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*Resubmitted*

AIR MAIL

México, D.F.,  
August 24, 1944.

Dear Joe:

You will recall that with my letter of August 22, I sent you a copy of a long confidential letter which I addressed to the Secretary setting forth in some detail some of the movements which are endangering hemisphere solidarity.

You will recall that with my letter of August 14, I sent you a copy of my strictly confidential letter to the Secretary of August 14, in which I took the liberty of presenting some thoughts with regard to the establishment of an inter-American tribunal of justice which would fit into the framework of a World Court -- these thoughts being transmitted because of their importance on the maintenance of inter-American solidarity.

You will also recall that with my letter of August 15, I sent you a copy of a letter which I had written to the Secretary, of that date, in which I took the liberty of giving some views with respect to the importance of greater stress being placed on the obligations of small States.

I have not wished to burden the Secretary or you all in the Department with these long letters or to press forward any personal views of my own, but I think you will appreciate that I am sitting at a point of vantage here and that it is an extraordinarily good place to watch these currents in Latin America. I have wished to give the Secretary and the Department the best information I can on these matters.

I now want to write you particularly with regard to the trip of General Enriquez Guzmán. I know that this trip is causing a good deal of preoccupation to some people here

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Joseph F. McGurk, Esquire,  
Chief, Division of Mexican Affairs,  
Department of State,  
Washington, D.C.

who are our good friends. They realize that General Enriquez Guzmán himself is personally friendly to the United States, but he is not a man of any extraordinary intelligence or capacity or broad understanding. He is more purely a military man who is, I think, well meaning but without any broad knowledge of the many ideas which people in responsible positions today have to keep in mind. He is naturally flattered by these friends pushing him forward as candidate for the Presidency, and like a good many men, and some better than he, he would undoubtedly be willing to subordinate his personal views to those of his friends who are pushing him forward.

Whether General Enriquez Guzmán is the candidate of former President Cárdenas, I am not able to confirm, and I am not at all certain of it. There is a group here of Cardenistas who pretend to speak for General Cárdenas and who do speak in his name all the time, but I am not at all sure, as many here are not sure, that they are always speaking in his name, and it is the case of the Cardenistas being more Cardenist than Cárdenas himself -- more papist than the Pope.

on the other hand we must recognize that these friends of Cárdenas who are pushing forward General Enriquez Guzmán are not really our friends. They are much more favorably inclined towards the idea of Latin American collaboration than of collaboration with us. They believe in a policy of pressures on the United States rather than of very frank and full collaboration which is necessary towards proper functioning of inter-American relationships. They believe that through a Latin-American bloc, pressures could be brought on the United States which the Latin States cannot bring on us through an inter-American organization or cooperation. It is, of course, very shortsighted, and unsound, and altogether impracticable, especially in the world which we have to look forward to, but then so many of these people are poorly informed, little understanding, and shortsighted. There is, therefore, no doubt that some of those who are pressing the candidacy of General Enriquez Guzmán are not our friends, are not the friends of inter-American collaboration, but look more favorably towards the idea of Latin American collaboration and even collaboration of Latin America with a Latin bloc in Europe,--although this latter idea is not so well defined as yet.

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There are those here, too, who view this trip of General Enriquez Guzmán to Chile with concern because it was undoubtedly engineered by Schnake. You will recall that Schnake, the former Chilean Ambassador here, arrived here with everything in his favor but is leaving here with a bad name. He mixed in internal affairs in Mexico to a degree that I doubt any Ambassador here has ever done, and his associations were almost entirely with the extreme Left and also with this group of Cardenistas. He also had very close association with Lombardo Toledano, and of this there is no doubt. He also was closely associated with Oumansky. Some well-informed people here believe that while it was Schnake who was responsible for the invitation from Chile for Enriquez Guzmán to visit Santiago in September that it was Lombardo Toledano and the Cardenistas, and perhaps Oumansky, who are behind this. Oumansky would like nothing better than to make trouble for us by getting the Latin American States into more or less of a bloc against us. He thinks that through Lombardo Toledano and through the CTAL and through labor and radical elements in the Latin American Republics, our position can be weakened and the position of Russia strengthened. This is just the way that Oumansky thinks and it is unfortunately the way he works. Whether he does things with or without the approval of his Government is another matter. My own opinion, as I have already expressed it to the Department, is that he works as much on his own initiative as he does under instructions of his Government and that often he does things which may not have the approval of his Government.

These well-informed persons here think that the trip of Enriquez Guzmán to Chile has been engineered for two reasons -- first, to push him forward into the limelight as a presidential candidate, and, second, to give him an opportunity during his trip, not only in Chile but in the countries where he will stop on the way south and back, to spread this distrust of us and to spread the idea of Latin American unity in contradistinction to inter-American unity. That Enriquez Guzmán would lend himself to this, I am not able to say, but the presidential ambition has made better men than he subordinate their views to those of their friends.

I have dictated a memorandum which I am enclosing herewith for the consideration of the Department, and I am sending this letter and the enclosure to you for your consideration and that of Mr. Armour, with the thought that it would be advisable to send a secret memorandum by courier pouch to our

Chiefs



Chiefs of Mission in the countries along the West Coast with the idea that they keep on the alert and report to the Department any information which comes to them of interest with respect to General Enriquez Guzmán's visit. I think our Chiefs of Mission should be instructed not to disclose in any way the information in the memorandum to our friends in the Governments of the other American Republics. I think that they should be given this merely for their background so that they may be on the alert and report anything of interest. I think they should be especially on the alert to inform themselves as to what kind of people General Enriquez Guzmán seeks out or who may seek him out on this trip. If it is the extreme Left or Left elements which seek him out particularly, it will be very significant and interesting. I think our Chiefs of Mission should be asked to inform the Department confidentially. In my opinion, they should be asked not to show any undue interest in this trip for that I think would be the worst we could do. On the other hand, I think in any contact which we have with General Enriquez Guzmán, we should treat him with every courtesy and consideration and not in any way give the impression that there is any thought that his trip may have any sinister implications.

You may not wish to use the memorandum herewith transmitted in the form I have prepared it, but I have taken the liberty of preparing it so as to be of aid to you in the Department in getting something to our Chiefs of Mission, and I think it should be done with some urgency, as he is leaving here about September 1 or 2 for his first stop, which will be Panama. General Harris, our Military Attaché, has asked that our military people in Panama show him around and let him see the works because I think that is one of the best things we can do. What he will see will impress him.

Very confidentially, important people in the Mexican Government who are our good friends are very much interested in having any information which may come to the Department from our Chiefs of Mission with regard to the trip of General Enriquez Guzmán. In fact, I have been asked to ask the Department to let me have anything which the Department may get which would be of interest with regard to the trip. I would, therefore, appreciate being advised in due course of any interesting information which may reach the Department from our Chiefs of Mission with regard to General Enriquez Guzmán's trip.

Personally

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Personally, I am not able to form any idea as to whether General Enriquez Guzmán is going to lend himself during this trip to some of the ideas and activities of those who are pushing his candidacy here. I think it is well, however, for us to be on our guard and at the same time not show any undue interest in the trip but to show him every courtesy and consideration during the trip without in any way being ostentatious about it. To show him too much attention during the trip through our Chiefs of Mission would be just as undesirable as completely to ignore him or to treat him with suspicion.

Please be good enough to take this up with Mr. Armour.

With all good wishes,

Cordially and faithfully yours,

G. S. Messersmith

Enclosure:

Memorandum,  
August 24, 1944.

(In triplicate)

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