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MEMORANDUM

A Consultative Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Relations of the American Republics to deal with - in any form whatsoever - the Argentine matter is inadvisable: a) because it would have the effect of giving personality to a government (with which the majority of those of America do not maintain diplomatic relations) either for the re-establishment of said relations, which would be incompatible with the actual position of these same governments, or, through its representative, to announce, in the name of the Argentine people, that she (Argentina) would separate herself from the Union of the American peoples; b) because of the risk that would be run of dividing America; c) because the Argentine representatives would be able to take advantage of this occasion spectacularly to accuse the United States of America in particular, and the other American Republics, thus weakening the moral cause of our continent.

Despite the foregoing, the Ministry for Foreign Relations considers a consultative meeting indispensable: a) to strengthen the bonds which undoubtedly have weakened at a time of uncertainty caused by certain Argentine activities and latterly by the imputation its Memorandum contains that it has been arbitrarily excluded from the American Community; b) because at this time a direct exchange of views between the Ministers of Foreign Relations would be very useful; c) because there are great questions of common interest which it is necessary to resolve such as those relating to the harmonizing of the continental organization within the general organization which the United Nations are erecting; the economic solidarity of our Hemisphere; the coordination of the different Inter-American organizations and instruments which have been created or signed during the present war; the categorical decision to prevent any armaments race between the American countries, and other questions which may be included in the prospective agenda; d) because the announcement of this consultative meeting would be an incentive for Argentina to adopt in advance certain measures - which are discussed below - which would place her in a position to

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be invited to a conference of Foreign Ministers vital for the whole continent, Argentina included.

This Consultative Meeting - which would be requested by the Government of Mexico - should meet when the definitive project for the establishment of a general international organization, the preliminary basis of which was established at Dumbarton Oaks becomes known.

A meeting to study these preliminary bases would be useless since these have already been communicated to all governments of America with the exception of that of Argentina. On the other hand, once the definitive project is known, it will be vital to call a consultative meeting, not to discuss it (which presumably will already have been done) but to examine the manner in which America must collaborate in order that the result will be most effective and in the best interests of the continent. From this study the attitude of America in the post war period will be determined.

The date which can be indicated for the Consultative Meeting in question will be from 15 to 30 days after the definitive plan for the establishment of a general international organization shall have been approved or definitely adopted. However, in view of the possibility that approval of this said plan will be delayed indefinitely, the Consultative Meeting could be called to deal with some of the non-postponable questions which are indicated in Paragraph 2 of this Memorandum, including that of harmonizing the continental organization within a world organization. Consequently, it is possible to set the date as of February 1, 1945 in order that the Ministries can prepare themselves in advance with the understanding that the said date could be moved up if, in the course of December 1944 or January 1945 the United Nations reach an agreement on the plan mentioned.

In view of the preceding paragraphs the Ministry for Foreign Relations - after hearing the opinion of the other American Ministries with which it maintains diplomatic relations - will reply to the governing board of the Pan American Union in answer to the communication with which it transmitted the Argentine Memorandum, indicating that the Consultative Meeting should take place to deal with the matters mentioned

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in Paragraph 2 of this Memorandum and on one of the dates above contemplated.

Meanwhile consultations will be carried on between American Foreign Ministries regarding the Argentine matter, advantage being taken of the phrases in its Memorandum in which it offers to accept suggestions from the Governments of America.

The suggestions which will be made will be a result of the following considerations: a) the attitude of the Argentine Republic through the most difficult hours of the present war has been one of resistance to the fulfilment of the commitments of Rio de Janeiro as well as of sympathy for the Axis Nations, as is demonstrated by the fact that it only lately broke its diplomatic relations with Germany and Japan and that the Embassies of the enemy countries made of Argentina a center of conspiracy against the convays of the United Nations and the security of the continent. In this procedure the Argentine people have not themselves been truly generally involved; b) in view of the foregoing, the reestablishment of relations with Argentina - unless it is to be made into a tacit reproach against the peoples of America which assumed strong policies in defense of the Hemisphere - must be preceded by guarantees which fulfill in an unquestionable way, the just demands of the American Governments. This could be accomplished through a balance between that which the Argentine authorities have brought about in aid of continental solidarity and that which in the opinion of the American Foreign Ministries there remains for them to do, thus establishing the list of what for greater clarity, we shall call minimum demands; c) there is something more. The American Republics have no right to intervene in internal Argentine affairs and all that concerns them is the result of its policy in the international field. The institutional life of the said country is something outside of the competence of our governments as is also the nature other American Governments may have. However, countries in a state of war or on the eve of undertaking a task of permanent reconstruction do have an interest in carrying out the true sentiments of the Argentine nation because we all are confident that the Argentine people support sentiments of collaboration and of continental solidarity. This democratic guarantee seems inescapable and preliminary to any concerted action.

The Ministry of Foreign Relations is of the opinion
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that without the presence of the Argentine Republic in the Inter-American Community, the latter cannot fully develop and realize the noble objectives for which it is destined.

To remedy this situation there are the factors which are set forth in this Memorandum and which may be summarized as follows:

(1) Take steps with all of the foreign ministries (excluding Argentina) to the end that the reply to the Argentine Memorandum shall be the result of consultation among all of our countries.

(2) That a meeting of foreign ministers shall not be called for the purpose of dealing with the Argentine situation.

(3) That the initiative be taken for a meeting of foreign ministers to discuss vital subjects related to the post war, economic solidarity, control of armaments, and other subjects which may be presented for the agenda.

(4) Such meeting should be held February 1, 1945 in order to give time so that the proposals of Dumbarton Oaks may be developed into a definite plan. February 1 is indicated definitely because if by that date the United Nations have not reached an accord a meeting of foreign ministers is in any event indispensable.

(5) The Government of Mexico is disposed to present this initiative.

(6) Pending the holding of the meeting of the foreign ministers, proceed to prove fully and establish in consultation with the foreign ministries of the other American Republics the case against the Argentine.

(7) Endeavor to reach an agreement among all of the foreign ministries to make representations to the Argentine Government to the end that it will agree to put fully in force the commitments of Rio de Janeiro in terms which would set forth the cases of nonfulfillment, as well as to point out to it the desirability of channeling the Argentine will into democratic paths which will reiterate the guarantee of the real popular Argentine sentiment in favor of continental security and American unity.

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(8) In case these steps should have satisfactory results, the Argentine would be invited to the meeting of foreign ministers on February 1.

(9) The precedent in the case of Bolivia could be cited, in which case diplomatic relations were established before the elections actually took place which brought the present government to power.

(10) The only objectives sought are to obtain adequate guarantees in tragic wartime through which we are living, to maintain the supreme ideal of the unity of America, and to assure continental security.

Mexico, D.F., November 6, 1944