May I say at the outset that it is with much pleasure that I find myself in the city of New Orleans. Serving our Government in the Foreign Service in various parts of the world has many advantages and satisfactions, as well as grave responsibilities, for those who realize the full implications of that task to our Government. It also has serious disadvantages, for it means that for the most part we have to spend a good part of our life in distant countries and have not the opportunity, as fully as we would desire, to maintain our contacts with our friends and our people at home— which association is so important in the actual carrying through of our duties for our Government abroad. Being with you today is the fulfillment of a desire which I have long had.

I would not wish you to think, however, that I am not aware of the importance of this great city and of this great state in our Federal Union.

My work in distant parts of the world has frequently brought me in very close association with people from your state, and very often with the particular interests of the people of the State of Louisiana and of the port of New Orleans. I know of the very real understanding which the people of this city have had of the importance of our international relationships, and particularly from the point of view of local interest, of our relationships with the other American Republics. This comprehension on the part of your citizens has found recently such concrete and such constructive expression in the establishment of International House in your midst. It is very
very easy to lend lip-service to ideas and to ideals. It is a very different thing to render real service to these ideas and to put them into practice. As I am one of those who believe that our relationships with the rest of the world are just as important for us, for our safety, for our standard of living, and the maintenance of our way of life, as are our internal problems, you will appreciate why I am particularly pleased to be with a group of your citizens who have had the initiative and the understanding to establish International House. The future of your city, as its past, while intimately tied up with the whole economy of our country, is equally intimately tied up with the in and out movement which passes through your port. The interchange of goods is one of the fundamental bases of our relationship with other States.

A great British statesman, Lord Vansittart, has recently written a book, which I hope you all know, which he calls "Lessons of My Life". During the thirty years that I have been in the Foreign Service of our Government I have not written any books and I have refrained from writing articles for our periodicals, because I have felt that I could best serve my country by making my considered views known to our Government. Like Lord Vansittart, however, and anyone who has been long connected with governments, or with private enterprise, I find that there are some lessons of my life drawn out of this thirty years' experience which to me, at least, are convincing. There is so much that I would like to say to you today that it has been very difficult for me to determine what, out of the many things which I believe are of primary importance to the people of our country today, I should touch upon in these remarks I am privileged to make to you.

I shall
I shall speak today briefly, but with candor, about a few of the problems which I see lying before us, and on the manner in which we handle them, will, I believe, depend the happiness and the security of our people and the future of our country.

First of all, I would like to take the liberty of saying that it is my profound conviction that the fullest cooperation of our country in every respect in the world picture is essential for our future safety and for the maintenance of our way of life. If there is one lesson which the first World War should have taught us, it was that we had so far developed in our national life, and that the world had so much changed, that we could no longer live in the practical isolation from world problems in which we had been so happily able to develop our institutions, our agriculture, and our industry, to such high levels. Although the nature of the new world in which we were then living had already changed to the degree that isolation was no longer possible and had made it imperative for us to enter into that great struggle beyond our shores in order to maintain our own security — at the end of the War our revulsion of feeling was so great that we withdrew almost entirely from our responsibilities as one of the great world powers. The consequence of that partial withdrawal from our responsibilities, together with the innumerable other factors developing in other parts of the world, was the situation which made it possible for Germany, Italy, and Japan to provoke this great struggle in which we are now engaged.

When we saw the storm signals arising on the European Continent and in the Far East, which so clearly flashed world conflict, in spite of the wise leadership of men like our President and our great Secretary of State, there were those
in public life, in business, and in every sector of our life at home, who, forgetful of all that we should have learned out of that great War and of the period which followed, believed that once again we could remain isolated from whatever turmoil the rest of the world might pass through. Once again, in spite of these false prophets, who completely disregarded the lessons which they should have learned, and were ready to lead our country to the brink of disaster, the great mass of our people were understanding of our responsibilities, and we entered this great struggle in which we are now engaged in order to maintain the security of our country and of this hemisphere, and to destroy the forces which had set out to enslave humanity and to bring back conditions in the political, economic, and cultural life of peoples from which, and out of which, the peoples in most parts of the world had emerged by the most painful and continuous effort.

One thing I think we have learned definitely now, and that is, that we cannot escape the necessity for full collaboration with the other nations of the world, great and small. This is something which I believe is fully understood by the great number of our people. The greatest fear which I have for the future is that once this great conflict is over, our people might have a tendency to shrink from our clear duty, and that this opportunity may be seized upon by those who would lift themselves to power and political place by playing to our lowest instincts, completely disregarding the fact that the future of our whole country is at stake. I somehow have the conviction that wherever such false leaders, or would-be leaders
leaders will meet to lead us into attitudes either at home or abroad, which could only lead to the endangering of our security and our way of life, will be put down before they can raise their heads very far. I so think because I have this great confidence in the understanding, and at the same time, in the courage of the men and women of our country.

It would be impossible for me, in the short space of time which I have with you today, to develop in any adequate degree the bases of such cooperation with the other nations of the world. I would like to say, however, that one of the things which I learned earliest in my experience in working for our country abroad, and one of the things which further experience confirmed, year by year, is that the life of nations does not differ essentially from the life within a family or in a small community. The same factors which have to be dealt with in the maintenance of tranquil and happy family life or in the relations we have with our next-door neighbors, or which we have in the town or city in which we may live, prevail in the relationships between States. There is a very common thought that there is something unusual, secret or even romantic in the relationships between States. I often think and I have often permitted myself to say that one of the reasons why we have not always been successful in our relationships with other countries and their relationships with us is that some of us will not recognize that the fundamental hopes and aspirations of all men are the same wherever they live, irrespective of race, religion and color, and that their human reactions are fundamentally the same.

Viewed in this light, therefore, I think the bases of cooperation between States are relatively simple. We must exercise
exercise among countries the same tolerance that the members of a family must have for the individual characteristics of the other members of the family. We must have the same understanding of each other and of the fundamental problems of others, as the individual members of a family must have. We must have the willingness to subordinate some of our national desires and aspirations in the same measure as individual members of a family may not permit their own individual desires to be carried through at the expense of the other members of the family. We must have complete recognition of the principle of equality among States, great and small, accompanied by — and I emphasize this — a complete recognition of the responsibility of States, great and small, just as in the family every member thereof must be on an equal basis, but at the same time have the same sense of responsibility.

This may appear to be over-simplification, but if all nations applied to their relationships with each other the above-mentioned and other obvious principles which govern us in our family life, there would be that great step forward in the relationships between States which would be the first step towards the elimination of armed conflict and the creation of an international atmosphere in which all nations, great and small, could develop and lift up their standard of living and provide the greatest measure of happiness for their people.

I recall that when I was a boy, and as a young man lived in small communities in our country, I used to hear a great deal about the responsibilities of the rich man in the community who happened to own a factory or who had a big business, but I heard little about the responsibilities of the poor man in the community to endeavor to improve by actual effort his own
own condition or that of his family. I found that the rich man and the powerful man in the community was always feared and distrusted no matter how much of his wealth and his time and thought he gave to the betterment of conditions in the community. I found that no matter how much the stronger man in the community may have done for the weaker members thereof, he got very little gratitude and a very large measure of criticism. The same prejudices and the same tendency to fail to recognize equality of responsibility which we find in a community only too unhappily characterize in some respects the life of nations, and I am taking the liberty of mentioning this less desirable characteristic of human nature because it is one with which we will have to count in the years to come.

We have not set out to improve our industry and our agriculture and our national life as a whole for the purpose of gaining a superior position among the nations of the world. We have applied our industry and our initiative and our understanding to building a great country because we want our people to enjoy the greatest measure of happiness and security.

I believe that certain regional, political, and economic relationships of a certain character, at least, are inevitable and not incompatible with the cooperation among nations of the world as a whole. I believe that there are certain regional arrangements which, if carried through with the proper basic idea, will even be helpful in maintaining political and economic order and stability. I am therefore one of those who believe that there has to be the most complete collaboration among all of the States of this Hemisphere. In other words, inter-American collaboration in the political and economic sphere. It is such collaboration which, in this great war so happily drawing
drawing into its last phase, made possible the maintenance of
the sovereignty and the integrity of the States of this Hemi­
sphere. The United States happens to be the strongest of the
States in this Hemisphere, but the manner in which the United
States has carried through its obligations to its sister
Republics and to Canada in this Hemisphere during this war has
shown how little the weaker should fear the strong when the
strong are animated by a desire to collaborate rather than to
dominate. There has been a hue and cry for years that the
United States would use its great power in the political, and
more especially in the economic field, in order to dominate the
other Republics of this Hemisphere. If ever a country had an
opportunity to dominate others, if ever a country had an
opportunity to disregard the principle of equality among States,
the United States had that opportunity during this war. It is
no injury to the sovereignty or to the self-respect of any
nation or people of this Hemisphere to say that it is thanks
to the military and economic efforts which the United States
has made that all the countries of this Hemisphere have been
saved from attack by the forces which destroyed the political
and economic life of practically every country of Europe and
in the Far East.

In the political field we have been and are leaning
backwards in order to maintain the principle of the equality
and of the sovereignty of States with respect to each other.
To this end we have followed through in the American Republics
the principle of consultation in order to maintain the fullest
measure of collaboration.
There has been the most intense consultation between the Heads of States of the American Republics and of their Foreign Ministers, and the conclusions which have been reached and the common attitudes which have been taken have been the result of such collaboration and consultation between sovereign States.

And in the economic field the collaboration has been even more direct. By the circumstances of war and the cutting off of sea-transport through the U-boat menace, and by the necessity of using ships ordinarily in peaceful trades for war purposes, the dislocation in the trade between the American Republics and between them and the rest of the world was a very serious matter. At the very outset of the war, it became obvious that the United States would not only have to be the arsenal of the United Nations, but that it would have to be the principal source of supply of goods to maintain the civilian economies of all the countries of this Hemisphere. At the very outset of the war, therefore, one of our principal preoccupations in the United States was not only to meet the military needs of ourselves and of our Allies as far as was in our power, but also how to meet the needs of the economies of our sister Republics in this Hemisphere. From the very outset we took the attitude that so far as goods available for the civilian needs and the ordinary economies of the countries were concerned, we would proceed on a basis of the most complete equity with our friends in the other American Republics. We, therefore, established systems of allocation based on the most careful studies of our own industrial and civilian structure and that of the industrial and civilian structure of the other American Republics. Whatever could be spared from the war effort.
effort was allocated to civilian needs and was shared with absolute equity among our own civilian population and among the civilian populations of the other American Republics. If anything, we leaned over backwards in the matter of allocations, and I do not say it with any assumption of virtue but as a fact, that during this great struggle and in the most critical years thereof, we have sold to our sister Republics what they needed for civilian supply, often in greater measure than our civilian population in the United States was able to secure.

Among the American Republics there has been this full collaboration in the political field through consultation, and in the economic field through the sharing of what we had on a basis of equity. It should be made clear that while our country supplied in the measure desired and possibly the goods which our sister Republics needed from us at equitable prices, and without any advantage of the situation, so our sister American Republics have been supplying us in the full extent in their power raw materials which in many cases were most essential for the conduct of the war at reasonable and equitable prices.

In the Argentine there is a government which has not seen fit to collaborate in the inter-American picture in that full and generous and understanding measure which the other American Republics have done. It is an interesting commentary, and an historical fact which cannot be denied, that it has been somewhat of a tendency on the part of the Argentine in the past to take the attitude that the United States Government and people were endeavoring to dominate this Hemisphere because of our power and strength and because of a desire to dominate. It is interesting that in this
this great war in which the safety and future of all of us, including every one of the American Republics, were so definitely endangered by the threat from without, all of these Republics, with the exception of the Argentine, should have completely cut their ties with the Axis powers and collaborated fully with each other in Hemisphere defense. It is an interesting commentary that a military regime in the Argentine, which has imposed itself upon the Argentine people, has failed to join in this collaboration and is in many ways practicing within the Argentine itself some of the same practices on which the Fascist states were built, and has shown indications, through the utterances of some of the members of the regime, of poorly concealed intentions of endeavoring to dominate their neighbors. If there is any need for anything to silence the voices of the demagogues in the United States and in other American Republics who have been preaching fear of the United States and our desire to dominate, the attitude of the United States during this conflict when, under the pressure of the conduct of the war it could have assumed certain attitudes has not done so, and the Argentine has done so, is clear proof.

While within the world structure certain political and economic arrangements of a regional character may be necessary and desirable and others not, it is certainly clear, and the war has shown, and any responsible vision of the future will indicate, that the most complete inter-American collaboration with the full cooperation of every one of the American States is absolutely essential. The most concrete experience in time of peace, as well as during this great conflict, has shown us that this cooperation is as important for the United States as it is for the other American Republics and as important for the other American Republics as it is for us.
There are those who speak of the desirability of at least half a dozen blocs among the American States, of the desirability of a Latin-American Union, and the desirability of a Latin Union which would comprise the Latin American Republics and the Latin states of Europe. All these are the dreams of individuals who desire to use the destinies of countries and peoples for selfish ends rather than for the good of the peoples. I have not hesitated to speak with this frankness concerning this trend towards blocs in the Americas because wise statesmen in all of the countries of the Americas and the great mass of the people in all of the Americas will have to be very much on their guard against these preachers of division who are only seeking selfish ends without any regard to the security or well-being of our American countries.

I have briefly touched upon the bases of world cooperation among States, which is essential. I should like now to say a few words only concerning some of the factors we must bear in mind in our relationships in the Americas if real inter-American collaboration is to be maintained on the soundest basis.

We must first of all develop our commercial relationships on the broadest and soundest basis, for it is only by developing among the American States the fullest degree of exchange of goods that we can bring about the improvement in the industrial and agricultural economies of all of the American Republics. Agriculture has reached very varying degrees of development only in most of the American States. There is enormous room for improvement in the agricultural economy of almost all of the American States. With the development of the industrial economy in these countries, the need for food will become greater; nutrition standards will be augmented increasingly and the countries of this Hemisphere can become the source of raw materials.
materials and foodstuffs for other countries of the world. The development of the agricultural economies of the American States is absolutely essential to the maintenance of inter-American relationships on the soundest basis.

In the field of industry, considerable progress has already been made in some of the American countries, but in a very varying degree. There are certain of the American countries in which the natural conditions for the development of industry are very present, and there are indications that the industry of a number of the countries of the Americas will develop rapidly at the end of the war as capital goods become available. The development of such industry in our sister Republics is not only desirable but essential, and in view of our industrial development in the United States, we are in a position to aid any such industrial development among some of our sister Republics on sound lines with our capital and with our technical skills. It is a responsibility which we have, to aid our sister Republics in the development of their industry. We must recall that in the earlier part of our industrial development we looked to Europe not only for capital but for technical skills. So the other American Republics will look to us for that capital and technical skill, and a great deal will depend upon how this opportunity is used by us and by other countries. It will depend upon the wisdom of Government and people in our country and in the other American Republics as to whether sound industrial development in these countries will take place.

I should like to say here, parenthetically, that there are those in our country who fear the industrial development of the other American Republics. Fortunately, these are few in number, but some of them are very vocal and may become more vocal. Here again, we must turn to what experience in the
economic field has taught us, and the indisputable lesson is that as agricultural and industrial development have taken place in less developed countries, their needs for goods from other countries have increased rather than decreased. Time does not permit me to expand on this very interesting theme, but one of the fundamental things, which I think we shall have to bear in mind in the immediate post-war period, is that development in agriculture and industry in the other American Republics is going to mean increased standards of living in those countries and increased standards of living mean the creation of new needs, many of which cannot be met by domestic products. This is a theme on which I should like to expand because it is one of the most important things which thoughtful persons in the United States will have to keep in mind in the immediate post-war period, when demagogues will arise and selfish interests will become active in preaching the doctrine that industrial and agricultural development in other countries will lower our standards of living because of alleged decreased exports. As a matter of fact, our exports are going to decrease and our standard of living in the United States will be lowered unless there is agricultural and industrial development in the other American Republics, and it therefore behooves us to use every effort to develop sound agricultural and industrial programs in the other American Republics where conditions offer the development on sound lines.

A further factor in developing our relationships with the other American Republics and of cementing the ties between us, is the promotion of communication means, whether they be by air or water or by road. Air transport between the Americas has already made enormous progress, and I think in the field of air transport
transport, plans are under way for increasingly adequate international transport by air for passengers, and as the availability of materials increases, I am sure that the same initiative which has been shown in the program of air passenger transport will be shown in developing air goods transport. In the field of air transport, both of passengers and goods, there has not yet been the same measure of development in the other American Republics that there has in the United States. The development of such native air transport in most of the American Republics is most important because of the lack of adequate road facilities, and in this program the experience and technical skills of our important air transporting companies in this country should be placed at the disposal of nationally controlled companies in the responsible countries in this field. It is, I believe, a sound principle that in the international air transport field, American companies, because of their capital and technical and material facilities, will have to play an important role.

So far as water transport is concerned, there will be great need for the reestablishment of many of the former shipping lines and for the development of new shipping lines— as soon as ships are no longer so urgently needed in the prosecution of the war. Water transport has been and will continue to be the most important form of transport in international trade. There is no doubt that air transport will become increasingly important, as I have already indicated, in international trade, but for many years to come the great bulk of goods in inter-
national trade will be carried by ships. We have from time to
time in our history, blown hot and cold on the question of a
merchant marine. We learned during the first World War the
importance of our possessing an adequate merchant marine, and
during the period between the first World War and this present
conflict, we profited by the lesson which we had learned, and
saw to it that a fair percentage of our foreign trade was
carried under our flag.

For you in New Orleans, one of the great gateways of our
country, this question of our merchant marine has a primary
interest, and it has been a particular interest for you not
only because of our sea-borne trade with the other American
Republics, but with the rest of the world.

I feel confident that as soon as the circumstances of the
war permit, we shall do all in our power to reopen former sea-
lanes and to develop new ones. In this respect I may say that
I have the ardent hope that shortly the circumstances may be
propitious for the opening of a passenger and freight service
between New Orleans and the Gulf ports of Mexico, as well as
of Central America. I mention this particular service because
it is my privilege at this time to be serving our Government
in Mexico, and I know how desirable, from every point of view,
such direct communication between the port of New Orleans and
the Gulf ports of Mexico and of Central America would be. In
the same manner I hope that the sea traffic between New Orleans
and the American Republics farther south will be developed as
rapidly as possible.

As far as road transport is concerned, there are many
natural obstacles to be overcome in most of the other American
Republics, but in some of them, such as Mexico, extraordinary
progress
progress has been made in road building in recent years -- not
only in actual construction of roads, but in the technical
skills of road building. I know of no program which is more
important in the development of the agricultural and industrial
economies of the other American Republics than sound road-
building programs.

A further basic factor in the relationship between the
American States is the development of our cultural contacts.
Tremendous progress has been made in recent years in bringing
about closer contact between the people in the technical,
professional and cultural fields. A great deal remains yet
to be done. We must bear in mind the fundamental fact that
the other American Republics are Latin and that we are Anglo-
Saxon. This means that we have not only differences of language,
but differences of thought and temperament. We must learn each
other's language. This is fundamental if we are to understand
each other and to work with each other. We must appreciate the
culture, each of the other -- which does not mean that any of
us will attempt to impose the culture of one upon the other.
We have so much to learn of each other, and the more we learn
of each other, the better we will understand one another, and
with that understanding will disappear the fears and the
prejudices which have marred our relationships. Again, as in
the economic field, so in the field of cultural relations, I am
not able to expand upon this theme, for I have already drawn
on your patience too much.

I should like to close with only one thought, which is to
reiterate that the most close collaboration between the Americas--
and by that I meant all of them, without reservation -- and on
the basis of a full respect each for the other, and with each,
large and small, bearing his responsibilities in such
collaboration,
collaboration, as well as enjoying its privileges, is absolutely essential for the safety and security and the development of the peoples of this Hemisphere. Regional bickering in this Hemisphere would do more to undermine our security and to retard our development than any one thing. It is essential in the post-war world for the security and the future of the Americas, that they present before the rest of the world a continued and a unique example of the most complete collaboration in peace and in war. I bespeak on behalf of the people of my country, because of its importance to us, a wholesome, a sound, and an equitable interest in the development of the economies, agricultural and industrial, of the other countries of the Americas. This is essential to the improvement of the standards of living in some of our sister Republics. Unless we in some way lessen, progressively and soundly -- for it cannot be done in a day or a generation -- the wide differences which now exist between the standards of living of some of the American Republics, an essential basis of that relationship which must exist between the American Republics will be lacking. We are showing in our country a recent interest in this, and it is my hope that in this good city of New Orleans, progressively minded and understanding, you will continue this constructive interest in our relationships with the other American Republics, and with the rest of the world, which, as I said at the outset of this address, you have shown in so concrete a way in the establishment and maintenance of International House.