ADDRESS TO BE DELIVERED BY THE HONORABLE GEORGE S. MESSERSMITH, AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO, IN DALLAS, TEXAS, BEFORE THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE ON NOVEMBER 2, 1944 FROM OBSERVATIONS ON THE SOUND BASES OF OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE OTHER AMERICAN REPUBLICS

It is an honor and a privilege, which I know how to value, to be your guest today. I have long wished to have the opportunity to visit your great city and the courteous and generous invitation of your distinguished Mayor, the Honorable Woodul Rodgers, has made possible the realization of this desire under these most pleasant circumstances. In the presence of my good friend, your distinguished Mayor I will not tell you of the high opinion in which so many of his associates hold him nor pay tribute to the distinguished public service which he is rendering in this community and to this great State, for you who live with him every day have known how to value and recognize his service. I will only say that I am deeply grateful to him and to...
to the distinguished citizens of Dallas associated with him in the arrangements for this day.

Serving our Government in the Foreign Service has many advantages and satisfactions as well as grave responsibilities for those who realize the importance of the task to our Government and to our people. It also has serious disadvantages for it means that those of us dedicated to that Service 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 at home—which association is so important in the actual carrying through of our duties for our Government abroad.

Realizing the importance of knowing my own country as fully as possible, I have during the more than thirty years of service with the Department of State, made it possible
possible annual, and whenever feasible, more frequent visits home. During these visits I have not failed over the years to visit your great State and I know the important part which your State and its citizens have played in the development of our economic and political life. You are blessed with a great and fair expanse of territory which has almost limitless possibilities of development. The energy, initiative, courage, and vision of your citizens have gone far towards developing these to the benefit of our country as a whole, but having that vision which has made present progress possible, you realize the potentialities of your soil and resources and of your stretch of sea frontier and I see your State increasingly playing a major constructive role in all phases of our internal economic life.

I also know of the constructive and helpful role your
your State and its people have played in the understand­
ing and in the formulation of a forward-looking foreign policy of our country—a policy designed to safeguard our security and that of this hemisphere and to aid in the secure establishment of sound bases of world security and peace.

It is my pleasure to know and to count as my friends and I believe to adequately appreciate the sterling qualities of statesmanship and leadership of two of your distinguished citizens who have been play­ing so important a role in these difficult days. As Texans, you can be proud of the contribution which the Honorable Jesse Jones has made during these critical days in so many important capacities and throughout the country irrespective of partisanship he enjoys an extraordinary prestige. You can be equally proud of the distinguished Senator from Texas, Tom Connally, who now heads the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate in the most critical period of the history of our country. It is also my pleasure and privilege to know members of the House of Representatives from Texas who in recent years have shown such real understand­standing of our foreign problems. They have directly reflected that understanding attitude of our foreign relationships.
relationships which has characterized the people of this State and have therefore been truly reporting and representing your opinion. I cannot refrain from being so indiscreet as to say that in my opinion the people of no State in the Union showed from 1935 to the outset of this great world conflict a more complete understanding of the implications of that approaching conflict for us, just as today your sons and daughters are making your more than full contribution to the victory.

I have the privilege at present of serving our Government as Ambassador to Mexico. In that capacity I have come to know and to appreciate the qualities and understanding of your Governor, the Honorable Coke Stevenson, whom I am now privileged to count as my friend. You know better than I the constructive role he has played in the development of more understanding and cordial relationships with our great sister republic.
of Mexico. In the formation and work of The Good Neighbor Commission he has received no more effective support than that which you, the good people of Dallas, have given him and I am happy to say that this is thoroughly understood in the Government and among the people of Mexico.

There is much that I should like to say about our sister republic to the South. I should like to speak of the cordial and effective cooperation which she has given in this great struggle as one of the United Nations, in the political, economic and military sphere. Mexico early declared war against all of our common foes. Her Government, and increasingly her people, have realized that the security and sovereignty of all of us in this hemisphere is at stake. This common danger and the resulting collaboration against the common enemy have done
done much to broaden and to consolidate the ties which
happily and must bind us.

Complete collaboration between the American States
is essential to the security of all. Mexico realizes
this as fully as we. In this atmosphere Mexico has
played an important role in consolidating inter-American
unity and it is a fortunate circumstance that with respect
to general world policy and security, the ideas of the
Mexican Government and our own are very similar.

Mexico is a rapidly developing country. Her industry
and her agriculture are expanding even during the war,
and at the end of the war we shall see a more rapidly
developing economy in our sister republic. This develop-
ment is essential for her and for us and we in this country
will have to aid that development in every sound way for
until there is a greater approximation of the standards
of
of living in the American republics we shall fall short of having the most complete basis for the permanent relationship of unity which must exist in this hemisphere and which is essential for the security and development of us all.

The consolidation of the friendly cooperation and understanding with Mexico is a subject on which I should like to expand today, but before an audience so fully understanding of the primary importance of this and before people so actively laboring in this field, it would I believe be advisable for me to give a broader scope to my remarks—particularly as for our country and Mexico the whole inter-American and world picture have the same vital importance for the future. I will only say that the closest collaboration now and in the years to come, in the economic, military and political field
field is as important for us as it is for Mexico and this will most certainly be one of the most stabilizing and vitalizing influences in the post-war period.

A great British statesman, Lord Vansittart, has recently written a book, which I hope you all know, and which he calls "Lessons of My Life". During the many years of my service for our Government I have refrained from writing any books or articles 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 like anyone who has long been connected with governments, or with private enterprise, I find that there are some lessons of my life drawn out of this thirty years of experience which, to me at least, are convincing. Out of this experience and observation there is so much that I would like to say
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, I should touch upon in these remarks I am privileged to make to you.

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.
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 once more be tempted to follow the dangerous path followed after the last war, completely disregarding the fact that the future of our whole country is at stake. I somehow have the conviction that wherever false leaders, or would-be leaders counseling such a course will arise, endeavoring to
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, they 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.
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
of cooperation between States are relatively simple. We must 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
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 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
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 into its last phase, made possible the maintenance of the sovereignty and the integrity of the States of this Hemisphere. 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
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,
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,
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 was allocated to civilian needs and was shared with absolute equity among our own civilian population and among
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
supplying us in the full extent of 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 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,
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
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
least half a dozen blocs among the American States, of the
desirability of a Latin-American Union, and the desirabil-
ity 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 coun-
tries 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 coopera-
tion 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 improve-
ment in the industrial and agricultural economies of all of
the American Republics. Agriculture has reached very vary-
ing 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 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
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
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
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, 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
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 international 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 Texas this question of our merchant marine has a primary interest and I am confident that the post-war years will see a rapid and large-scale development of the movement through your great ports, not only to our sister republics to the South but to all ports 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
circumstances may be propitious for the opening of a passenger and freight service between our Gulf ports, the Gulf ports of Mexico, as well as of Central America.

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 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
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
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, as well as enjoying its privileges, is absolutely essential for the safety and security and the development of the peoples of this Hemisphere. Regional blocs 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 Dallas, 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.