My dear Mr. Minister:

I am in receipt of a telegram from Secretary of State Hull that I am to convey to you at the earliest possible opportunity the following communication from him from my Government.

The American Republics, during the eight years immediately preceding the time the Axis movement for world conquest reached this hemisphere, devoted their earnest and constant efforts to perfect and to strengthen the system of inter-American cooperation. A spirit of unity and solidarity was further developed, and great progress was made, which led to the hope that there would be united and common resistance against any threat from outside this Continent to the security and the peace of this Continent.

At the Eighth International Conference in Lima of the American States in 1938, the spiritual foundation for the belief that the supreme test of unity when confronted by aggression would be fully met by each of the twenty-one republics was afforded, through the reaffirmation of the American Governments of their continental solidarity and their proclaimed determination to make that solidarity effective in case the security, peace, or territorial integrity of any of the American Republics were threatened.

At the meeting of the American Foreign Ministers at Panama just after the war in Europe had started in 1939, the identical spirit animated the meeting.

The Foreign Ministers of the American States again met at Havana in July 1940, shortly after the occupation of France by Germany, and the American Republics at that meeting raised to the juridical level their determination to maintain their solidarity against the spread of the aggression.

His Excellency
Licenciado Ezequiel Padilla,
Minister for Foreign Relations,
México, D.F.
aggression by the Axis which was threatened to the whole of the Western Hemisphere. They agreed there to solemnly engage each other:

"That any attempt on the part of a non-American state against the integrity or inviolability of the territory, the sovereignty or the political independence of an American State shall be considered as an act of aggression against the States which sign this declaration."

The Foreign Ministers of the American Republics met again at Rio de Janeiro in January, 1942, when Axis aggression had reached this hemisphere, and on the firm and binding bases for hemispheric defense which had already been established they were able to agree promptly upon identical and uniform measures in the economic, political, and military fields which each and every one of the American Republics should take for the collective security of all.

There would have been established a solid tradition of hemispheric unity by the firm adherence by all of the American Republics to these principles and the benefits of this tradition would have been enjoyed for generations to come by all of the peoples of the American Republics. The Government of one of the American Republics, that of the Argentine, elected, when the real test came, to follow a completely separate and different course. The Government of the Argentine, by continuing in that course, has not only given aid and comfort to the open and declared enemies of all the other American Republics, but by its separate course has undermined seriously the entire structure of hemispheric solidarity. The question of the recognition of the present Farrell Government in the Argentine rests on this fundamental issue.

The overwhelming majority of the American Republics do not presently maintain diplomatic relations with the Government of Argentina on the ground that in refusing to join in the common defense against a common enemy, the security of the hemisphere has been jeopardized by that Government, and further, that this action, in a critical moment of the history of the Americas, has destroyed their unity. The thought or the suggestion that the recognition of the present Government of the Argentine should be accorded, on the ground that such recognition would contribute towards the advancement of the cause of hemispheric unity...
after the war, breaks down altogether when it is obvious that the most compelling considerations of independence and national safety of each and every one of the American Republics, including the Argentine itself, have not impelled the Government of that country to practice unity in time of war.

The demands of the common interests of the American Republics at a period of gravest emergency when the very continuation of their free and independent existence is at stake, clearly show that the multi-lateral action of the non-recognizing Governments has no connection with, and should not be confused with, the ordinary procedure or rules which are observed in connection with recognition in times of peace. A pretension that such collective and uniform action by the American family of States constitutes intervention is without basis and does not take into any account the basis upon which all of the non-recognizing Governments have taken their action, which action is predicated on the common defense and security of the Continent. Non-recognition in the actual circumstances is nothing more than a common and collective assertion that the Government of the Argentine has not made her contribution to the common cause of the American Nations, but directly to the contrary, has given aid to our common enemies.

The Government of the United States, and the Governments of the overwhelming number of the American Republics since late in February of this year have abstained from any official relationships with the Farrell Government. It would now seem that it is opportune and in order to take account of the situation, keeping in mind the principles to which reference has been made. The statement which follows is based upon a review and detailed study of all the significant developments since the Argentine broke relations with the Axis.

1) The Government of General Ramirez on January 26, 1944, declared it had broken relationships with Germany and Japan. That Government based this action upon the criminal espionage activities "directly chargeable to the Governments of the Axis", which it went on to say "infringe the national sovereignty, compromise the foreign policy of this (Argentine) Government, and threaten the security of the Continent." President Ramirez, Foreign Minister Gilbert, and other responsible spokesmen in private conversations with diplomatic representatives and in public
statements gave repeated assurances that energetic and prompt steps would be taken to suppress subversive activities by the Axis and in other respects to make effective the declared break in relations.

2) That very powerful elements had reached the decision to combat the implementation and to nullify the break of relations soon became very evident. General Gilbert, who had been an important factor in the decision to break relations with the Axis States and in the following efforts to carry through this break, resigned as Foreign Minister on February 15, 1944. General Ramirez "delegated" his authority as President to General Farrell on February 25, and some days later he submitted his resignation.

3) As a result of this abrupt change in the turn of events, and at this point, almost all of the American Republics decided to refrain from the ordinary and normal relations with the Farrell Government until they had had a full opportunity to determine the reasons for these changes and to determine the real attitude of the new regime towards the Axis powers.

Various members of the Farrell Cabinet have candidly and repeatedly admitted that General Ramirez, and his principal collaborators, were obliged to leave the Government by the pro-Nazi and extremist elements, and this because General Ramirez and these collaborators had been the principal elements in the decision to break relations with the Axis.

4) The Farrell Government, consistent with these admissions, has declined continuously to commit itself to the measures which would implement the break. The Farrell Government in fact has taken the position that hemispheric defense considerations or commitments have no relevance in the matter. They have repeatedly insisted that the break of relations was a result of foreign pressures and have implicitly disavowed any intention to honor it. The extensive record of friendly assistance to, and tolerance of, the Axis has fully established that this is the true position of the Farrell Government.

The consular and diplomatic officials of the Axis have been permitted to continue to enjoy the freedom of the country. Affirmative aid has been and is being given to German firms by the Farrell Government, both through considerable new contracts from the Government and by the requisitioning
requisitioning for them of materials in scarce supply from firms friendly to the cause of the United Nations. Immediately after the break of relations arrests and police activity were briefly stimulated by the Ramirez regime looking towards repression of Axis espionage. On the other hand since the Farrell regime a considerable number of dangerous Axis agents and spies have been given their freedom. Axis espionage activities as a consequence are again widespread. Certain newspapers which are definitely pro-Nazi and which have a large circulation, such as "Cabildo", "El Federal", and "La Fronda", have the support of the Farrell Government and the aid of the Farrell Government in obtaining newsprint. These newspapers have been conducting a propaganda of a bitter character against the United Nations and in favor of the Axis. As characteristic of this propaganda is the comment by "La Fronda" on the landings by the Allied armies in France:

"It is most comforting that all peoples of the Continent are closely grouped under the brilliant leadership of Hitler who has been supernaturally transformed by developments into ... more than an intrepid defender of Germany, (namely) he is the defender of Europe."

5) Some of the persons in the Farrell Government have occasionally protested that they have a desire to have the break of relations carried through effectively, notwithstanding this solidarity of proof to the contrary. It is conceded, however, by these same persons, that if they were to make an attempt to carry through the break of relations, they would be struck down as were Ramirez and Gilbert by the extremist elements in the Cabinet and by the military forces. This clearly shows that the dominant power in the Argentine today is in the hands of pro-Nazi elements which are determined to enforce their desires and policies.

It is these same forces, it will be noted, which are in control of the most important ministries and agencies of both the provincial and Federal Governments and that through them there are being rapidly and vigorously enforced such measures as the control of the press, the schools, the courts, and similar key institutions, -- in other words a domestic totalitarian system which is intended to thoroughly complement and buttress their pro-Axis international policy.
There is ample evidence that fundamental civil rights have either already been completely destroyed or have been so modified as to be in effect meaningless. There is evidence to the effect that all of the powers of the Government are being used to eliminate any democratic opposition to its vigorous totalitarian program. Without any doubt, the most significant, and the latest, pronouncement of government policy was made on June 10, when the Minister of War declared publicly that the entire economy of the country, the life of all of its people, must be dedicated to military rearmament. It has been frankly admitted by Colonel Peron that the keystone of Argentina's international policy is to be military force, as can be interpreted from his statement that "Argentina's diplomacy, as an instrument by which political objectives are obtained, must possess the additional argument of its armed forces."

6) Members of the Farrell Government, beginning early in March of this year, have, through the use of intermediaries, arranged conversations with various members of the diplomatic corps in Buenos Aires. Ambassador Armour has reported that during the past few weeks he has taken part in two informal discussions, on one occasion with Foreign Minister Peluffo, and on another occasion with Foreign Minister Peluffo, Colonel Peron, and Admiral Teissaire, the Minister of Marine. Ambassador Armour has informed the Department of State and has advised his colleagues of the diplomatic corps of the American States in Buenos Aires that nothing or little was accomplished through these conversations. Foreign Minister Peluffo during both conversations insisted that recognition by the American States must come before there can be any implementation of the break with the Axis and that recognition must be on the basis of Argentine promises of subsequent action. The position expressed to Ambassador Armour in these conversations by Foreign Minister Peluffo has been expressed to other diplomatic representatives of the American Republics, and to the British Ambassador.

7) The Government of the United States is now satisfied that nothing can be gained by further discussions in Buenos Aires. The Government of the United States is further satisfied that there is a real danger, in the continuation of these discussions, to the collective interests of the non-recognizing Governments. By stimulating and encouraging any differences, however small and minor they may be, that may appear in the positions taken by the diplomatic representatives of the American States, the Farrell Government has attempted to divide the other American Republics. By resort to every kind of political and economic pressure, and by the means mentioned
mentioned above, the Farrell Government has endeavored, without first implementing the break with the Axis powers, to obtain recognition. The Farrell Government apparently is confident that recognition by one American Republic after another is only a matter of time, on these terms imposed by the Farrell regime. The Farrell regime considers the continued presence of the diplomatic representatives of the other American Republics as a demonstration of our willingness to reestablish relations without implementation of the break by the Argentine. This attitude was clearly made manifest by certain maneuvers of the Farrell regime in connection with the recent May 25 celebrations in Buenos Aires. This attitude may be expected to result in further similar maneuvers in connection with the approaching July 9 holiday.

For the reasons above set forth Secretary of State Hull has asked me to inform you and the Mexican Government that the Government of the United States has come to the conclusion that the moment has come to break the impasse. My Government is recalling Ambassador Armour to Washington for consultation as a first step. Very shortly after Ambassador Armour has had an opportunity to make a full report to the Department of State it is the intent of my Government, through the ordinary and usual diplomatic channels, to begin a new exchange of views with the end of arriving at an understanding with respect to our future and common course of action.

In asking me to convey the foregoing to you at the earliest possible moment Secretary Hull further requests me to express to you the opinion of my Government that the attitude of the non-recognizing Governments would be most forcefully brought home to the Farrell regime if all of the Chiefs of Mission in Buenos Aires were recalled for consultation during the next few weeks. I am to express to you the particular interest of my Government in receiving the views of the Mexican Government with respect to this position of my Government, and also the views of the Mexican Government with respect to the proposed course of action outlined.

I have received a further telegram from Secretary of State Hull to the effect that on June 23, he had the opportunity of conversing with the Ambassador of the United Mexican States in Washington, during which conversation he conveyed to the Ambassador the foregoing information and the views of my Government as set forth above, and expressed
expressed to the Ambassador the earnest hope of my Government that our Governments may cooperate in support of true continental unity.

With assurances of my high regard and sincere friendship, believe me,

Cordially and faithfully yours,

G. S. Messersmith

In duplicate

GSM: NA