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May 28, 1950.

My dear friend:

It gave me a great deal of pleasure to receive your letter of May 12 through the good hands of Captain Lima, whose understanding and good will and competence I appreciate and he, if you permit me to say so, is doing excellent work here. He tells me that he will have the opportunity of sending you a letter from me tomorrow, and as I am leaving for New York with Mrs. Messersmith day after tomorrow for a brief stay, I am taking this opportunity which his courtesy presents to send you our good wishes and to express a few thoughts which may be of interest to you.

First of all I wish to say how happy Mrs. Messersmith and I were to have the kind messages from Señora de Perón and yourself and to know from Captain Lima that you are both in good health.

I am sure that I need not tell you, first of all, that in spite of my personal occupations and preoccupations, and although I have no longer direct connection with the government of my country, I follow developments in the broad general world picture, and particularly in the Americas, with the closest interest. While I do not have the same opportunities to be accurately and adequately informed as to details as for many years in the past, I am obliged to travel so much because of my private business that I have the opportunity to maintain my associations with at least some of my old friends who are still in a position to follow developments in these many situations throughout the world and who can do so more closely than I can.

It has been a great personal satisfaction to many of us, and particularly to me, to note that developments in the political, social, financial and economic situation in the Argentine are developing on constantly more favorable lines. Knowing the soundness of the fundamental convictions which you have in these

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His Excellency
Juan Perón,
President of the Argentine Republic,
Buenos Aires, Argentina.

fields and your great desire and self-sacrificing zeal in doing everything possible for your country and its people, and knowing your open-mindedness and understanding, I am of course not surprised at this development, and it has been a great pleasure for me to note from your letter that you confirm these favorable developments.

During my visits to the United States in the last year I have been able to observe a constantly increasing interest in and understanding of the situation in the Argentine and of the current problems, and of the work which you and your government are doing. During my last and very recent stay in Washington on business of my company I was able to learn of the more recent developments in the way of certain credits which I am sure will be helpful. As you know, there are some of us who have been doing what we could to help this development. I am confident that if this path which is now being traced will be followed through in both countries, it will be very helpful in the common interest. Without sound economic conditions and sound economic relationships and without full understanding and a sense of security, there is no basis for those durable, understanding and constructive relationships between the two countries, or any countries, which must exist.

During my last stay in the United States I had the opportunity of seeing Assistant Secretary of State Miller, who had just returned from his trip to the Argentine, and I can assure you that he appreciated very fully the courtesies which he received while he was in Buenos Aires, and particularly the conversations which he was privileged to have with you. I am confident that he returned from the Argentine with a very clear conception of the situation in your country and of its problems and with a very high regard for you. I know Mr. Miller to be a man of great understanding and capacity who is in concrete, understanding ways endeavoring to bring about greater continental unity on sound, just and equitable bases.

I am in so many ways preoccupied with regard to developments in the world situation from which none of us can be apart that I will permit myself to give you a few of my thoughts which grow out of my observation and experience over a long period of years. Experience is the best teacher and as I have had such close contact with developing events in Europe and in the Americas since 1914, and as I am so convinced of the teachings of experience, I cannot be very happy about some of the conclusions which we have to draw. But if there is any value in experience we must draw

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our conclusions on the basis thereof and face the realities growing out of it.

First I should like to say that it is my personal opinion that never there was a time in the history of our American countries when the closest, most intimate and most complete and thoroughgoing collaboration among them is indispensable for our peace and security. This is a trite saying to which most everyone renders lip service, but in my opinion if we in the Americas are wise and learn from experience we will translate this into action. We must face the fact that everything which we wish to do in the American countries for the welfare of our peoples and for the progress of our economies and to establish our future, is overshadowed by the uncertainties of the future and by the definite threat of war. This, I believe, makes it necessary for us to face two fundamental decisions; the first is to bring about the closest collaboration in every field in the face of the common danger and threat, and the second to face the facts of the situation with the most complete realism, determination and action.

We know from our experience that the events preceding the last World War and the developments during that war showed us that there is only one way in which such a force and ideology as that generated by Nazi Germany could be met, and that is by the use of greater and overwhelming force in time to stop it in its tracks before it can involve the whole world. We are now faced by a common enemy whose objectives are even more clear, more devastating, more all-embracing and more inflexible and implacable than those of Nazi Germany. The objectives of Soviet Russia and the methods which it is using and is determined to use to reach those objectives are even more clear than were those of the Nazi German government. We cannot afford to make the mistakes again that we made in facing that situation.

I am far from believing that recourse to war is the only way of solving our problems, but in view of the lessons which we have learned, we must not think that as long as a country such as Soviet Russia, or rather its leaders, see war and force as the definite and sole means of achieving their objectives, we cannot live under the illusion that war can be avoided by agreements which one party thereto has not the slightest intent to respect, without inviting certain disaster. While I do not believe that

we can desist in the extraordinary efforts which our governments are making in the Americas and in Europe to prevent war, I am one of those who is convinced that war cannot be avoided if such efforts for peace and comprehension are one-sided as they are today and promise to continue to be. In Soviet Russia today, as in Nazi Germany before, the will of the people and their desire for peace and comprehension have no effect, for the power of decision lies in a few people who can make the decision for war in the most arbitrary manner in a moment. In such a situation, and we must recognize that it exists, the will of our peoples in the western world, for peace and to avoid armed conflict, can have no certainty of effect.

In this purely personal note and as one in no way connected with the government of my country, perhaps it may interest you for me to say that it is my profound conviction that the Soviet government can only be stopped by force, just as the Nazi German government could only have been stopped by force, ~~is~~ exercised in time. I am convinced that the evidence shows that nothing can stop the Soviet government from the realization of its devastating objectives, except the destruction of Soviet power and the destruction of the present Soviet regime. I am therefore of the opinion that we should use every means of our preponderant present power to destroy Soviet military power while we can do so without doing too much harm, because if we do not do so there is the increasingly grave menace that Soviet military power will eventually destroy us.

I expressed the foregoing views to some responsible friends well over a year ago. At that time I emphasized the dangers of delay in that Soviet Russia may be able to continuously strengthen her military position, and may even be able to fabricate the same weapons which we have or which we may develop and increase her power to use and deliver these weapons. I said at the same time that there is the danger that with the passing of time the subversive and undermining efforts of Soviet Russia and of its instruments and agents may be able to bring about at least a certain deterioration in the military and economic strength of those presently opposed to her. I emphasized the importance then of our not taking the risk of the balance of power slowly shifting towards the Soviet government rather than remaining in the hands of the western countries where it now lies.

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I have recently expressed the opinion to some of my responsible friends that there is a grave danger that the passing of time may begin to work against us. You foresaw already three years ago when I had the opportunity to exchange views with you the danger in the subversive and insidious methods employed by the Soviet government. Unfortunately the passage of time has only confirmed the justice of your convictions in this respect, and which convictions I shared. While in my opinion and from the information which I have available, and which of course is not complete, the balance of power is still very much in our hands, we are running, I believe, graver risks than our responsibility towards humanity permit us to take. We still have the capacity to destroy Soviet military power and to remove the menace definitely. How long we can retain that preponderance I am not able to state or foresee, but I believe that the probabilities are in favor of our maintaining that preponderance. There are, however, many thoughtful persons who believe that time may be beginning to work against us. In any event I am one of those who believe that this is the time for decisions of the most major and fundamental character.

One of the distressing weaknesses of human nature is that so many of us do not learn by experience. You very wisely appreciated from the beginning of your responsibility in government that the safest way to fight certain destructive ideas is with constructive measures. Through steps which you have undertaken in your country to improve the position of the underprivileged and to bring about greater equality of treatment you have eliminated the dangers of Communism and of subversive elements in your country. The same I think is true in my country where we have been long attached to these ideas and have slowly, but I believe soundly and successfully placed them into practice. I think in a very large measure this situation controls in Mexico. I wish that I could have the same assurance with reference to this situation in some of the other American countries where the failure of governments to take certain essential measures has undoubtedly led to accentuation of situations which may under certain conditions become exceedingly grave for governments and peoples. I am not sufficiently informed as to details to be able to judge the situation accurately in all of the countries, but I share your preoccupation as to certain fundamental dangers which exist and which may become a menace in grave crises.

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One of the factors in the situation which gives me the gravest concern is that in some of the American countries there are certain persons in responsible positions, either in government or out of government, with certain influence, who believe that some of the American countries can best follow a policy in these grave times of sitting on the fence. Some of these people believe that a war is inevitable, and so believing, they think there is a probability or even a possibility that Soviet Russia may win. They believe, therefore, that by taking a neutral attitude or an undercover attitude favorable towards Soviet Russia, they can in the case of a victory by Soviet Russia secure a position of immunity and power for themselves. Some of them may even honestly believe or have convinced themselves that such an attitude may be beneficial to their country. If only such persons would look back and see what happened to people who thought that way in the face of the threat of Nazi Germany they would realize with what implacability Nazi Germany destroyed even those who had helped them to come into power. If such persons entertained any illusions they should only look at what has happened in the satellite states, in the Far East and in Europe, and to those who ^{aided or} opposed the objectives of Soviet Russia in the satellite states. The record shows that in practically every one of the satellite states the "patriots" who helped Soviet Russia to secure control have today been eliminated and their country completely dominated.

I do not see how anyone with any sense of responsibility and any understanding can in these days have any illusions with respect to personal or national safety in view of the menace which threatens us. I have often wished that the clearminded understanding which you have shown of these situations characterized all of our responsible people in the American countries.

So far as my country is concerned, while I have no part in decisions and do not participate in policy in any way, I do not think there was ever in the history of the United States a clearer understanding by government and by the people of the fundamental issues at stake and of the readiness to face them. It is in these serious times always a source of very real satisfaction to me, who I believe realize the seriousness of the issues at stake, to know your profound and sound understanding and convictions in these matters.

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I feel that I have to make one further observation which may seem pessimistic, but which in all frankness I should make. I believe that certain forces and instrumentalities which we have been using in the western countries and which we will undoubtedly continue to use, if given adequate and full play and effect, could still make a war unnecessary, but experience and realism make me fear that these other forces cannot be made adequately and broadly enough to prevail in time either in the United States or among the other western peoples, to prevent war. When I consider that in the United States, in government, and in our relationships which make up the sum total of our national life, and see that neither statesmen nor politicians can rise above petty personal weaknesses and ambitions; when I see that capital and labor cannot adequately work together in their common interest in the way that they should -- because of human weaknesses on both sides; when I see that in spite of our recognition of the grave danger which threatens to destroy everything we have and wish to conserve, we permit personal interests, prejudices and weaknesses still to transcend and control, -- then I cannot have too much hope that we will in time be able to make these forces prevail within and among us in the United States. And in the same way I see the same things happening in practically every part of the world among every people, and in many cases in even more aggravated measure than in the United States. All this gives me but little hope that we will, in time, before the enemy has had sufficient time to disrupt and destroy and disorganize, make these forces other than war which are at our command prevail and obtain adequately. It is because of these thoughts, which do not grow out of pessimism but of realism, that I believe we must begin to think definitely in terms of action, and that means common action, and that means merging of secondary interests into the major interest of self-preservation.

You will forgive me if I have trespassed on your time with this long letter, but I recall with so much pleasure the opportunities we had for exchanging views in the past that I have not been able to refrain to use this opportunity presented by Captain Lima's courtesy to send you these intimate thoughts.

It was very thoughtful of you to send me the very wonderful book "La Nación Argentina", which I have looked at with real interest and which I will examine again at greater leisure. It was a fine thing to publish this, for it shows in a very impressive way the great work which has been done in so short a

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period. I also appreciate your sending me the copy of the last message which you delivered to the Congress but which I had already had the opportunity of reading.

Mrs. Messersmith and I continue to recall the very pleasant days we spent in Buenos Aires and the friendship which we were privileged to form with you and Señora de Perón and which we continue to cherish and shall always cherish. I do not know when it will be possible for us to see each other again, but we look forward to the time when we may be able to see you both again. In the meantime Mrs. Messersmith joins me in all good wishes for the health and happiness of you both, and for your country.

Cordially and faithfully yours,