contracting states. It included provisions relating to marking of aircraft, landing facilities, prohibited transport, competency of airmen and the right of each state to prescribe the route to be flown over its territory. It was designed especially to meet conditions in the Western Hemisphere and to permit the normal development of air transportation by the gradual adoption of such rules and regulations as experience might dictate. The Habana convention has been ratified by Chile, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama and the United States. Three years later, at the Fourth Pan

American Commercial Conference, held in Washington, there was recommended the simplification of procedure with respect to the arrival and departure of aircraft.

By that time it had become apparent to each of the twenty-one American Republics that aviation had become a mature and vitally important factor in the everyday activities of their peoples. In any event it is noteworthy that the general subject of air transportation was given extensive consideration and study at the Seventh International Conference of American States, which was held at Montevideo from December 3 to 26, 1933. At that Conference there was adopted a resolution<sup>2</sup> recommending study by a commission of experts, under the aegis of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, of means for further accelerating inter-American aviation through the establishment of a continuous line of radio stations, beacons, and aerodromes along existing routes and others which might be established. The resolution also urged the determination of additional methods for effecting more rapid inter-American aerial communications.

In 1935, another Pan American Commercial Conference convened in Buenos Aires. By this time aviation planning in many countries, notably the United States, Great Britain and Germany, envisaged the transoceanic flights which were soon to become a vital reality. Early in the sessions of the Conference, attention was directed to the need for a more definite recognition of the aeronautical pronouncements and undertakings of the world conferences which had previously been held. Briefly, mention was specifically made of the work being done by the International Technical Committee of Aerial

Legal Experts,<sup>3</sup> the desirability of ratifying the International Sanitary Convention for Aerial Navigation opened for signature at The Hague, 1933,<sup>3</sup> the need for adopting the Convention of Warsaw of 1929,<sup>3</sup> the advisability of careful study of the Convention signed at Rome in 1933,<sup>3</sup> and the importance of the Convention on Commercial Aviation, Habana, 1928<sup>4</sup> and its ratification.

In September 1937, the Inter-American Technical Aviation Conference convened at Lima, Peru. One of the outstanding accomplishments of the Conference was the adoption of a resolution providing for the creation of a Permanent American Aeronautical Commission (C. A. P. A.—Comisión Aeronáutica Permanente Americana) for the purpose of the gradual and progressive unification and codification of international public and private air law and the coordination and development of mutual interest in technical subjects. Such subjects relate to aircraft, pilots, air ways, and facilities for air navigation, including airports and operation practice and procedure. They also concern the organization and marking of inter-American air routes and the possible coordination of local air services. The resolution further provided that each Government of the American Republics should undertake to create a national commission composed of professors, jurists, and aviation experts which should make recommendations as to the projects to be considered by the proposed inter-American commission. The first sessions of the new organization were to take place within twelve months after at least seven of the national commissions had been organized. The seven commissions have not yet been formed and regardless of its potential values to hemispheric aviation C. A. P. A. has not yet functioned.

<sup>2</sup> Resolution LIII, Final Act, Seventh International Conference of American States, Montevideo, 1933.

<sup>3</sup> Pages 311-12 *supra*. <sup>4</sup> Page 313 *supra*.



Courtesy of the International Telephone and Telegraph Co.

#### LAYING THE TELEPHONE CABLE BETWEEN CHILE AND ARGENTINA

The Eighth International Conference of American States convened in Lima in December 1938. Among other things, it approved resolutions recommending ratification of the Habana Convention of 1928 and sympathetic consideration for the resolutions and recommendations adopted at the Inter-American Technical Aviation Conference.

This cooperation in aviation was manifested still further at the First Pan American Sanitary Aviation Conference which was held in Montevideo, Uruguay, in February 1939. In addition to adopting definitions for sanitary aviation, aeronautical medicine, sanitary aircraft, and auxiliary sanitary aircraft, the Montevideo Conference passed resolutions and recom-

mendations concerning technical cooperation of national sanitary aviation services, installation of sanitary aviation services by those countries lacking them, standardization of identification marks on sanitary aircraft, and centralization and exchange of information concerning sanitary aviation.

In concluding a study of the development of aviation in the American Republics, it is appropriate that some comment should be made with respect to the airmail services which now constitute a great network linking these Republics and penetrating regions which formerly were virtually inaccessible.

The progress which has been made in speeding airmail schedules during the past decade, not only internationally but also within individual countries, is a matter of justifiable pride. Such an accomplishment could only be realized through the cooperation of the countries composing the Pan American Union.

The first air mail contract granted by the United States, linking that country with Cuba, was effected on October 15, 1920. It called for one-way air mail service daily except Sunday and provided for carrying five hundred pounds of mail.

The early development of the air mail services may be said to have occurred during the period 1920 to 1930. Prior to that period, the pace of the world's trade routes and the delivery of mail was geared to the speed of the ocean steamer.

In 1929, air mail service between the United States and the west coast of South America required three days from Miami to Panama, four days to Buenaventura, Colombia, five days to Guayaquil, six days to Lima, eight days to Santiago, and ten days to Argentina, across the Andes on the River Plate. In the short space of ten years, the flying time between the United States and the west coast of South America

has been reduced approximately one half. Today it requires one day by plane from New York to Panama, two days to Guayaquil, two and one-half days to Lima, four days to Santiago, and five days to Buenos Aires. Service was once a week until July 1, 1930, but since that date a twice-a-week service has been maintained.

Thus the progress of aviation in the Americas has been many-sided. It has looked back to the accomplishments of world-wide conferences and organizations, has surveyed its present needs and obligations, and looks forward to the continued safety of air travel and, through centralizing organizations, toward greater cooperation and effectiveness.

#### *Telecommunications*

Cables in 1795; radio in 1882. Such a recital would seem a reflection upon historical accuracy. Nevertheless the roots of telecommunications stem further back than is generally apparent. In 1795 a Spaniard, Salvá by name, suggested the principle of submarine telegraphy;<sup>5</sup> while in 1882 Dolbear was awarded a United States wireless patent.<sup>6</sup> However, it is well known that the practical effects of these agencies did not become apparent until comparatively recent times.

In 1842, Samuel Morse transmitted an electric current and signals through an insulated copper wire laid between Castle Garden and Governor's Island in New York Harbor. In 1873, a cable was laid between Brazil and the British West Indian Islands, connecting there with a cable to Europe. While the pioneer company to South America was the Western Telegraph Company (British),<sup>7</sup> two American companies entered the South American field in 1878. They were the Mexican Telegraph

Company and the Central and South American Telegraph Company. The former connected the United States and Mexico by cable from Texas to Veraacruz while the latter extended its lines from Veraacruz to Central and South American countries.<sup>8</sup>

The international attributes of the telegraph and eventually of cables may be traced through the long line of international telegraph conventions. These dated from the Paris Convention of 1865 through the Convention of Vienna of 1868, the Convention of Rome of 1872 and the fundamental Convention of St. Petersburg of 1875, the periodic revisions of whose international regulations led eventually to the International Telecommunications Convention, Madrid, 1932, which, with the Telegraph Regulations of Cairo of 1938, is still effective.

In 1889 cable services were expensive and rates exorbitant. It was under such conditions that the First International Conference of American States considered the problem of communications. In a message to Congress of July 2, 1890 President Harrison, referring to recommendations of the conference for improved postal facilities and cable communications, said in part:

I can not too strongly urge upon Congress the necessity of giving this subject immediate and favorable consideration, and of making adequate appropriations to carry the recommendations into effect; . . . The delegates of the seventeen neighboring Republics which have so recently been assembled in Washington, at the invitation of this Government, have expressed their wish and purpose to cooperate with the United States in the adoption of measures to improve the means of communication between the several Republics of America.<sup>9</sup>

The report of the committee on communications drew attention to the fact that "trade is no longer done to any extent by correspondence. The buyer and seller

<sup>5</sup> *H. R. 55th Congress, 2d Sess., Doc. 573, Pt. 7, p. 1657.*

<sup>6</sup> "Radio Activities of the Department of Commerce," July 1, 1931, p. 22.

<sup>7</sup> "Telecommunications," *Herring and Gross*, p. 29.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>9</sup> *51st Congress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 174, p. 1.*





STATION OF THE RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA, ROCKY POINT, LONG ISLAND

This station, in operation since 1919, is the largest in the world. It maintains direct radio telegraph and radio telephone communication with many Latin American countries and uses its direct wire service for the transmission of United States broadcasts to Latin American broadcasting stations. Broadcasters in this country make an effort to present to listeners abroad "a graphic cross-section of all phases of our national life, a living pattern of democracy at work."<sup>7</sup>

must meet each other. Acquaintance fosters confidence, and confidence is the foundation of all trade."<sup>10</sup>

The committee recommended that Government aid be given "to the company which shall connect the principal ports of the nations bordering on the Pacific by means of a submarine telegraphic cable, whose termini shall be, for the present, the port of San Francisco, in the United States of America, and that of Valparaiso, in Chile."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Since the First Pan American Conference, the nations of the Western Hemisphere have evinced an increasing interest in the development of inter-American telecommunications. In 1931, the Fourth Pan American Commercial Conference, meeting in Washington, recommended the establishment of direct land lines with adjacent countries, and of submarine cables and radio stations which would put them into direct contact with every other country of the continent.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Final Act, Fourth Pan American Commercial Conference*, p. 14.

The obstacles to cable communication had a serious effect upon the interchange of news and as late as 1914 testimony was given before a Senate committee that there was a dearth of news of the United States in South America.

Since the early days of the cable, however, communication by that agency in the Americas has undergone steady development so that today the United States is joined with practically all countries of Central and South America, the facilities of several companies contributing to such service.

It may be noted that direct cable connections now link Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Haiti, Mexico, Panama, Peru, and the United States.

The progress which has been made in telecommunications in the past fifty years is evidenced by a statement comparing cable rates in 1889 with cable and radio rates in 1939 between points in the United States and the other American Republics:

*Comparative Table of Telecommunication Rates in 1889 and 1939.*

Countries	Cables 1889	Cables and Radio 1939	
		Full rate per word	Press per word
Argentina . . . . .	<i>Per word</i> \$1. 82	\$0. 42	\$0. 05
Brazil (Pará) . . . . .	2. 59	. 42	. 10
Bolivia . . . . .	2. 09	. 50	. 05
Chile . . . . .	2. 25	. 54	. 09
Paraguay . . . . .	1. 82	. 42	. 05
Peru (Lima) . . . . .	1. 72	. . . . .	. . . . .
(Tacna) . . . . .	. . . . .	. 42	. 05
Uruguay . . . . .	2. 00	. 52	. 13

But the development of cables was not to stand alone either as a scientific achievement or as an economic factor. It remained for science to evolve the practical reality of radio with its tremendous implications in many fields.

Prior to the World War radio telegraphy

was mainly used in communication from ship to ship and between ship and shore. The sharp crack of radio over the cold waters of the Atlantic in April of 1912 not only brought rescue to many victims of the *Titanic* disaster but apprised the world of the far-reaching effectiveness of this new force.

In 1913 a radio telegraph service was organized for the conduct of private business in the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, land stations being erected at New Orleans, Boston and points in Central America.<sup>13</sup>

During the World War, with a serious breakdown of cable communication, transoceanic radio telegraphy received a tremendous impetus with a consequent increase of international circuits. Subsequently, technical advancement largely outstripped regulation. The World Radio Conference held in Washington in 1927 established international regulation to an encouraging degree and the work of that meeting was further developed at the International Telecommunications Conference, Madrid, 1932.

While the Madrid Convention remains in force, the rapid technical advance of radio has made necessary the negotiation of new regulations to be annexed to it. Those regulations, covering not only radio but also telegraph and telephone, were negotiated at Cairo, Egypt, in 1938.

Today the United States and the other American Republics are closely knit by a well-integrated radio telegraph system.<sup>14</sup>

Direct radio telegraph circuits exist between the United States and Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela.

<sup>13</sup> "Telecommunications," *Herring and Gross*, p. 78.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

The development of radio telephone service is of even more recent experience. Prior to 1927 the only telephone connections between the United States and foreign countries were those with Canada, Mexico and Cuba. In that year radio telephone service was inaugurated between the United States and Europe. Since then such service has been established between the United States and many of the countries of Central and South America.<sup>15</sup>

The following is a chronological list of the opening of such circuits:

Buenos Aires	April 3, 1930
Lima	October 14, 1931
Rio de Janeiro	December 18, 1931
Caracas	December 19, 1932
Bogotá	December 22, 1932

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

Panama	February 24, 1933
San José	March 20, 1933
Guatemala	April 17, 1933
Managua	June 7, 1933
Barranquilla	November 8, 1934
Tegucigalpa	April 23, 1935
Santo Domingo	September 30, 1935
San Salvador	January 14, 1937

The advent of mass communication through the agency of broadcasting is a distinctly modern innovation which has presented to man an effective instrument for understanding and good will and has placed upon him the heavy responsibility of wielding that instrument for the general welfare.

In the field of international broadcasting it has been the consistent objective of the United States to confine its activities to what might be characterized as the purely



Courtesy of All America Cables

#### ALL AMERICA CABLES EXHIBIT AT THE NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR

In the background is a map showing how these far-flung lines connect the Americas and Europe.

cultural aspect of the nation and its people. This is particularly true of broadcasting to the other American Republics, in which meticulous care has been exercised by the United States broadcasters to confine their programs to the same standards of reliability and quality that are required at home.

With that in view private broadcasting companies in the United States are sending over seven short wave broadcasting stations a variety of programs involving all types of music, news in English and other languages, drama, education, religious services. In addition, they re-broadcast through the facilities of local South and Central American stations special events in the United States. In a word, an effort is made to present to listeners abroad a cross-section of life in the latter country and of the interests of its people. A representative of a United States company testifying before a Congressional committee expressed the belief that "the most effective way to portray American democracy to other peoples and nations is to present a graphic cross-section of all phases of our national life, a living pattern of democracy at work."<sup>16</sup>

But the accomplishments of today constitute the challenge for tomorrow. Continued accuracy and more speedy transmission of news in the Americas, a greater comprehension of the likes and dislikes of listeners in many lands, sympathetic cooperation in the exchange of programs and re-broadcasts, the development of improved engineering standards and the elaboration of new devices such as television, are but a few of the alluring possibilities of the future, while motion pictures open new vistas of perception and understanding.

Efforts toward inter-American cooperation in the field of telecommunications have been reflected in numerous conferences. In

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

1911, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela concluded a regional telegraphic agreement.<sup>17</sup>

At the International Radio Telegraph Conference, London, 1912, five American states were represented, namely, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, the United States of America and Uruguay. Thereafter, due to war and post-war conditions, no further world conferences were held until the International Radio Telegraph Conference, Washington, 1927. That conference took measures of extreme importance for the establishment of order in the international field, and it is significant that all of the American Republics except one were represented.

Nineteen of the American Republics had representation at the International Telecommunications Conference, Madrid, 1932, and the majority of them have ratified or adhered to the Madrid Convention, which is still in effect, and have thus become members of the International Telecommunications Union.

Sixteen of the American Republics participated in the International Radio Conference, Cairo, 1938, and signed the revised General Radio Regulations which are annexed to the Madrid Convention. Fifteen of those countries signed the Cairo revision of the International Telegraph Regulations, and fourteen signed the Cairo revision of the International Telephone Regulations.

A number of inter-American regional agreements have been concluded. In 1933 there was held in Mexico City the North and Central American Regional Radio Conference, which was participated in by representatives of Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua and the United States. That conference resulted

<sup>17</sup> "L'Union Télégraphique Internationale (1865-1915)," p. 101.



Courtesy of Grace Line

#### BOUND FOR SOUTH AMERICA

The luxury liners now in operation between the United States and both coasts of Latin America not only serve commerce well but are also promoting tourist travel in both directions, which is profitable culturally as well as financially.

in a group of recommendations which, however, did not become effective.

Early in 1937, upon invitation of the Government of Cuba, a North American Regional Radio Conference was attended by delegations from Canada, Cuba, Mexico and the United States. That conference was preliminary in nature and designed to effect informal understandings which might, after study by the various Governments, be made the basis of future negotiation.

As a result of those studies, the First Inter-American Radio Conference was held in Habana in November and December 1937 and was participated in by Ar-

gentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, the United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The conference adopted resolutions incorporated in the Final Act. It negotiated an Inter-American Radio Communications Convention providing for the details of future conferences, the establishment of an Inter-American Radio Office and numerous provisions relating to broadcasting, aeronautical radio, press transmissions and the like; an Inter-American Arrangement concerning Radio Communications designed to effect standardization of technical practices; and a North



Courtesy of Frederick Snavre Corporation

#### THE PORT AT CALLAO

A striking advance in inter-American communications was provided by the construction of the new terminal at Callao, completed by an American corporation for the Peruvian Government in 1934. In 1939 more than 1,000,000 tons of cargo passed through the port, an increase of more than 400,000 tons over the maximum before it was constructed. Large ocean liners can enter the basin protected by breakwaters and tie up at one of the four piers or along the extended bulkhead.

American Regional Broadcasting Agreement signed by Canada, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Mexico and the United States relating to broadcasting in North America. The Second Inter-American Radio Conference was held in Santiago, Chile, in the latter part of January 1940.

The Inter-American Radio Office (O. I. R.—Oficina Interamericana de Radio) was located in Habana under the supervision of a director chosen by the Government of Cuba. Its purpose is to act as a clearing house for the dissemination of information regarding the technical and legal phases of radio among the American Republics and to assist through that dissemination in the gradual lifting of engineering standards throughout the Western Hemisphere.

In 1934 there was founded in Buenos Aires the South American Broadcasting Union with headquarters in Montevideo. South American conferences were held in Buenos Aires in 1935, in Rio de Janeiro in 1937 and in Santiago, Chile, in January 1940.

In November and December 1938 a Regional Radio Conference of Central America, Panama and the Canal Zone was held at Guatemala City as an aftermath of the Cairo Conference. Its main objective was to allocate broadcasting frequencies in that region in the 2,300 to 2,400 kilocycle band, and a convention accomplishing that purpose was signed.

In December 1939 there was held in Bogotá, Colombia, a Regional Radio Conference of Tropical American Countries

attended by representatives of Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela. That conference is understood to have been held in preparation for the Santiago conference of January 1940.

It will accordingly be seen that telecommunications have played a prominent role in neutralizing the barriers of distance and language which had retarded the true development of mutual respect and understanding between the people of the United States and those of the other American Republics.

### *Shipping*

Although this medium of communication antedates recorded history, it was not until commerce between remote places had expanded materially that shipping became an industry separated from the buying and selling of wares.<sup>18</sup> Until late in the 19th century the sailing vessel was the outstanding means for water-borne traffic. However, commencing with the early part of that century, the competition of steam navigation became increasingly severe and the importance of sailing ships proportionately declined.

As early as 1884, the lack of facilities for rapid and regular transportation constituted a threatening reminder of the difficulties attendant upon the development of trade in the Western Hemisphere. This was evidenced especially when a South American commission, established by Congress, visited the other American Republics and recommended that adequate shipping facilities be established to serve that area.

In authorizing the President to issue invitations for the First International Conference of American States to be held in Washington in 1889, Congress specified as the first matter for consideration "measures that shall tend to preserve the peace and promote the prosperity of the several American states" and, further, "the estab-

<sup>18</sup> *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. XIV, p. 37.

lishment of regular and frequent communications between ports of the several American states and the ports of each other." Steamship service between the United States and Central and South America at that time was slow, infrequent and uncomfortable. As a direct result, travel was negligible and mail service extremely unsatisfactory.

The following table concerning steamship service between the United States and the other American republics, taken from the report of the First International Conference of American States, indicates the unsatisfactory conditions then prevailing:

*Steamship Service (both American and Foreign), between the United States and Mexico, Central America, Colombia, Venezuela, Haiti, and Brazil, as of 1889*

1. TO MEXICO: Five lines; about ten sailings a month; average time, ten days.
2. TO CENTRAL AMERICA: Seven lines; about twenty-three sailings a month; average time, four to seven days.
3. TO COLOMBIA: Three lines; about seven sailings a month; average time, eight to thirteen days.
4. TO VENEZUELA: Two lines; four sailings a month; average time, from ten to eleven days.
5. TO HAITI: Two lines; six sailings a month; average time, seven days.
6. TO BRAZIL: Four lines; about four sailings a month; average time, twenty-four days.

When the World War broke out in 1914, the American Republics became fully aware of the inadequacy of the shipping under their control and it became necessary for them to acquire their own facilities.

During all this time, efforts were made, through the holding of a series of international conferences on maritime law and the negotiation of treaties, to reach a common ground internationally on specific subjects of concern to shipping.

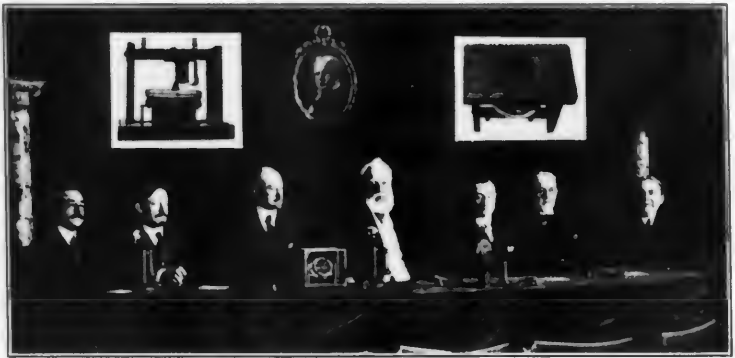
In the quarter century following the World War, the continued disturbed and unsettled conditions in many parts of the world, outside the Western Hemisphere,

emphasized the need in the Americas for an adequate American transportation system. With the growth of public interest in this problem, the United States recently placed three modern vessels and a fleet of fast freighters in the service between the United States and the East Coast of South America—a further expression of the will to give reality to the principles of hemispheric cooperation.

Obviously the Americas have reaped a generous but none the less deserved harvest from the progressive growth of communications during the last half century. Although the universality of shipping, cables and telephones and their vital economic and cultural significance were recognized after they became practical instrumentalities of human usage, it was not until the advent of commercial aviation and radio that the peoples of the twenty-one American Republics seem to have comprehended the true meaning of

interdependence. The foregoing citation of inter-American conferences—augmented by many others of less technical nature—truly marks the growth of genuine understanding among our peoples. In the achievement of this great purpose communications have played a role of incalculable importance.

Therefore it was decided in this review not to undertake a technical country-by-country analysis of the subject, but to approach it more specifically from the point of view of its influence on the behavior of 250,000,000 people who are seeking to perfect a formula by which they may enjoy the hard-won fruits of liberty in an atmosphere of peace, prosperity and mutual respect. The American Republics believe in the efficacy of consultation and respect for the pledged word, an efficacy which the past fifty years of advancement in the field of communications has so notably accelerated.



INAUGURATION OF TRANSCONTINENTAL TELEPHONE SERVICE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1915

Dr. Alexander Graham Bell, inventor of the telephone, appears in the center.



# Fifty Years of Intellectual Cooperation in the Americas

MIGUEL OZORIO DE ALMEIDA

*Chairman, Brazilian Committee on Intellectual Cooperation*

THE topic assigned me for this article emphasizes by its very wording one interesting aspect of the subject.

The phrase "intellectual cooperation" did not come into general use until long after 1890. This fact does not mean, however, that in America, as elsewhere, such activity was not already an actuality; whether springing up spontaneously, encouraged by specific organizations, or started at government initiative, it fitted into the scheme of things now definitely called "intellectual cooperation."

As a matter of fact, intellectual cooperation is not a creation of even the immediate past. It has always existed, and its periods of greatest activity have coincided sometimes with those epochs when thought flourished freely, or, at the other extreme, with eras when men felt that the very foundations of civilization were threatened. Intellectual cooperation is an expression, therefore, either of a need for expansion, mutual comprehension, and reciprocal aid and understanding, or of the idea of defense, support, and solidarity in the face of common dangers.

In the vigorous, though necessarily limited, intellectual life of the Middle Ages, cooperation of a sort was established through letters, visits, travel, or meetings—in other words, by the means available at the time. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the achievements of science and the increasing spread of literary and artistic culture brought quite naturally in their train an intensification of cooperative

organization in the form of international congresses, special missions, the interchange of professors and students.

Conscious organization for a given purpose at first only utilized and developed elements already in existence. But these elements were few and uncertain, and often disappeared when premature attempts to coordinate them were made. What distinguishes, in certain respects, the present from earlier periods is the attempt to give intellectual cooperation a separate existence as a recognized and indispensable movement.

Thus understood, cooperation immediately takes on authority, and its means of action are strengthened. Early delegates to the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations well understood what a sincere effort on behalf of intellectual cooperation would mean for the world of the future. It might even be claimed that the movement thus begun has far exceeded the expectations of its founders. The very expression "intellectual cooperation" already seems too limited to include, in addition to diversified kinds of activity, all the ideals that are being formulated and gradually transformed into reality.

In the Americas there is the same essential difference between what is evident today and what existed forty or fifty years ago. Then, the problem had not been even stated; the movement developed of itself. In all the American nations today, a growing number of people, not only intellectuals but also statesmen and even

men of many different occupations, are aware of the questions coming within the province of what is called intellectual cooperation. And, what is better yet, they want these questions faced and studied. The need for intellectual cooperation has passed from the obscure and indefinite subconscious to the clear light of collective consciousness. Intellectual cooperation is now considered of great importance by influential people, by institutions, by international gatherings, by governments, by learned societies, by universities. Special organizations, established either by private enterprise or by government action, have that as their specific purpose.

It is impossible to give here an account of all that has been done or even attempted in order to bring about cooperation between the different countries of America. Information on this subject is scattered throughout a great variety of publications. Not a few are guarded in ministerial archives, in the minutes of learned and cultural societies, and in the papers of institutes. A great service would be rendered intellectual cooperation if a comprehensive study could be undertaken that would make all the necessary facts available to interested parties. It should be said in passing that a task of this nature could be accomplished only if it were preceded by other preliminary work. Each American nation might well summarize what it has already accomplished in this field. The National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation would be the organizations naturally selected for this task, which they would either carry out themselves, or select and appoint competent persons to do.

In the present article, we shall confine ourselves, therefore, to a consideration of the most important or most characteristic efforts, in an attempt to emphasize the main ideas, the general course followed,

and the most important facts relative to the subject.

The evolution of intellectual culture in the American countries was, for a long time, characterized by their almost complete isolation from one another. They were all, or nearly all, directly connected with Europe. Cultural institutions developed more or less rapidly according to local resources, but also very largely according to each country's means of communication with great European centers. As Dr. Waldo G. Leland has pointed out, that apparently paradoxical situation was essentially due to difficulties of communication. It was easier to go from New York to Paris or London than from New York to Buenos Aires.

In any event, besides these material difficulties of communication, historical factors should be taken into consideration, such as the evolution of the American nations, since all of them were in the beginning European colonies. For a long time, most of the American countries remained, as was natural, chiefly consumers of culture; they looked to European centers, without feeling any need to strengthen relations between themselves. This state of affairs, of course, varied according to circumstances. Given certain conditions—common interests and identity of language—specific groups of countries established more or less active intercourse. But when the effectiveness of these factors was reduced by distance, or when there was no similarity of language, intellectual relations of any kind were practically nonexistent. At the First International Conference of American States, which met in Washington in 1889-90, Sáenz Peña could declare, "The truth is that our knowledge of each other is limited. The republics of the North of this continent have lived without holding communication with those of the South, or the nations of Central



A GROUP OF SOUTH AMERICAN ENGINEERS AT THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

The Union takes pleasure in helping to plan trips for students or professional groups who wish to study their specialty in another country.

America. Absorbed, as they have been, like ours, in the development of their institutions, they have failed to cultivate with us closer and more intimate relations."

A certain distinction should therefore be made between intellectual relations among individuals of different countries—relations resulting from the nature of the work of such men or from other personal considerations—and those cultivated with the more general and specific aim of cooperation.

The former have always existed, although on a small scale: the attendance of students of other countries at this or that university, travels by naturalists, geologists and geographers, the exchange of professors. Later, little by little, the governments of the American countries

began to show interest in the various questions of mutual understanding and aid, especially in practical matters like instruction, the exchange of professors and students, the recognition of professional degrees won abroad. A treaty signed by Argentina and Bolivia in 1868 contains an article devoted to these matters. Other countries followed their example and signed similar treaties.

The organization of inter-American intellectual cooperation, as it is developing daily, is due to several important factors:

1. Private entities, with or without direct or indirect support from official institutions or from the government.

2. The Pan American Union and the conferences held under its auspices.

3. The governments of the various countries.

4. National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation.

5. Institutions for intellectual cooperation affiliated with the League of Nations.

It is self-evident that the above classifications are not clear-cut; the activities of some of these factors are often closely interwoven.

It is easy to understand how, as cultural institutions developed in the American countries, the exchange of publications and personal visits gave rise to some collaboration between individuals working toward the same goal. Collective visits by parties of physicians, professors and teachers, men of letters, and even students, were not only planned, but often carried out. Such visits and travels increased, and today the only obstacle in their way is the material difficulty of putting them into effect. The results of these visits have unquestionably been most valuable, not only because they have promoted mutual understanding between the different countries, but also because they have helped establish solidarity and good understanding among intellectuals.

In connection with the initiative of private associations, the part played by the P. E. N. Clubs should be given special mention. One of the "conversations" organized by the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters was held in 1936 in Buenos Aires, at the invitation of the Argentine P. E. N. Club. Although the American writers and men of letters discussed chiefly the intellectual relations between Europe and Latin America, they had ample opportunity to appraise both their common characteristics and their national traits.

Emphasis should also be given to the establishment of institutes for intellectual interchange, such as the Argentine-Brazilian Cultural Institute, for besides



THE ARGENTINE-AMERICAN CULTURAL INSTITUTE, BUENOS AIRES

This pioneer in bilateral institutions carries on manifold activities to further a better knowledge of each other by Argentina and the United States. English classes for 3,000 students, lectures, and a shop selling American books are conducive to the desired results.

inviting the visits of intellectuals, they have encouraged translations and contributed to a wider knowledge of the literature of the countries that maintain them. At the meeting of the Association

of American Authors and Artists in Habana during October 1938, it was announced that twenty cultural institutes had been founded in the Cuban capital. In Buenos Aires, the Argentine-Cuban Cultural Institute has been created. Chile and Bolivia have organized similar institutes in their capitals.

It is impossible to enumerate here all the recently established institutions of this kind which, though they have only just begun to function, already show great promise for the future. We may add, among others, the Peruvian-Argentine Institute, the Peruvian-American Institute, the Argentine-American Cultural Institute (the oldest of all, with a record of intensive and fruitful activities), the Argentine-Bolivian, Argentine-Uruguayan, and Argentine-Paraguayan Cultural Institutes, and the Brazil-United States Institute. Chile has shown particular activity in this respect and multiplied the number of such institutes of which it is a member. The movement is gaining momentum, and is at present being extended in Venezuela, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, and Brazil. It is to be expected that these organizations will find it increasingly easy to accomplish their aims if they profit by the examples and lessons of those first established. It is desirable that the various institutes keep in close contact, so that each may gain from the others' experience.

Next, mention should be made of the organizations that educate in international relations—in other words, the universities, principally in the United States, where there are courses or lectures on the other countries of the American continent, with special emphasis on their history and cultural development. The books, magazines, and sundry publications, issued in certain countries to provide information on other American countries, also fall within this classification, as do the study projects of

many women's clubs in the United States.

Besides all these activities which, while they have developed with no outside stimulus, nevertheless produce important results, special stress should be laid on the great philanthropic foundations, especially those of the United States. Outstanding among them are the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Rockefeller Foundation.

The former includes in its sphere of action the development of all that can further the cause of peace, and there is every reason to believe that its activity is the most significant non-official effort to establish harmony between peoples. It has very wisely realized that one of the surest means of arriving at this result is to encourage exchanges between thinking men of different races and countries. It was with this in mind that as early as 1913 the Carnegie Endowment arranged a study tour of South America by the Hon. Robert Bacon, a former Secretary of State and Ambassador to France. The journey was largely the result of the travels in Latin America of the Hon. Elihu Root, who in 1913 was president of the Carnegie Endowment. Besides the assistance given by the Endowment to other associations and even to individuals,<sup>1</sup> it devotes much of its attention to studying the most important international problems, which it considers questions capable of being approached by constructive and scientific methods.

The Rockefeller Foundation has done and is doing very remarkable work. It has granted fellowships to a great many young research students from the other American countries, gives material aid to scientific and cultural institutions, and in the case o

<sup>1</sup> In 1919 the Endowment established the Institute of International Education, to develop, encourage, and create when necessary, international understanding and cooperation between educational institutions and their representatives. It has been very active in arranging fellowships for students in countries other than their own.—EDITOR.



Courtesy of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

#### REPRESENTATIVES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS CLUBS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has organized more than 1,100 clubs in colleges and universities in many countries to promote balanced and intelligent understanding of international affairs.

its practical activities (public health campaigns and the like), the work is done in close collaboration between technical experts from the United States and those of the country in which the Foundation is working. Such collaboration in scientific research, efforts made side by side, and the accomplishment of great tasks together, do indeed form solid bonds, even between men of different countries and tongues.

It is impossible to enumerate all the foundations that have helped establish inter-American intellectual cooperation, but we wish to make special mention of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, which has established a system for the exchange of scholars between the United States and certain Latin American countries. Fellowships were first granted to Mexicans in 1930, and

since then scholars from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Peru, and Uruguay, have been declared eligible. The Foundation has also assisted in the publication of investigations and monographs on international relations.

The Pan American Union, which was established in 1890 by action of the First International Conference of American States, was at first intended to be only a center for coordinating commercial and statistical information. As early as 1896 its organization was modified and the newly formed Executive Committee realized that the services of the Union could be extended. The general task of inter-American intellectual rapprochement was begun.

The Executive Committee or the Governing Board of the Union prepared for

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successive International Conferences of American States: Mexico (1901), Rio de Janeiro (1906), and Buenos Aires (1910). Because of the war in 1914-18, the Fifth Conference was postponed, and did not meet until 1923, when it convened in Santiago, Chile. It was after the Sixth Conference, held at Habana in 1928, that the Pan American Union charted a new course for its activities in matters of intellectual cooperation. The administrative section that had hitherto devoted itself mainly to matters of education became the Division of Intellectual Cooperation, and during the ensuing twelve years has established a splendid record in bringing about closer and more fruitful relations between individuals and institutions engaged in any aspect of intellectual and cultural life on this continent.

The Sixth Conference passed a resolution on the creation of the Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation. The idea of such an institution had already been propounded in Brazil and made the object of a vigorous campaign waged by Dr. Xavier de Oliveira, who was supported by the press of several other American countries. In 1926 Professor Antonio Austregesilo presented to the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies the first plan for such an organization. At the Habana Conference Sr. Pedro Erasmo Callorda, an Uruguayan delegate, proposed the establishment of the Institute, the matter being reported from the committee by the secretary of the Argentine delegation, Sr. Rodolfo García Arias. The Conference, besides clearly defining the aims of the Institute, proposed a



Courtesy of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

#### BOLIVIAN EDUCATORS IN NEW YORK

Through the cooperation of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace four distinguished Bolivian educators (two at left and two standing) made a brief visit to the United States before returning to Bolivia from Mexico, where they had spent a year as guests of the Mexican Government, studying the rural school system of the country.



Courtesy of the Rockefeller Foundation

#### COOPERATION IN SCIENTIFIC PREVENTION OF DISEASE

A vaccine devised by research scientists in the Rockefeller Foundation laboratories in New York has been used to immunize many thousands of individuals in South America against yellow fever. This is but one phase of the widespread cooperation of the Foundation with Latin American governments.

Congress of Rectors, Deans, and Educators to draft its statutes; this took place in February 1930 at Habana. The statutes recommended by the Congress were approved by the Seventh International Conference of American States at Montevideo in 1933. But as so often happens with proposals of this kind, the Inter-American Institute has not yet passed beyond the stage of a mere project.

The Seventh Conference gave a remarkable impetus to matters of intellectual cooperation, adopting a number of important measures on the subject.

Mention should be made of the Convention on the Teaching of History, which advocated the revision of textbooks and the founding of an Institute for the Teach-

ing of History of the American Republics. This Institute was not only to deal with the development of American historical research, but also to attempt to encourage in America the study of Spanish, Portuguese, English, and French history, as well as that of other countries especially interesting from the point of view of American history. The convention was also an effort to extend the scope of an agreement signed at Rio de Janeiro earlier in 1933 by the governments of Brazil and Argentina, with the object of eliminating from textbooks everything that might create or increase ill-feeling towards other nations. The agreement contained a provision that it might also be signed by other countries, and some have done so; several American

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nations signed similar bilateral agreements. The United States could not sign the Montevideo convention, although its delegates heartily approved and lauded its spirit, because the Federal Government has no direct authority over the educational system of the country.

In addition to this convention, the Seventh Conference adopted various proposals and recommendations on artistic interchange, American bibliography and library cataloguing, broadcasting, protection of movable and immovable monuments, and archaeological research.

Interest in intellectual cooperation was even greater at the Eighth Conference, which met at Lima in 1938. One of the resolutions adopted recommended that the Pan American Union cooperate with international organizations in other parts of the world, "without affecting the integrity of the international organization of the twenty-one American Republics." This resolution should be remembered and reflected upon, for it raises the question of the independent development of inter-American cooperation and attempts to define its relations with international cooperation throughout the world. In addition to various resolutions on broadcasting, musical exchange, the development of cultural relations, interchange between libraries, school textbooks, social museums, and similar topics, the Eighth Conference passed others meriting special attention.

In the first place, there were questions relating to cooperation in scientific and technical works. Considering that scientific research is "one of the most important sources of the intellectual inheritance of mankind, worthy of protection through an international understanding which may assure the effective realization and continuity, wherever such research may be conducted on the American Continent", and furthermore, that "there are some

studies . . . which often depend upon research and observations made in a country distant from that of the investigator or with equipment which cannot be found in his own country or transported," the Conference recommended that the American governments facilitate and support scientific investigations made at the request of other governments by laboratories or officially sponsored men of science; suggested the establishment in each American country of a special appropriation to meet the expenses entailed by such research; and requested the Pan American Union to study the possibility of signing an inter-American convention on this subject at the Ninth Conference.

Another resolution which, to some extent, complements this, dealt with organizations for scientific and technical cooperation. The Conference recommended that the Governing Board of the Pan American Union compile information on the scientific and technical institutions of each of the American countries—in other words, that it make an inventory of present possibilities for work.

The Conference also recommended that an Inter-American Geographic Institute be created in Buenos Aires, to serve as a coordination center for research dealing with geography and related sciences.

The part played by the respective governments in the evolution of inter-American intellectual cooperation has been varied and important. From what has already been said, the manifold aspects of official action can be appreciated. International visits, conferences, the exchange of professors and students have been made possible in most cases because of moral and material government support. Governments have always been sympathetic toward scientific and cultural congresses, and have not limited themselves to empty words from officialdom.



Courtesy of Arthur J. Jones

#### INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION BETWEEN BRAZIL AND THE UNITED STATES

In 1939 the University of Pennsylvania successfully conducted a summer school in Brazil with the cooperation of Brazilian authorities.

Many international agreements on the different problems of intellectual cooperation have been signed. The governments of Brazil and Argentina have made special appropriations for the publication of the best works written in each country on its neighbor. Some translations of the great works of Argentine literature have been published in Brazil, and *vice versa*, at the instance and under the patronage of official bureaus. Moreover, the governments have taken advantage of every opportunity to support and encourage enterprises for intellectual cooperation. Especially noteworthy is the decision of the Uruguayan government to promote intellectual interchange between the two countries with part of the funds made available by Brazil's cancellation of an old Uruguayan debt. As a result, every year two Brazilian professors give a series of lectures in Montevideo. The Central American countries established in 1934 a joint organization for making their educational systems uniform. These same States, which now have fellowships for each other's students, are considering the estab-

lishment of a "Central American House."

A complete picture of government action cannot be gained from official activities alone or from the agreements and conventions signed by different countries. Several governments have acted through their National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation—whether these are officially appointed by the governments or whether they are unofficial—giving them moral support and doing everything possible to help them carry out their duties. Various American governments have organized special services for cooperation in the Ministries of Foreign Affairs. In Brazil that service, because of its orientation and leadership, has been of the greatest value. The United States Department of State established in 1935 the National Committee of Inter-American Intellectual Cooperation, to collaborate with the Division of Intellectual Cooperation of the Pan American Union, thus putting into effect one of the recommendations of the Montevideo Conference. In 1938 the Division of Cultural Relations was created in the same Department. Although its activ-

ties are to embrace the whole world, as yet they have been directed chiefly towards the inter-American field.

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, which met at Buenos Aires in 1936 and was attended by outstanding representatives of the American governments, created a special committee (VI) to study questions of intellectual cooperation. The committee decided to discuss the problem under two main headings: intellectual interchange and moral disarmament. The Conference gave the full weight of its authority to several resolutions and recommendations previously adopted by Pan American Conferences, and passed certain new resolutions. Upon Argentine initiative, special emphasis was given to the advisability of establishing National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation in all the American countries where they did not already exist.

As a matter of fact, the National Committees have already played a real and constructive role. In my report on inter-American cooperation presented to the Second General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation, held at Paris in 1937, I wrote, "It must be acknowledged that these committees have not exercised a decisive influence on American intellectual cooperation. They exist in only a limited number of countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Mexico, the United States, Uruguay. Some of them were formed so recently that they have not yet had time to do useful work. They have dealt mainly with the study of general problems submitted to them by the International Institute in Paris or by the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation. The National Committees are destined, however, to play an increasingly important part in inter-American relations."

In the relatively short time since then, the situation has changed and is still changing. In the first place, there is a more or less explicit agreement on one important point: National Committees can be the real foundation of a continuous intellectual cooperation, not subject to brusque changes, but independent of unexpected alterations in political administration or social organization. Since intellectual cooperation is essentially international in character, it should be deeply rooted in each country, instead of drawing precarious sustenance from the shifting and unstable conditions that, unfortunately, all too frequently exist in many countries. An undertaking profoundly human and universal, and from its very nature more or less directly influenced by human eventualities, it should be prepared to have its organization and activities weather ill-fortune and take advantage of good fortune to further its ideals.

When National Committees really embody the human ideal of culture and perfection and fully represent the national genius, they have a great and fundamental role to play. The aforementioned Paris Conference of 1937 stated this fact clearly: "The Conference emphasized with special satisfaction the fact that . . . the National Committees are now in a position to constitute the principal foundation for the Intellectual Cooperation Organization as a whole." Commenting on this statement, Professor James T. Shotwell, chairman of the United States National Committee affiliated with the Organization, said that "that was a point which the National Committees regarded as established, but it had never been put so clearly before. The National Committees were responsible for the difficult work of eliminating differences and establishing a better understanding between different forms of culture and different schools of thought."

I take pleasure in quoting here a portion of the summary of Professor Shotwell's forceful remarks: "For himself, he dreamed of an organization of the world community in which the different forms of culture would no longer be subject to the influence of diplomacy or politics, and national barriers would no longer obstruct the intellectual development of mankind. It might be that it was for the National Committees to take the first steps along this road, or at any rate to make a beginning with the study of the possibilities of so reorganizing the international structure of the common interests of the intellectual world as to free the latter from the difficulties inherent in the organization of the peoples in the form of States."

Since the Paris Conference, the number of National Committees in the American countries has grown, for in addition to those listed above, they have been created in Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, and Peru.

The committees have increased their activities, not only within their own countries, but in inter-American and even world-wide affairs. Only a few of the chief projects can be mentioned here.

The Chilean National Committee, in addition to its usual manifold activities, successfully organized the First American Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation, which met at Santiago, Chile, in January 1939, under the auspices of the Chilean Government and the Intellectual Cooperation Organization of the League of Nations.

The Santiago Conference amplified, developed, expressed more accurately, or amended many of the resolutions or recommendations, passed by previous Pan American Conferences or by the Peace Conference of Buenos Aires. Several new ideas were presented, such as the establishment of a Pan American Bureau of

Education, with headquarters at Santiago. One of the chief divisions of the Bureau would be the "Pan American School and University City," to be built also in the Chilean capital; this institution would represent "America in miniature."

The Conference studied carefully the problems arising from the normal activities of National Committees in their capacity as national and international bodies. Of the more important matters treated by the Conference, a few may be mentioned:

Especially noteworthy was the recommendation to the American governments on the possibility of lowering the barriers to the interchange of books and periodicals, created by inequalities of money exchange or by customs duties. Protection for, and improvement in the economic conditions of, intellectual workers were discussed in several resolutions and recommendations. This defense of the intellectual was interpreted, however, very broadly and was not limited to purely American interests. The Conference recommended to the American countries that "to the extent possible or expedient in each case, they admit scientists, artists, and even technical experts and professional men without special consideration of political or religious beliefs or racial factors . . ." Men of good will were called upon to "work to obtain effective guarantees of spiritual liberty in the world." The Conference recommended that the American countries become signatories of the International Act concerning Intellectual Cooperation signed at the conference that met at Paris in December 1938. Another recommendation referred to support and aid for the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, of Paris.

The Santiago Conference, therefore, followed a highly laudable course. It did not attempt to encourage inter-American cooperation in any limited sense. It made it quite plain that such cooperation between



Courtesy of Thomas Barbour

#### CUBAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

They enjoyed a visit on board the boat of the joint Harvard University and University of Habana deep sea biological expedition.

the countries of our continent is always linked to cooperation on an international scale. For this reason there were non-voting delegates of the International Institute of Paris, the International Labor Office, the Catholic Union of International Studies, and similar organizations, at the conference.

It would be impossible to give here even a brief outline of the activities carried on by the National Committees of the American nations, in view of the difficulties of obtaining information. It would be advisable to make it a general custom to have all committees prepare annual reports and send copies to the International Institute of Paris, to other National Committees, and to the Pan American Union.

The United States Committee, under the chairmanship of Professor Shotwell, has always furnished all the data required by the Intellectual Cooperation Organization; it has appointed subcommittees to study questions of importance to international relations; and it has served as intermediary between general organizations and the American entities interested in specific subjects. The Argentine Committee, whose chairman is Sr. Carlos

Ibarguren, has sponsored the publication of works especially interesting to every one desirous of knowing Argentina more intimately. The Brazilian Committee has spared no pains in all matters relating to closer relations with other American countries, and has also cooperated as much as possible with the general Intellectual Cooperation Organization.

Nor should we overlook the part played, directly or indirectly, in the development of inter-American cultural relations, by the Intellectual Cooperation Organization of the League of Nations and particularly by the International Institute of Paris. From one point of view, intellectual cooperation has two fundamental aspects: clear understanding of the purposes to be attained, with the necessary definitions of principles and ideals; and technique or, more specifically, the understanding and use of methods.

It should be recognized that in both these aspects the Intellectual Cooperation Organization of the League of Nations was the agency that took the lead, that served

as guide. The phrase "intellectual cooperation" seemed at first, and is still considered by many who are unfamiliar with the particular problems involved, to be something vague, ill-defined. It was a beautiful ideal: but how could it be transformed from the abstract and, as it were, the theoretical, into the realities of life and action? In other words, what course was action to take, how was work to be directed, in so extraordinarily complex a movement where, in addition to material obstacles and difficulties, there were psychological stumbling-blocks? In both aspects, the Intellectual Cooperation Organization has made admirable efforts and offered solutions, some of which are tentative, others already crowned with indubitable success. These solutions have served as models for a great many initiatives and activities undertaken by the various organizations engaged in inter-American cooperation. The National Committees of the American countries try to keep in constant touch with the Institute of Paris, and in some cases the Intellectual Cooperation Organization has helped, often materially, to carry out suggestions of particular interest to American countries, as it has done for other groups of nations.

If we now try to understand the special characteristics of inter-American intellectual cooperation, we shall find that it was a long time in being established and in taking on clear and definite outlines. Formerly, social and political problems, and economic questions as well, absorbed the general attention of the American States. Intellectual activity was of interest only as a need for it to solve immediate problems in these countries was felt, although that fact did not prevent the more or less isolated appearance of great intellectuals. As the countries developed closer relations, they included questions of com-

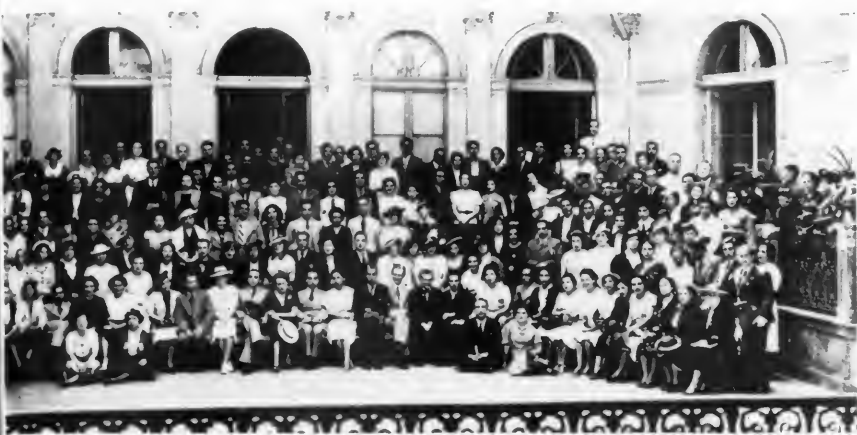
merce and industry with political problems. Little by little, however, they realized that in every domain good understanding is based chiefly on mutual comprehension.

Moreover, the American nations naturally have similar problems: not only technical problems, but also the important problems of instruction, education, intellectual production, scientific research, professional training—all matters having certain special characteristics in new countries, whose development is made more complicated by race mixture and the variety of inter-acting factors.

Early intellectual cooperation manifested itself according to prevailing circumstances. Only later did organizations especially created for that purpose begin to function.

The question might arise here as to whether all the work so far done in the Americas has been effective, and whether it is really possible to claim positive results for inter-American cooperation. It is undoubtedly very difficult to give a definite reply to a question of this kind. An attempt to evaluate the results of such achievement makes it evident that no definite gauge exists. We cannot point to any direct connection between such an achievement and such a movement of ideas, new way of thinking, ethical concept, or state of mind and studies, projects, books, articles, conferences, or travels of many years ago.

Inter-American intellectual cooperation with all it stands for in the way of goodwill, peaceful intentions, mutual assistance, reciprocal understanding, and active collaboration, is today in a great measure an aspiration: it is something more definite and urgent; it is an indisputable need. That fact, of itself, is a definite and very pertinent gain. To what degree is the result due to the natural evolution of politics, economics, and official relations?



Courtesy of Frances M. Burlingame

#### SUMMER SCHOOL AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHILE

Chile is extremely active in inter-American intellectual cooperation. It has a number of bilateral institutes of inter-American cooperation and offers fellowships at the University Summer School to students from other American countries.

and how much of it can be claimed by what is meant by intellectual cooperation, strictly speaking? It is impossible to say. What interests us most is that this gain be used as a point of departure, as a basis for future achievements. The first stage of the journey, perhaps the most difficult, is almost completed, or at least well on the way to completion.

Thus we are faced with various questions: What means of action does inter-American cooperation have at its disposal? What are, and what should be, the organizations that administer it and select its policies? What is its special significance as "inter-American" cooperation, and what are or should be its relations with other international organs?

First of all, intellectual cooperation should utilize all the available or obvious means of action: the press, learned societies, universities, important official or private institutions. It is still necessary, in every country, to have a liaison body, a coordinating center that can start or direct proj-

ects. That is the natural role of the National Committees. Experience has shown that in addition to these organizations, special institutes of different kinds and with various purposes should be established. On the one hand, an important part has been assigned to bilateral institutes, many of which have been founded and are now functioning, as we have seen. On the other, the increase in and variety of problems requiring research and specialized work show the need for organizations having a definite aim, capable of taking upon themselves certain tasks: whether temporary committees of experts, or stable and suitably staffed institutes.

Intellectual cooperation is faced with no easy problem. Although it has solid foundations and a definite purpose, it is still weak as far as practical accomplishments, strictly speaking, are concerned. A comparison of the not inconsiderable total of resolutions and recommendations passed by inter-American Conferences with what has actually been done to carry them

out leads to the inevitable conclusion that in this field, as in all others, there is a wide chasm between aspirations and daily life, between theory and practice. This fact should not engender pessimism, but rather serve as a stimulus.

It would be a great mistake to try to develop inter-American cooperation within the limits of a strict Americanism, in a trend toward isolation, or according to the ideal of self-sufficiency, by cutting off or reducing to a minimum relations with great centers of culture and civilization in other continents. Inter-American cooperation does not lose sight of the fact that it is an important part of universal cooperation; this was one of the dominant ideas at the Santiago Conference, which the Brazilian delegates emphasized in the reports submitted on their return.

It is a fact that, generally speaking, a trend toward unity, toward organization for mutual assistance, does exist in America. This tendency is especially noticeable when the countries of this continent are faced with common dangers. In America there is the desire to be able to speak of an "American spirit," of an "American culture," as in Europe one speaks of a "European spirit," of a "European culture."

In America, as in Europe, it seems impossible to give exact meaning to phrases of this kind, for these expressions embody things that are felt, and not things that can be stated in exact words. Profound differences still exist between the different American countries, similar to the great variations that have always existed between European nations. But none of this keeps us from discovering, beyond these differences or variations, innumerable points in common. Undoubtedly these factors inherent in and common to

the American nations are what give inter-American cooperation its moral and spiritual foundation. But the purpose of this cooperation is to work for progress and the development of everything pertaining to the intellectual and moral life of America, keeping always clearly and definitely in mind that this progress is part and parcel of that of all humanity.

As America has developed, it has sometimes passed through occasional bitter periods of exaggerated and exalted nationalism. But it has instinctively applied correctives, sometimes in a trend toward a broader Pan Americanism (which may take various forms, from simple expressions of solidarity and the attendant desire for continental cooperation, to the resolute determination to achieve exclusiveness and isolation, as expressed in the current interpretation of the famous phrase, "America for Americans"); sometimes in a still nobler and more accurate conception, that America is a strong, harmonious, progressive, and peace-loving whole, one that is not isolated, has not shut its doors, does not refuse to collaborate with other continents: "Let America be for Mankind", as Sáenz Peña said as long ago as 1890, at the First International Conference of American States in Washington.

This second trend is more in harmony with the ideals of true intellectual cooperation, even when considered in the more limited field of inter-American relations. It is an attempt to adapt, realize, develop, and, if it should be necessary, preserve and renew on our continent the generous and profound ideas that are the foundation of international cooperation. Like the branch that grows upward, it must remain attached to its trunk, whose roots are in the universal.



# Half a Century of Medical and Public Health Progress

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SHOULD we try our hand at the unwelcome task of evaluating the advances achieved during the last five decades in the various fields of human activity, medicine, both preventive and curative, would certainly claim a place at the top of the list.<sup>1</sup>

In so far as the Americas are concerned, the evolution still in progress that has brought into existence splendidly equipped hospitals, effective research institutions and workers, a properly trained medical profession, constantly improving health services, control of plagues once devastating entire countries, and social legislation aiming to protect the life and health of all the people at all times on a scale undreamed of before, makes an inspiring tale.

When the Pan American Union was created in 1890, the means of combating diseases were everywhere, and especially in the New World, far inferior to what they are today. Against many of the most prevalent conditions mankind was practically unarmed, and the principles embodied in the old proverb that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure" were far from being generally accepted in so far as medicine was concerned. Medical thought, however, had just been revolutionized by a series of marvelous advances for which the ground had long been prepared, but actually beginning with Pasteur's researches on fermentation (1857), and more especially with his work on virulent diseases twenty years afterwards.

<sup>1</sup> *Whole books have been written on mere phases of this vast subject.*

GERM THEORY.—"Come!" wrote Pasteur in 1871, "we will transform the world by our discoveries." The germ theory of disease was definitely placed on a solid basis with Pasteur's and Koch's studies of anthrax (1876-77), the discovery of means for growing, obtaining and identifying bacteria (1877-87), improved microscopes, filters, incubators, and the identification in rapid succession of the organisms causing relapsing fever (1873), malignant edema (1877), leprosy, glanders and gonorrhoea (1879), pneumonia, malaria and typhoid (1880), tuberculosis and rhinoscleroma (1882), cholera, erysipelas and diphtheria (1883), tetanus (1884), undulant fever (1886), meningitis and chancre (1889), as well as the lacto-bacillus, the staphylococcus (1881), the streptococcus (1884), and the colon bacillus (1886). The by-products which Perkin extracted from coal tar in 1857 proved useful indeed first to make these germs visible and then to destroy them.

By 1890 cholera had just inflicted the last (1886) of its castigations on the Western Hemisphere; typhus fever continued its ravages; smallpox epidemics were far from uncommon; and yellow fever remained as a black cloud on the horizon of practically every American Republic from the Mississippi to the Plate; while plague had yet to make its first appearance on American soil (1899). The germs and mode of transmission of plague and typhus fever were still unknown, as also the organisms of syphilis, bacillary dysentery, kala-azar, sleeping sickness and whooping

cough, and the mode of transmission of such insect-borne diseases as malaria and dengue; while, in the case of yellow fever, few had paid attention to the startling ideas<sup>2</sup> repeatedly advanced by a modest Cuban physician since 1881.

**VECTORS.**—The role of vectors, one of the most promising leads in preventive medicine, was then just assuming prominence through the researches of Manson (1876), Finlay (1881), Th. Smith (1893), Bruce (1894), and Ross (1897). The part played by inanimate objects, especially water, milk, night soil, droplets, towels, eating and drinking utensils, was but imperfectly realized. Preventive inoculation was mostly limited to smallpox and Pasteur's antirabic vaccine was still only cautiously used in a few institutions, among them the ones recently organized in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Habana, Mexico and Rio. Among the protozoa, the trichomonas (Donné, 1837), trypanosoma (Gruby, 1843), balantidium (Malmsten, 1857), giardia (Lamb, 1859), amoeba (Lamb, 1860; Lewis, 1870; Cunningham, 1871; and especially Loesch, 1875); and the plasmodium (Laveran, 1880), were known, but the pathogenic potentialities of the group were far from being realized. Fungi had been related to some conditions, as favus (Schoenlein, 1839), alopecia (Gruby, 1841), and actinomycosis (Langenbeck, 1848), but mycology remained practically a closed book. The importance of filterable viruses, now known to be the cause of over 70 major diseases,<sup>3</sup> had not been even suggested by Iwanowsky's

<sup>2</sup> It is rather interesting to recall that the role of insects in the transmission of three of the four major diseases was pointed out by Spanish-speaking physicians: Finlay (yellow fever), Simond (plague), Cortezo (typhus). In the case of cholera, the Portuguese Orta and Correia were the first westerners to describe the disease, and the Spaniard Ferrán the first to prepare a vaccine against it.

<sup>3</sup> Including smallpox, chickenpox, yellow fever, dengue, measles, rabies, mumps, poliomyelitis, encephalitis lethargica, herpes zoster, psittacosis, and venereal lymphogranulomatosis.

work on the mosaic disease of tobacco (1892) and Loeffler's and Frosch's on foot and mouth disease (1898).<sup>4</sup>

**LABORATORIES.**—Laboratories, the sentiments of the physician and the sanitarian, were still to a great extent a curiosity, only Brazil (1883), the United States, Argentina, Uruguay, and Cuba having institutions of this type. The United States Public Health Service had opened its hygienic laboratory in 1887 in New York City, but it was not transferred to Washington until 1891, and had no building of its own until 1904, while the first municipal laboratory was not organized until 1888 in Providence, a few years earlier than the University of Pennsylvania laboratory (1892). The world-renowned Oswaldo Cruz Institute was founded at Rio de Janeiro in 1899. At present all national and many local departments of health have laboratories, a number of them perfectly equipped and performing research work of the highest type. Courses in bacteriology began in those decades, starting with 1885, and now are an essential part of every medical curriculum. The institutes at Buenos Aires, La Paz, Rio, São Paulo, Santiago, Bogotá, Habana, Mexico, Lima, Panama, Montevideo and that planned for Caracas, are a source of perpetual joy to the investigator and to the health worker.<sup>5</sup>

**HEALTH ORGANIZATION.**—Not all the American Republics had national departments of health in 1890, a number of them being first organized as follows: 1891, Mexico; 1892, Chile; 1895, Uruguay; 1897, Brazil; 1899, Paraguay; 1900, El Salvador; 1903, Peru; 1906, Guatemala; 1907, Bolivia; 1909, Venezuela; 1910,

<sup>4</sup> It has been estimated that out of about 1,700 known diseases, 742 (about 43.6 percent) are due to animate agents.

<sup>5</sup> The first hygienic laboratory of note was organized at Munich in 1878, by Pettenkofer, one of the fathers of modern public health, Corfield having, however, opened a smaller one in England in 1875.

Costa Rica; 1912, the Dominican Republic; 1914, Honduras; 1916, Haiti; and 1925, Nicaragua. Both Cuba and Panama enjoy the distinction of having come into national existence with country-wide health service, and Cuba in addition led the world in organizing in 1909 a national Ministry of Health. Such ministries are now in existence in more or less complete form in all the American Republics with the exception of Argentina, Guatemala, Haiti, Mexico, Nicaragua, and the United States, but both Mexico and Nicaragua have autonomous and the others quasi-autonomous health departments. Their appropriations, once practically nil, are showing a steady and healthy increase, as the people realize the benefits of health and how it must be obtained: they were multiplied by 10 in Bolivia from 1930 to 1937; by 4 in Argentina, Brazil and

Paraguay; by 3 in Venezuela; by more than 10 in Chile from 1911 to 1938, and by more than 100 in Mexico from 1900 to 1939.

The attention given by governments and peoples to public health is very well demonstrated by a number of outstanding developments, embracing: new legislation, incorporating the latest scientific developments; reorganization of public health services, including the recent creation of new Ministries of Public Health in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela, while in Nicaragua the opposite has happened—the old Ministry being transformed, for reasons of economy, into a Bureau of Health; widespread development of health centers; extension of laboratory service; great attention to the problem of proper diet for the people, and studies of nutrition;



HEALTH DEPARTMENT IN GUATEMALA

Modern, sanitary, capacious, a true mansion of hygiene.

attention to the training of public health personnel; gradual introduction of full time service; creation of services of public health education or propaganda; improvement of vital statistics compilation, including disease reporting; initiation of well-guided campaigns against certain diseases, such as yellow fever, plague, malaria, leprosy, intestinal parasitoses, onchocerciasis, and bartonellosis; introduction of compulsory social security in Chile, Ecuador, Peru, and the United States, and the study of it in other countries.

Health development followed a similar path in the United States, since only 18 states had provided for statewide health organization before 1880; 13 did so in the following decade; and in the rest, beginning with Florida and North Dakota in 1889, and ending with Texas in 1909, the process proved to be slow and laborious. The national Public Health Service has shown a steady growth since laws issued in 1889, 1890, 1893, 1902, 1912, and 1918 endowed it with quasi-military organization, and extended its duties in connection with health matters, research, and general prevention of disease. The expenditures of the Service have increased from less than \$1,400,000 in the fiscal year 1899-1900 to about \$23,000,000 in the fiscal year 1938. Health appropriations in states and cities exhibit a parallel rise.

**VITAL STATISTICS.**—The organization of vital statistics services ran a rather similar course. At the beginning of the twentieth century very few indeed were the states or communities having good registration services in the United States. The death registration area had begun in 1880 with only five states, and did not embrace the whole country until 1934, and the birth registration area was not organized until 1915 and had to wait until 1939 to become truly national. While some countries in Latin America have had the opportunity of de-

veloping similar services, local conditions have prevented others from reaching the degree of excellence.

Since 1890 the population of the Americas has more than doubled. That of the United States has increased from 62 million to 132 million, and that of Latin America from 53 to about 120 million. The number of cities with over 100,000 inhabitants has risen from 12 to about 40 in Latin America, and from 28 to 93 in the United States.

General death rates during the last four decades have also shown most encouraging reductions, as indicated by the following: Argentina, from 20 per thousand to 11.5; Chile, from 31.8 to 24.5; Colombia, from more than 20 to 15; Costa Rica, from nearly 30 to 16.7; Cuba, from over 30 to 12.4; Ecuador, from 25 (1920) to about 20; El Salvador, 21.0 (1899-1911) to 17.0 (1938); Guatemala, from 35 to 18.4; Mexico, about 39 (1899) to 21.9 (1938); Panama Canal Zone, about 27 (1908) to 5.8 (1938); United States, from 18 to 10.6; Uruguay, from 17 to 9.7; Venezuela, from over 21 in 1907 to 17.2.

The same phenomenon of lower mortality is also reflected in cities: Buenos Aires, 15.9 (1903) to 11.5; La Paz, 38 to 22.4; Rio de Janeiro, about 38 to 16.9; Santiago, over 30 (1904) to 24.8; San José, over 30 to 12.5; Habana, 24.4. to 14; Quito, 30 to 21.2; San Salvador, 35 to 22.4; Mexico City, from 50 to 23.8; Panama City, 55.8 to 12.4; Asunción, from 21-22 in 1914 to 15-17; Lima, over 35 (1903) to 20.5; New York, 18.2 (1903) to 9.8; Montevideo, 16 to 14.1; and Caracas, 32.8 to 19.4.

Life expectation has naturally lived up to this promise, having increased in the United States from less than 40 to 61 years. Nowhere in Latin America has it reached such figures, but it is on the increase everywhere.

Incidentally, this branch of public

health—vital statistics—is among those showing a most satisfactory progress, constant efforts being made in all parts of America to improve collection as well as presentation.

**DISEASE PICTURE.**—The disease picture has also completely changed, nowhere perhaps more than in the United States. In 1900 the ten leading causes of death were influenza-pneumonia, tuberculosis, diarrhea-enteritis, heart disease, nephritis, cerebral hemorrhage, cancer, bronchitis, diphtheria and typhoid. In 1937 heart disease, influenza-pneumonia, cancer, cerebral hemorrhage, nephritis, tuberculosis, motor vehicle accidents, diabetes, arteriosclerosis and diarrhea-enteritis headed the list. The outstanding fact was the decrease in communicable disease, as shown by the elimination of diphtheria and typhoid from this group and the fact that the diarrhea-enteritis death rate is a tenth, the tuberculosis death rate a fourth, and the influenza-pneumonia rate half of what it was. On the other hand, cancer has doubled and heart disease more than doubled its rate; and a new arrival, motor vehicle accidents, is exacting a constantly increasing toll. Chlorosis, St. Vitus' Dance, ergot poisoning, and miliary fever have practically disappeared from nosography, the onsets of cholera have been stopped, and the ravages of plague, yellow fever and typhus fever are being constantly restricted. On the other hand, their places are being taken by new diseases, or old acquaintances recently unmasked, such as appendicitis, peptic ulcer, undulant fever, deficiency conditions, gall-bladder disease, cancer, industrial poisonings, and mental disease.

As to pestilential diseases, it may be noted that: for decades there has been no cholera in any part of South America; plague has decreased in Argentina from 63 cases in 1933 to 5 in 1938; in Chile there

has been no human case of plague since 1931; in Guayaquil, Ecuador, cases decreased from 116 in 1935 to 36 in 1938, and in Peru from 400 in 1930 to 59 in 1938. All ports are now free of plague and yellow fever. Deaths from yellow fever in Brazil increased from 14 in 1930 to 76 in 1935 and 256 in 1938, while in Colombia they decreased from 48 in 1936 and 51 in 1937 to about 15 in 1938. Cases of typhus decreased in Bolivia from more than 1,300 in 1935 to 590 in 1936, 201 in 1937, and 167 in 1938; in Chile from a maximum of 15,379 cases and 3,596 deaths in 1933 to 829 cases, and 236 deaths in 1938; in Guatemala deaths have varied from 27 in 1930 to 158 in 1932, 117 in 1936, and 81 in 1937; and in Mexico, from 935 in 1930 and 1,684 in 1931 to 1,488 in 1935, and about 900 in 1938. The recent identification of the disease in Brazil, Cuba, El Salvador and Venezuela is to be noted. In Argentina, cases of smallpox decreased from 539 in 1936 to less than about 53 in 1938; in Costa Rica there have been no cases since 1934, nor in Cuba and Puerto Rico since the beginning of the century; El Salvador had about 400 in 1935 and 20 in 1938, while in Mexico the disease caused 15,003 deaths in 1931, 5,205 in 1935, and 3,428 in 1937. The outbreak which afflicted Guayaquil and certain small foci in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay were rapidly extinguished, thus keeping up a tradition dating back several decades. The infectious disease picture is being changed more and more by prevention and vaccination.

Medicine, to borrow Fletcher's picturesque simile, is like a large hotel with many rooms, where the guests are constantly changing. An interesting feature has been the finding or rather identification of new conditions, among which the most interesting probably are acrodynia (1903, Selter; 1914, Swift); agranulocytosis (1922, Schultz); American onchocerciasis (1915,

Robles\*); American trypanosomiasis (1909, Chagas\*); appendicitis (1886, Fitz\*); aseptic meningitis (1893, Widal); Ayerza's disease (1901\*); bacillary dysentery (1897, Shiga; 1899, Flexner\*); blastomycosis (1892, Posadas\*; 1896, Gilchrist\*); encephalitis lethargica (1914, Cruchet; 1917, Economo); epidemic erythema (1926, Place *et al.*); equine encephalomyelitis (1931, Meyer, Haring and Howitt\*); glandular fever (1887, Filatoff; 1889, Pfeiffer); infectious erythema (1889, Tschamer; 1899-1904, Stricker\*); Madura foot (1894, Vincent); mottled teeth (1901, Chiaie); paratyphoid (1895, Tejera and Risquez\*; 1896, Achard and Bensaude); pleurodynia (\*1888, Dabney, 1923-4); rat bite fever (1887, Carter\*; 1914, Schottmuller); sickle-cell anemia (1910, Herrick\*); spirochetosis icterohaemorrhagica (1886, Weil); sporotrichosis (1896, Schenck; 1898, Beurmann); thrombo-angiitis obliterans (1908, Buerger\*); trench fever (1915, McNee); tularemia (1911, McCoy and Chapin; 1921, Francis\*); ariboflavinosis (1939, Sebrell).

New forms of old diseases have also been found, as for instance, alastrim\*, jungle yellow fever\*, sylvatic plague\*, and endemic typhus. Conditions once believed to be absent in certain areas have now been found present and even constitute serious problems in various parts of America. This has been the case with undulant fever\*, bacillary dysentery\*, bartonellosis\*, typhus fever\*, Chagas' disease\*, Rocky Mountain spotted fever\*, and deficiency troubles, and the list will probably become longer.

**NUTRITION.**—Perhaps even most important has been the recognition of avitaminoses\*, i. e., diseases due to vitamin deficiencies, among which the most prominent are rickets, scurvy, sprue, beriberi and pellagra. This constitutes one of the most fruitful advances from a health standpoint, since it has permitted appreciation of the

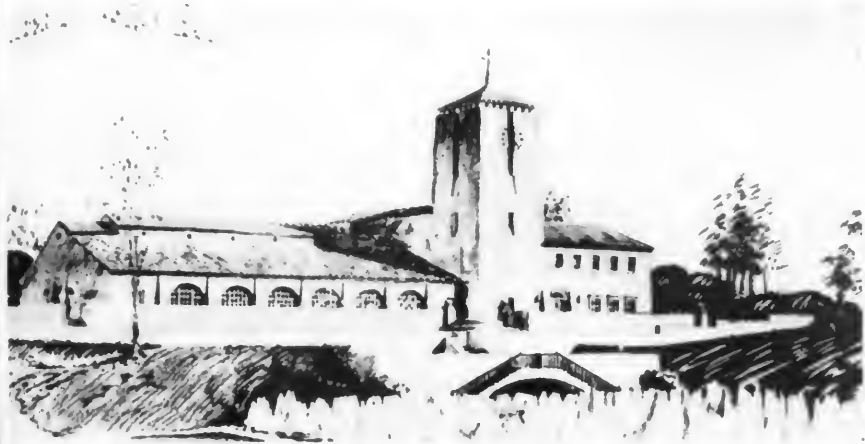
\* American contributions.

value of an adequate diet in order to maintain health and build up resistance to infection.

This movement has been reinforced first by the enterprise or pioneer research work of such men as Atwater, Chittenden, and Lusk in the United States, Escudero in Argentina, and González in Uruguay; and second, by the enactment of statutes aimed at safeguarding the purity of foodstuffs following the example given by the United States with its Pure Food Law of 1906, the principles of which have received hemispheric recognition.

**CAUSES OF DISEASE DISCOVERED.**—Since 1890, either the agents or the modes of transmission or both for a number of important diseases have been discovered: yellow fever (1881, Finlay; 1900, Reed, Carroll, Agramonte and Lazear\*); plague (1894, Yersin and Kitasato; 1897, Simond); infectious abortion (1895, Bang); botulism (1896, Ermengem); malaria (1895-7, Ross); Vincent's angina (1896, Vincent); bacillary dysentery (1898, Shiga; 1900, Flexner\*); tropical anemia (1899, Ashford\*; 1902, Stiles\*); kala-azar (1900, Leishman and Donovan); sleeping sickness (1901, Dutton and Ford); dengue (1903, Graham); syphilis (1905, Schaudinn and Hoffmann); yaws (1905, Castellani); typhus fever (1906, Cortezo; 1909, Nicolle; 1916, Rocha-Lima\*; 1922, Hone; 1926, Maxcy\*; 1931, Mooser\*, Dyer\*); Rocky Mountain spotted fever (1907, Ricketts\*); verruga peruana (1909, Barton\*); hemophilia (1911, Bullock and Fildes); septic sore throat (1912, Davis\*); tularemia (1912, McCoy and Chapin\*); American onchocerciasis (1915, Robles\*); Weil's disease (1915, Inada); rat bite fever (1916, Futaki); scarlet fever (1923, Dicks\*); pinto (1927, González-Herrejón); 1938, Alfonso and Grau; 1939, León\*); psittacosis (1930, Bedson, Krumwiede\*).

\* American contributions.



WATER FILTRATION PLANT, BOGOTÁ

The Colombian capital is one of the many cities that have safeguarded the health of their inhabitants by insuring a pure water supply.

Armstrong\*); influenza (1933, Smith-Wilson, Andrews and Laidlaw); silicosis (Haldane); miners' nystagmus (Lewclyn). "*Et causae quoque estimatio saepe morbum solvit*" (Celsus).

A number of problems have been clarified by new conceptions such as droplet infection (1889, Cornet; 1899, Flügge); human carriers (1893, Koch; 1898, Petruschky); bacteriolysis (1894, Pfeiffer); focal infection (1904-16, Billings\*); hydrogenions (1909, Sorenson); contact theory (1910, Chapin\*); side chains, allergy, immunity, agglutinins, latent infection, cell pathology, conditional and postural reflexes, acidosis, alkalosis, reticulo-endothelial system, chemical selectivity, the role of glutathione and lactic acid in the tissues.

**HORMONES AND VITAMINS.**—A number of long closed doors (pushed back by Claude Bernard, 1848-57; Addison, 1849-55; and Marie, 1886) to our study of Man the Unknown were opened through the knowl-

\*American contributions.

edge of hormones, the balance wheels of bodily function (1889-91, Brown-Séguard; 1891\*, Gley, Murray; 1894, Oliver and Schaefer; 1895, Magnus-Lévy; 1897-1910, Abel\*; 1901, Takamine\*; 1902, Bayliss and Starling; 1903, Sajous\*; 1905, Halban; 1912, Iscovesco; 1914, Kendall\*; 1918, McCallum and Voeghtlin\*; 1922, Evans and Long\*; 1923, Allen and Doisy\*; 1925, Collip\*; 1926, Smith and Engle, Zondek and Aschheim; 1927, Rogoff and Stewart\*, Kamm; 1931, Swingle and Pfiffner); amino-acids (1899-1906, Fisher); sex-chromosomes (1902, McClung); and vitamins, the sparks of life (1897, Eijkman; 1905, Pekarharing; 1906-20, Hopkins; 1911, Funk; 1912-20, McCollum\*; 1913, Osborne and Mendel\*; 1918, Mellenby; 1922, Evans and Bishop\*; 1924, Steenbock and Black\*; 1925, Hess\*, Weinstock and Helman; 1926, Goldberger\*; 1927, Williams and Waterman\*; 1928, Tillmans and Hirsch; 1928-32, Szent-Gyorgyi; 1935, Dam).

**CLINICAL AIDS.**—Clinical medicine—its

\*American contributions.

horizon already widened by the microscope—was radically transformed and enriched by a series of discoveries including: test meals (1890, Ewald and 1914, Reh-fuss\*); sphygmomanometry (1891, Riva Rocci); polygraphy (1892, MacKenzie); X-rays (1895, Roentgen, if not even before—1890—by Jennings and Goodspeed\* in the University of Pennsylvania); bronchoscopy (1894, Kirstein); agglutination (1895, Bordet); lumbar puncture and cyto-diagnosis (1895, Quincke); physiological experimentation (as for instance the pioneer research of Cajal, 1897–1904; Pavloff, 1885–1923; Sherrington, 1898–1915; Bayliss and Starling, 1902; and Cannon\*, 1908); hemoglobinometer (1900, Tallquist); spinal anesthesia (1885, Corning; 1899, Matas\*); infiltration anesthesia (1894, Schlerch); complement fixation (1901, Bordet and Gengou); blood grouping (1899–1901, Landsteiner); anaphylaxis (1902, Richet); psychoanalysis (1902, Freud); slit lamp (1902, Gullstrand); tissue transplantation and culture (1902–10, Carrel\*); electrocardiography (1903, Einthoven); ultramicroscope (1903, Siedentopf and Zsigmond); calorimeter (1904, Atwater\*); blood picture (1904, Arneth); differential count (1906, Schilling); basal metabolism (1910, Benedict\*); blood transfusion (1914, perfected by Agote\*); blood cell sedimentation (1918, Fahraeus).

TESTS.—Aids made available to medicine during the last fifty years are: liver tests (1886–1901, Ehrlich; 1918, Van den Bergh); tuberculin (1890, Koch); buccal spots in measles (1895–6, Filatow-Koplik); renal and urine tests (1897, Achard and Castaigne; 1908, Benedict\*; 1910, Ambard; 1910–12, Rowntree and Geraghty; 1912, Folin and Dennis; 1913, Kjeldahl; 1918, Van Slyke); mental tests (Binet and Simon, 1906–11); serum diagnosis of typhoid (1896, Widal); skin tests for hay

fever (1903, Dunbar); serum diagnosis of syphilis (1906, Wassermann); precipitation tests (1907, Michaelis, Meinicke; 1918, Sachs-Georgi; 1922, Kahn\*); skin tests for tuberculosis (1907, Pirquet); intradermal test (1908, Mendel and Mantoux); pneumococcus typing (1909, Neufeld and Haendel); skin test for diphtheria (1910–13, Schick); colloidal gold test (1912, Lange); Coolidge tube (1913\*); precipitation tests in typhus fever (1917, Weil and Felix); blanching phenomenon in scarlet fever (1918, Schultz-Charlton); spinal roentgenography (1921, Sicard and Forester); cholecystography (1923, Graham\*); skin test for scarlet fever (1924, Dick\*); pregnancy test (1930, Aschheim and Zondek); mouse test for yellow fever (1930, Theiler\*); lepromin test (1934, Bargehr); PPD (1934, Seybert\*); eye sign in trypanosomiasis (1934, Romañá\*); flea inoculation in plague (1936, Eskey\*); patch test (1937, Vollmer).

Improved diagnostic methods are constantly coming into the medical domain and to them a great part of the success obtained against a number of diseases, including cancer, pneumonia, syphilis, diphtheria, tuberculosis, and undulant fever, is due.

DRUGS.—A wealth of drugs has also offered new hopes to ailing humanity: benzocaine (1890, Ritser); methyl violet (1890, Schilling); pyramidon (1893, Filehne and Spiro); chaulmoogra oil (1899, Tortoulis-Bey); epinephrine (1901, Takamine\*); barbital (1903, Fisher); betanaphthol (1904, Bentley); veronal (1904); atophan (1908, Nicolaier and Dohrm); pantopon (1909, Sahli); proeaine (1905, Einhorn); salvarsan (1909, Ehrlich); ambrine (1913, Barthe de Sandfort); sancrocrisin (1913, Mollgaard); tryparsamide (1919, Jacobs and Heidelberg\*); mercurochrome (1919, Young, White, and Swartz\*); butyn (1920); carbon tetra-

\*American contributions.

\*American contributions.



chloride (1921, Hall\*); insulin (1921, Banting and Best\*); yatren (1921, Mühlens and Menk); merbaphen (1920, Saxl and Heilig); quinidine (1922, Cotton); gentian violet (1924, Churchman\*); liver extract (1925, Whipple\*; 1926, Minot and Murphy\*); plasmochin (1924, Schulemann); cholesterol (1925, Hess and Steenbock\*); tetrachlorethylene (1925, Hall\*); hexylresoreinol (1932, Lamson\*); atebtrin (1930, Mietsch and Mauss); protamin insulin (1936, Hagedorn); and finally sulfanilamide and its derivatives (1935, Domagk), the closest perhaps so far mankind has come to finding a panacea.<sup>6</sup>

MAGIC BULLETS.—The discovery of epinephrine, salvarsan, insulin and sulfanilamide rank with the highest achievements of medicine throughout the centuries. The *therapia sterilisans magna* is now complemented by the *therapia curans magna*.<sup>7</sup>

Cure and prevention weapons have been strengthened by sera and vaccines such as those for rabies (1882, Pasteur); cholera (1885, Ferrán; 1892, Haffkine); snakebites (1887, Sewall; 1894, Calmette); typhoid (1888, Chantemesse); tetanus (1890, Behring and Kitasato); diphtheria (1890-94, Behring and Roux); anthrax (1895, Selavo); plague (1895, 1897, Yersin); scarlet fever (1902, Moser; 1924, Dick\*); meningitis (1907, Flexner\*; 1931, Ferry\*); whooping cough (1907, Freeman); scorpion bites (1909, Todd); toxin-antitoxin (1912, Behring; suggested in 1907 by Th. Smith\*); gas gangrene (1918, Weinberg and Seguin); pneumonia (1909, Neufeld and Haendel; 1917, Avery *et al.*\*); Rocky Mountain spotted fever (1923, Speneer

and Parker\*); BCG (1924, Calmette); erysipelas (1925, Birghaug\*); spider bites (1926, Brazil and Vellard\*); dysentery (1927, Fletcher and Jepps\*); typhus fever (1930, Weigl; 1931, Zinsser and Castañeda\*); yellow fever (1930, Hindle); convalescent sera (1897, Weisbecker); pollen extract (1911, Noon); bacteriophage (1915, Twort; 1917, d'Hérelle); lipovaccines (1916, Le Moignie and Pinoy); sensitized vaccines (1919, Besredka); defatted vaccines (1921, Douglas and Fleming); and anatoxin (1925, Ramon) have all helped this branch along.

This has likewise been the case with high frequency current (1887-92, Arsonval); organotherapy (beginning in 1889, with Brown-Séquard); ultra-violet rays (1893, Finsen); pneumothorax (1895, revived by Forlanini); radium (1899, Curie); ion therapy (1900, Leduc); deep roentgen therapy (1903, Perthes); protein therapy (1905, Winter); twilight narcosis (1906, Gauss and Krönig); pneumatic chamber (1917, Sauerbruch); sun cure (1914, Rollier); fever therapy (1917, Jauregg); duodenal drainage (1919, Lyon\*); maggot therapy (1925, Baer\*); hypertherm (1937, Kettering\*).

Not only have new drugs come into use, but old ones, as well as certain methods and devices, are being employed with more efficiency or in fresh fields: digitalis in heart disease; salicylates in rheumatism; silver salts in eye trouble; iodine in goiter; calcium and potassium salts, caffeine and xanthine compounds as diuretics; hexylresoreinol and mandelic acid in renal troubles; bismuth as a spirocheticide; kaolin in cholera; petroleum and agar as cathartics; chenopodium, carbon tetrachloride, ficin, gentian violet, tartar emetic, pyrethrum, atebtrin, emetine and ethyl chloride as anthelmintics; gold salts in tuberculosis and spirochetoses; ethyl

\* American contributions.

\* American contributions.

<sup>6</sup> The first and for a long time only specific drug (quinine for malaria) was found in the New World. The other specific, mercury, was also largely developed in the Americas for an alleged American disease.

<sup>7</sup> The principles of modern scientific medicine are quite well presented in a series of papers on "The Pharmacopoeia and the Physician," published recently by the authorities of the U. S. Pharmacopoeia in cooperation with the American Medical Associations.

chloride, ethylene and acetylene as anesthetics; antimony in trypanosomiasis and leishmaniasis; nicotinic acid in pellagra; nitroglycerin in angor pectoris; thallium in ringworm; histidine in peptic ulcer; arsenicals in various conditions; picric acid, tannic acid and gentian violet for burns; pituitary extract in obstetrics; sodium thiosulphate in cyanide poisoning; ephedrine in respiratory conditions; chlorine, ammonia and ozone for the disinfection of water; insufflation in sterility; X-rays and radium in cancer; snake venom as an analgesic; pyrethrum in venereal conditions; fluorine in prevention of dental caries; copper sulphate to destroy algae and snails; carbon dioxide in asphyxia and skin disease and to destroy rats; oxygen in pneumonia and anesthesia, insulin and metrazol in mental conditions; hydrocyanic acid, pyrethrum, coal oil and Paris green against insects.

**SURGERY.**—Effective local anesthesia had just been discovered in 1890 (1884, Koller). Surgery,<sup>8</sup> thanks first to anesthesia, and then to Lister's application of antiseptics, closely followed by asepsis, had just begun to venture into the internal cavities, but soon would extend its dominion to every part of the human body. This was the golden epoch that saw the rise of Pirovano in Argentina, Acosta-Ortiz in Venezuela, Barros-Borgoño in Chile, Carvallo in Peru, Valdés and Malda in Mexico, Ucrós and Montoya Flores in Colombia, Menocal in Cuba, DeBayle, Martínez and Ortega in Central America, Paes Leme and Almeida in Brazil, Halsted, Murphy and Matas in the United States, and their peers in other parts of America. Thanks to advances in physiology and anatomy, and especially standardization of technique and animal experimentation, their successors

<sup>8</sup> *The American Surgical Association was formed in 1880, the Society of Clinical Surgery in 1903, the journal "Surgery, Gynecology and Obstetrics" in 1905, and the American College of Surgeons in 1913.*

were to enjoy a vast domain indeed. Their art, from a small aristocracy, has become a democracy wide open to all talents, and steadily increasing its ranks. As late as 1876, on the centennial of American independence, the author of the first "Complete System of Surgery," Samuel Gross, of Philadelphia, stated that "there is not a medical man on this Continent who devotes himself exclusively to the practice of surgery." A single surgeon such as the younger Mayo could boast of having performed in his lifetime several thousand more operations on a single organ than all his predecessors throughout the centuries. Surgery in the Americas is on the rise. Through its thousands of practitioners it is contributing effectively in the field of technique, in the systematization of knowledge, in the improvement of training and in raising the standard of hospitals.

**HOSPITALS.**—In the housing of the sick Latin America has a long and proud tradition. By the time the first hospital was opened in the present United States the Spanish colonies were already studded with similar institutions. The progress made in the last half century is little short of astonishing. The Johns Hopkins Hospital, marking a new epoch, opened its doors in 1889, having been closely preceded by St. Mary's Hospital in Rochester, Minn., and followed in 1895 by the Mayo Clinic, which signaled the dawn of another distinct advance: group medicine. The number of hospitals in the United States has increased from a mere 149 in 1873 to 4,357 in 1909 and 6,166 in 1939, the tendency in the last decade being to decrease numbers and increase efficiency. A similar increase has occurred in Latin America. The countries having the most hospitals are Brazil (1,200), Argentina (750), Mexico (300), Colombia (250), Chile (184). In number of beds per 1,000 population Argentina and Uruguay lead. In con-

struction the bitter rivalry between the pavilion and the block systems seems to be eventuating everywhere in a happy compromise, combining the best features of both. The palatial institutions in Buenos Aires, the building programs under way in Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela, the plans for the care of leprosy, tuberculosis and mental cases, the new maternity and children's hospitals, the stress on the organization of efficient nursing staffs, show how Latin American countries have become hospital-minded and taken long strides forward.<sup>9</sup>

**MEDICAL EDUCATION.**—After a series of surveys under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Science, the American Medical Association<sup>10</sup> initiated in the first decade of the century a movement which reduced the

<sup>9</sup> For a fuller treatment of this subject, see the paper by Moll in "*Hospitals*," November 1939.

<sup>10</sup> Founded in 1849, and publishing its *Journal* since 1883.

number of medical schools in the United States from 160 in 1904 to 88 in 1920 and 77 in 1939, this reduction being accompanied by a marked improvement in the quality and extent of the training furnished. A new epoch dawned with emphasis on clinical and laboratory practice, the reform being initiated in the University of Pennsylvania (1893-95), and in the opening (1893) of the Johns Hopkins Medical School devoted to teaching medicine in accordance with modern scientific methods.<sup>11</sup>

In Latin America this movement—still under way—has taken the form of attempts at making medical training more practical and effective, especially through the development of clinical observation and the introduction of laboratory methods. In Europe, on the other hand, we are witnessing the sad spectacle of the deterioration of professional education.

<sup>11</sup> Osler's book, "*Principles and Practice of Medicine*," a masterpiece of its kind, appeared in 1892.



NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF HEALTH, PERU

One of the best-equipped research establishments in Latin America.

The construction of new buildings for schools began in Chile in 1889 and in Buenos Aires in 1895. The well-equipped teaching institutes and hospitals created since in Buenos Aires, Rio, São Paulo, Habana, Montevideo, Lima, and Mexico City, and planned for other places, truly represent the best appreciation that could be given the art of healing.

The old problem of attracting promising young men to this field has now changed to the need of limiting students to the number actually required to serve the country. An interesting development is the policy initiated in some countries, such as Mexico and Nicaragua, of compelling new graduates to spend some time in a rural district or village before being allowed to practice in large cities.

**WOMEN.**—In the United States medical education for women goes back to Elizabeth Blackwell's graduation (1849), the Woman's Medical Colleges of Philadelphia and Baltimore being organized in 1850 and 1882, respectively. In Latin America it may be dated from Hostos' campaign in Chile in the late '70's. The first graduates in Chile and Mexico were in 1887, in Brazil in 1888, in Argentina and Cuba in 1889, in Peru in 1900 and in Haiti in 1940.

One field which women have made their own, fully justifying their choice, has been nursing. The first nursing schools in the United States opened in 1873 in Bellevue Hospital, New York, and in New Haven and Boston hospitals. By 1938 there were in the United States 1,328 schools of nursing with more than 82,000 students. On a smaller scale similar schools have been organized in practically all capital cities in Latin America, with a view to having at hand trained corps of aides for the care of the sick. The role played by United States nurses in developing nursing services in Latin America makes a glowing picture of achievement.

**POST-GRADUATE TRAINING.**—The first post-graduate institution in the New World was the New York Polyclinic (1882). Since that date this subject has received increasing attention, as shown by the creation of the Johns Hopkins School and the Mayo Foundation, the offering of special courses under many auspices, and the efforts at improving and checking the quality of these courses by the American Medical Association and the American College of Surgeons. An effort is being made in Latin America to establish a similar system, and post-graduate courses on a number of subjects are being offered periodically in such cities as Buenos Aires, Habana, Mexico, and elsewhere. The new health institutes and public health schools in a number of capital cities furnish post-graduate training for sanitarians.<sup>12</sup>

As public health has entered the people's consciousness and funds to apply its principles have been made available on an increasing scale, the need of a trained personnel has been realized everywhere. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology has offered biological courses since the '60's, and emphasized the subject under Sedgwick in 1883. Courses in public health were afterwards given in various schools, not less than fourteen, by 1930. The Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health, first and largest of its kind, was inaugurated in 1918. In Latin America the only real school of this type is the São Paulo Institute of Hygiene. However, similar purposes are pursued by the Oswaldo Cruz Institute at Rio and the Institutes in Habana, Mexico, Lima, and the new School of Public Health in Chile.

**TROPICAL MEDICINE.**—The progress made in the study of diseases of warm cli-

<sup>12</sup>For a more complete review of this subject, see Publication No. 119 of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau.



INTERNATIONAL HOSPITAL, CIUDAD TRUJILLO, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC  
One of the new institutions showing the development of hospital-mindedness in Latin America.

mates, in which Americans took a very prominent part, led to the creation of the modern schools of tropical medicine.<sup>13</sup> The first was founded (1886) at Hong Kong by Manson, being followed in the Old World by those at Hamburg (1892), London and Liverpool (1899), actually the first representative ones, Lisbon (1902), Brussels (1906), Amsterdam, Sydney (1924), Marseilles (1930), Madrid and Antwerp (1933). In the New World the dean of these colleges is the old (1917) Institute of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene in Puerto Rico, which became a full-fledged school in 1924. Next came the College of Tropical Agriculture (and Health) at Trinidad. Since then departments or schools of tropical medicine have been organized in the universities of Har-

vard, Tulane, Louisiana, South Carolina, and California. A similar task will eventually be carried out by the splendid institutes recently opened in Bogotá, Mexico and Lima, and planned in Caracas. It is also one of the avowed purposes of the Finlay Institute in Habana and the Gorgas Memorial Institute in Panama; is already in effect at the Oswaldo Cruz Institute at Rio; and receives constant attention in the North Argentine Mission at Jujuy.

**DENTISTRY.**—Largely by virtue of American leadership, dentistry has risen from its old subordinate rank to the category of a science and its public health value is emphasized by recent studies on focal infection, mottled teeth, dental caries and nutrition.

**SANITARY ENGINEERING.**—Some of the outstanding public health achievements must be summarized; among them is one of the essentials, a pure water supply. A serious

<sup>13</sup> For a more complete review of this subject, see Publication No. 119 of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau.

study of the relation of water supplies and typhoid started after outbreaks at Plymouth, Pennsylvania (1885), Lowell (1890), and Lawrence (1891). Although filters had been introduced in the United States in 1871-72, as late as 1900 only 6.3 per cent of the urban population used filtered water; by 1910 the proportion had risen to 20 per cent, and is now much higher. The tentative use of chlorine for the disinfection of water began in 1893 (Lawrence, Massachusetts), but spread only after the beginning of the century (1908, Johnson); it now embraces over 90 per cent of the surface supplies in the United States. In 1897 the American Public Health Association published its standard methods for water examination which have contributed so much to clarify the subject. The importance of safe water supplies is receiving increasing recognition throughout Latin America. In Argentina, for instance, about 50 per cent of the entire population is already benefited by public improvements of this nature. The proportion is smaller in other countries, but in all rapid progress is being made in this direction, and the waterworks just opened in some cities, including Bogotá and Orizaba, and under construction in others, for instance Caracas, represent the latest ideas. In Argentina, a national institution, *Obras Sanitarias*, watches over the water supplies of the whole country.

Pasteurization dated back a few decades but it was applied to milk shortly before 1890 by Soxhlet. Shortly afterwards it began to be used on a large scale in the United States, largely through Caillé's and Jacobi's endeavors. It was also in America that Babcock devised (1892) his lactometer which revolutionized the milk industry, and that the thermal death point of pathogenic germs in milk (1899, Th. Smith; 1906, Rosenau) was determined.

One of the most fruitful developments

in this field has been sanitary engineering—the science devoted to the betterment of human environment. Divisions of sanitary engineering now exist in practically all national and many local health departments. Sanitary engineering concerns itself with a number of allied problems: sewage disposal, milk sanitation, malaria control, housing, rat proofing, ventilation,<sup>14</sup> and industrial hygiene. In rural sanitation, perhaps the most pressing health problem confronting all American countries, this help proves invaluable in the solution of the two basic questions: water supply and sewage disposal.<sup>15</sup>

**INDUSTRIAL HYGIENE.**—In industrial hygiene the inception of the national movement in the United States may be placed in 1906 with the organization of the National Committee on Child Labor and the American Association on Labor Legislation, followed by the first American Congress on Industrial Diseases (1910) and the constitution of the National Safety Council and the enactment of State legislation making certain workmen's diseases compensable (1911). In Latin America the publication (1910-11) of Bunge's book on industrial diseases and labor legislation proved a landmark. The entire movement took a decidedly Pan American aspect with the recommendations made on child and women's labor and general factory sanitation at the Washington (1919) and Santiago, Chile (1936) labor conferences.

**SOCIAL WORK.**—Among the most valuable factors in the extension of health protection has been social work. Public health may be only a small sector of this

<sup>14</sup> Haldane's and Smith's (1892), Billings', Mitchell, and Bergey's (1895), and Flugge's (1905) experiments revolutionized our knowledge of ventilation. The katathermometer for measuring the loss of heat from the human body was introduced by Hill in 1928.

<sup>15</sup> One of the services furnished by the Pan American Sanitary Bureau most in demand is advice by its field sanitary engineers.

immense field, but certainly not the least important and probably the best tilled. Beginning perhaps in its modern conception with district nursing in the '70's, its use in 1902 in Baltimore by medical students under Dr. C. P. Emerson, and its application in 1905 to psychiatry in the Massachusetts General Hospital and the Bellevue Hospital, social work has made notable strides. The first nurses' settlement was founded in New York City in 1893. By 1912 a National Organization for Public Health Nursing was created, and the number of public health nurses rose from 130 in 1900 to not less than 11,000 in 1920 and about 24,000 at present. An offshoot of this movement, social service in the United States, numbers tens of thousands in its personnel. Not less than 35 social service schools, practically all affiliated with universities, exist in the United States. The social service schools in Chile enjoy deserved prestige, one of them organized in 1925 being the first in Latin America, and similar institutions elsewhere, for instance, in Buenos Aires and Caracas, are developing rapidly.<sup>16</sup>

No better manifestation of this spirit can be brought out than the noble provisions in the 1937 Brazilian Constitution and the recent enactment of social security laws. Chile was the pioneer in such legislation, and its 1924 sickness and disability insurance law stands out as a model with its wide range of activities. Similar but less comprehensive laws have been adopted in Ecuador (1935), the United States (1935) and Peru (1936), for specific groups in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, and Uruguay, and are under study in other countries, such as Mexico and Venezuela.<sup>17</sup>

CHILD WELFARE<sup>18</sup> assumed a more definite form with the creation in the United States of the first division of child hygiene in New York in 1908, the first national conference on infant mortality in 1909, mothers' aid laws beginning in 1911, and the organization of the national Children's Bureau in 1912. Here again inter-American congresses have endowed the movement with a truly Pan American aspect which has manifested itself in provisions for the protection and care of motherhood, premarital examinations, children's charters, care of the handicapped, school hygiene, child labor, juvenile courts, etc. The maternal and child welfare divisions recently created in a number of countries—for instance, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay, Venezuela—evidence another phase of the interest in this all-important subject.

EUGENICS AND BIOMETRICS.—These were placed on a safe and promising basis through the studies of Galton (1889) and Pearson (1897), and especially the revival and confirmation by Vries (1900) of Mendel's forgotten laws (1865). The role of inheritance has become better defined, and definite steps to protect the unborn have been taken through sterilization of the unfit and premarital examinations.

MENTAL HYGIENE.—This is a typically American product which, since it was introduced in 1908 by Beers to fill a long-felt want, has been adopted practically everywhere, especially in Latin American countries, in a number of which mental hygiene societies have been constituted.

SOCIAL DISEASE.—The same ideal is also at the basis of the modern campaigns against so-called social diseases and conditions, tuberculosis, venereal troubles, leprosy, heart disease, infant mortality,

<sup>16</sup> *The School of Philanthropy organized in New York in 1899 by Miss Mary Richmond seems to have been the first.*

<sup>17</sup> *For a more complete review see the BULLETIN of the Pan American Union for October 1939.*

<sup>18</sup> *For a more complete review of this subject see Publication No. 107 of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau and the Report of the Transactions of the Tenth Pan American Sanitary Conference.*

cancer, underfeeding, poor housing, etc.

Nowhere has more progress been made than in the field of *tuberculosis* control. One of the signposts had been the opening of Trudeau's sanatorium in 1884. The creation of the Brazilian (1900) and the Argentine (1901) Leagues, the Phipps Institute (1903), and the American Tuberculosis Association (1904)<sup>19</sup> were significant steps in the campaign which, enlisting public and private effort, has brought tuberculosis morbidity and mortality to their present low records. Similar endeavors in other countries where difficulties are even greater will undoubtedly yield like success, as is already apparent.

The increase of *cancer* naturally awoke the concern of sanitarians. The organized campaign must be dated from 1913, when the first cancer hospital was opened and the American Society for the Control of Cancer organized in the United States. Argentina followed suit with the opening of the Institute of Experimental Medicine (1923). We find now similar if less elaborate establishments in Rosario, Santa Fe, Rio, Santiago, Bogotá, Medellín, Habana, Lima, San Juan, Montevideo, Caracas, and finally Washington. The campaign in progress is practically continental, being based everywhere on the principle of education of the laity and the medical profession to the need of early, and when required, free diagnosis and treatment.

*Veneral* trouble, the social disease *par excellence*, could not fail to attract the attention of preventive medicine. Campaigns against syphilis have been carried on ever since the discovery of America. In his presidential address to the American Medical Association in 1876, Sims, the first of the great American surgeons, earnestly pleaded for a firm stand against this menace to society. The antiveneral

movement in America, however, entered a new phase with the organization of the American Social Hygiene Association (1914), with the measures taken during the World War to preserve the health of the soldiers, and finally with the appointment (1936) of Dr. Thomas Parran as Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, the appropriation by the United States Congress (1938) of adequate funds for control purposes, and the enactment of pre-marital and pre-natal examination laws. This campaign has assumed a truly Pan American character, as evidenced by the laws enacted in Argentina and Chile, the work conducted by the Gaffrée-Guinard Foundation in Rio and the Samaritan Hospital in Bogotá, and the improved organization in such countries as Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, and Peru.

CLIMAXES.—The dates and names given above often represent but elimaxes in a long trail of trials and endeavors.<sup>20</sup> In fact, the progress achieved largely owes its rapidity to prompt and regular interchange of information through journals, books and meetings, to coordination and cooperation among the various sciences, to linking of problems at first sight widely separated, through application of knowledge from multiple sources, to the general spread and availability of findings apparently disconnected. "Mind begets mind," said Harvey. In the history of civilization Greece shines like a bright focus in which the beams of antique thought converged. Modern science focuses on its problems the light from a thousand stars of knowledge, so that no aspect may remain in the dark. Pure science gathers information, disregarding whether it may or may not be needed. Applied science puts it to use when required. One is power, the

<sup>19</sup> One of its branches, the Pennsylvania Association, dates from 1892.

<sup>20</sup> From the modest experiments of Laveran and Mesnil (1902) Ehrlich visualized the golden opportunity which chemotherapy could find in the gigantic dye factories of Germany.





THE SCHOOL OF TROPICAL MEDICINE, PUERTO RICO

Founded in 1917, this is the dean of schools in the Americas for the study of diseases of warm climates.

other is force at work. Chemistry and Physics are revolutionizing the world and Medicine has learned to use the weapons put within its reach to redeem humanity from sickness and death.

AMERICAN CONTRIBUTIONS—It is indeed true that science is international and its deeds are the heritage of humanity. Yet the worker who toiled hard and successfully for a noble cause has more legitimate grounds for satisfaction than those who merely shared in its benefits. The Americans may feel justly proud of their contributions to medicine and public health. European ideals led the early colonists in their explorations of coast, forest and stream. A similar story may be told in the world of intellect. That time is long past.

The children of Columbus's hemisphere have applied in the physical and mental domains qualities of their own. The old reproach that they were avid consumers but poor producers no longer holds. The Americans can now export ideas which others put to use and even appropriate, as they once did with quinine and rubber. Out of nearly 6,000 medical journals in the world, probably almost one-fifth are published in the Americas. The soil of democracy has proved receptive to the seeds of science.<sup>21</sup>

There is hardly any medical field in which Americans have failed to leave their

<sup>21</sup> A series of articles on leading scientific institutions in Latin America is being published in the "Boletín de la Oficina Sanitaria Panamericana."

imprint. The names of Finlay, Reed, Ricketts and Maxcy must appear in any chapter of medicine dealing with the role of insects in disease. No more names will be listed, as the roster would show a whole army. Alastrim, jungle yellow fever, verruga peruana, American trypanosomiasis, Rocky Mountain spotted fever, tularaemia, pinto, granuloma coccidioides, are all conditions on which the leading, if not the only, contributions are American. In the field of nutrition American names appear in the very first rank, as in the modern conceptions of focal infection, anoci-association, disinfection, contact, anesthesia, ophiology; the marked advances in the fields of etiology (crisipelas, pinto, scarlet fever, trypanosomiasis, typhus fever, yellow fever), diagnosis (diphtheria, dysentery, smallpox, intestinal parasites, plague, trypanosomiasis, tuberculosis) and therapeutics (diabetes, osteomyelitis, pernicious anemia, intestinal parasites, nutritional disorders, scarlet fever, tuberculosis); and finally in public health, as shown by the spectacular increase in life expectancy, the success against such diseases as diphtheria, tuberculosis, typhoid and the quasi-extinction of others, as smallpox, yellow fever, typhus fever. In surgery and dentistry methods and operations galore are known by the names of Argentine, Cuban, Peruvian and United States practitioners.<sup>22</sup> *Nihil tetigerunt quod non ornaverunt.*

Definite American features in the health movement have been the insistence on education rather than compulsion, on prevention rather than cure, the practical character of the measures proposed, the tendency to make scientific knowledge available to all at the earliest moments. Definite objectives, vision, and vast goals characterize the Pan American mind, as shown by Briggs' dictum that public

health is purchasable by the sponsorship of periodic health examinations; Finlay's, Gorgas' and Cruz' dreams of eradicating yellow fever; Ashford's and Rangel's plans to fight tropical anemia; Sedgwick's wish to eliminate waterborne diseases; Penna's and Ribas' combat against smallpox; Brazil's and Amaral's suppression of snake-bite deaths; Carter's and Licéaga's ambition to control malaria; Sims' and Parran's campaign against venereal disease; Cummings' and Long's drive against plague. Perhaps no better illustration can be offered than the construction of the Panama Canal. Given up as hopeless by the French, in spite of their engineering skill, the Americans shouldered the task and succeeded by putting into effect health principles just discovered through Cuban and American joint efforts.

MARTYRS.—"So loved her that they died for her," sang the bard of the Commemoration Ode. Carrión, Otero, Lazcar, McClintock, Lemos Monteciro, Noguchi, form with their many unknown colleagues, a noble legion of heroes of medicine—all fallen while searching for means to help their fellow men.

INTERNATIONAL AMERICAN COOPERATION  
International health cooperation was still a moot question in the New World in 1870. It is a fact that international sanitary conferences had been held at Montevideo in 1873, Washington in 1881, Rio in 1887 and Lima in 1888, but their scope had been invariably restricted and no practical achievements had followed. All of them had, however, contributed valuable suggestions, even prepared drafts of international conventions, and brought out clearly the need of an agreement on troublesome quarantine procedures, which through lack of standardization and scientific basis, handicapped commercial intercourse and disturbed international comity. The Washington Conference made history

<sup>22</sup> For fuller review of this subject, see No. 16, Education Series, Pan American Union.

as Finlay then and there boldly proclaimed to a skeptical audience the novel idea that an independent vector was necessary for the spread of yellow fever. This Conference also recommended several far-reaching measures, the execution of which was to be long postponed, namely, use of international bills of health, international reporting of health conditions and creation of international health bureaus.

Inter-American health cooperation has now been placed on a solid and stable basis through the series of Pan American Sanitary Conferences having their inception in 1902, thanks to the foresight of such men as Licéaga, Ulloa, Wyman and Moore. Ten of these meetings, with increasingly marked success, have been held, the last one in Bogotá in 1938, as well as three Conferences of National Directors of Health, the last one in 1936; another is about to meet in Washington. The place of these assemblies from a more purely medical standpoint is taken by Pan American congresses on medicine, surgery, and special subjects such as psychiatry, tuberculosis, urology, radiology, and ophthalmology.

At its Brooklyn meeting in 1889, the American Public Health Association instructed its secretary to invite the health authorities of Mexico, Central America, Cuba and Colombia (then including Panama) to cooperate in the work of the society. In response to this invitation, Mexico sent representatives to the meeting in Charleston in 1890, accepted membership then as Cuba did in 1902, and was host to the Association in 1892, 1906, and 1930, as Cuba was in 1905 and 1911. The Mexicans, Licéaga in 1895 and Orvañanos in 1906, and the Cuban, Finlay, in 1903, were elected Presidents of the Association—as has also been the case with a number of Canadians—and several countrymen of theirs have been elected to important

places on the governing council on different occasions in the recent past.

The Americans have not failed to participate in the world-wide field through representation on such bodies as the International Bureau of Public Health created in 1909, and the Health Organization of the League of Nations, dating from 1923. It may be well to point out that the international health center of the Americas, the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, preceded (1902) both these bodies. The Bureau has steadily increased its usefulness and scope, especially since Surgeon General Hugh S. Cumming became its Director in 1920.<sup>23</sup> The Pan American Sanitary Code was adopted in 1924, and new demands for its services have arisen. The Pan American Sanitary Bureau is continuing and developing its cooperative work with all the American Republics, and an increase of funds was approved for this purpose by the Tenth Pan American Sanitary Conference.

In the medical field the Americans have likewise made their presence felt internationally through effective representation and valuable contributions, and acting as hosts to an increasing number of important meetings.

**ROCKFELLER FOUNDATION.**—An event of international bearing was the endowment in 1909 of the Rockefeller Foundation which, with the creation of its International Health Division in 1913, extended its scope from hookworm control to other tropical plagues and finally to improvement of medical education and training of health personnel.

**RED CROSS.**—By 1890 Red Cross societies had just been organized in a few American countries: Peru (1879), Argentina (1880), United States (1882). Costa Rica (1885). They now exist in every

<sup>23</sup> Although he retired from the United States Public Health Service in 1936, Dr. Cumming has continued at the head of the Bureau.

Republic on the Western Continent, vying with each other in effective work in public catastrophes, their action in peacetime having eventually gathered importance at least equal to their activities in periods of war.

FROM MULE TRAILS TO SKYWAYS.—After crawling for centuries, Medicine began walking about fifty years ago and traveled by automobile from the beginning of the xxth century. It is now journeying on wings at ever greater speed. Its aim now as in Hippocrates' time is to help ailing mankind, but, not content with curing, it tries to prevent disease before it takes root in the human body. From its former static and to that extent negative attitude,

Medicine has become positive and ever dynamic. From thoughts of disease it has turned to the establishment of health.

While bloody strife rages elsewhere, the far nobler pursuit of Health, Happiness, and Life still engages the nations of Columbus' world.

The Americas are entitled to the credit of not only proclaiming but making a reality of the great human rights: the right to justice; the right to freedom; the right to education; the right to equality. They are advancing and consolidating the Supreme Heritage, the lack of which makes all others null and void—the Right to Health.



WOMEN'S PAVILION, THE CANCER INSTITUTE, BUENOS AIRES

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