MEETING OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE AMER-ICAN REPUBLICS FOR CONSULTATION UNDER THE INTER-AMERICAN AGREEMENTS OF BUENOS AIRES AND LIMA, HELD AT PANAMA SEPTEMBER 23-**OCTOBER 3, 1939** 

[BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE: Diario de la Reunión de Consulta entre los Ministros de Relaciones Exteriores de las Repúblicas Americanas; Consultative Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the American Republics, Final Act of the Meeting, printed in Department of State Bulletin, October 7, 1939, pp. 321 ff.; Report of the Delegate of the United States of America to the Meeting of the Foreign Ministers of American Republics Held at Panamá, September 23-October 3, 1939 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1940); Report on the Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of The American Republics, Panama, September 23-October 3, 1939, Submitted to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union by the Director General (Washington, 1939); Second Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, Havana, Cuba, July, 1940: Special Handbook Prepared by the Pan American Union (Pan American Union, Washington, 1940) (mimeographed).]

740.00111-A. R./A: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Argentina (Armour)1

Washington, September 3, 1939-9 a.m.

142. The outbreak of a general European war constitutes in the judgment of this Government a potential menace to the peace of the Western Hemisphere and consequently justifies the resort to inter-American consultation envisaged in the pertinent conventions and declarations of the Conference of Buenos Aires 2 as well as in the

¹ The same, mutatis mutandis, on the same date to Brazil (telegram No. 164), Chile (No. 110), Colombia (No. 84), Cuba (No. 101), Mexico (No. 193), Panama (No. 68), and Peru (No. 51).

² See Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation and Reestablishment of Peace, signed at Buenos Aires, December 23, 1936, Report of the Delegation of the United States of America to the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, Buenos Aires, Argentina, December 1-23, 1936 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1937), p. 116; Declaration of Principles of Inter-American Solidarity and Co-operation, approved December 21, 1936, ibid., p. 227.

Declaration of Lima.3

Please call immediately upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs and inquire whether the Government to which you are accredited coincides in the views above expressed, and if so, whether it would be willing to join with the Government of the United States and the governments of certain other American republics in a request to all of the American republics for consultation. You may state for the confidential information of the Minister that a similar inquiry is being made of the Governments of Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, Panama, and Peru.

In the event that the Government of Argentina is willing to join in the request for consultation, this Government suggests that the request for consultation might well be phrased as follows, and that it might be issued simultaneously by the governments mentioned therein:

"In as much as the tragic conflagration which has broken out in Europe constitutes in the judgment of the Governments of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, Panama, Peru, and the United States an act susceptible of disturbing the peace of America and therefore justifies the initiation of the procedure of consultation provided for in the Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation, and Establishment of Peace signed at the Conference for the Maintenance of Peace of Buenos Aires, as set forth in the Declarations of Inter-American Solidarity and Cooperation unanimously adopted at the same Conference, and as further set forth in the Declaration of Lima, the Governments above mentioned request that an inter-American conference be held in the city of Panama on . . . . . . to be attended by the Minister for Foreign Relations of each American republic, or by his representative, in order that the American republics may exchange views as to the measures which they may collectively or individually take in order best to assure the peace of the American continent."

You may further state that this Government submits for the consideration of the Argentine Government the desirability of fixing the time for such conference ten days from the date upon which the request for consultation is made. If these suggestions are acceptable, it is further suggested that the Government of Panama might be designated as the recipient of the replies of the governments to whom the proposed joint request would be addressed.

Please telegraph immediately the response made to you by the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

HULL

<sup>\*</sup>Declaration of the Principles of the Solidarity of America, known as the "Declaration of Lima", approved December 24, 1938, Report of the Delegation of the United States of America to the Eighth International Conference of American States, Lima, Peru, December 9-27, 1938 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1941), p. 189.

740.00111 A.R./11a: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Brazil (Caffery)

Washington, September 3, 1939-11 a.m.

165. Department's 164, September 3, 9 a. m.\* Please inform Aranha 5 that this Government is now completing the formulation of its suggestions as to the agenda for the proposed Panama Conference. I shall greatly value having the benefit of his confidential advice with regard to the proposed agenda at the earliest possible moment. I shall send you tomorrow by telegram a digest of our ideas regarding the agenda so that you may go over the points contained therein with Aranha and I should like them to have his views as quickly as possible so that we may thereafter without delay submit our final suggestions in this regard to all of the other Governments who will attend the Conference.

HULL

740.00111 A.R./24a: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Brazil (Caffery)

Washington, September 4, 1939—6 p.m.

168. For the Ambassador from the Under Secretary. My telegram no. 165 of September 3, 9 [11] a.m. Our draft agenda is quoted hereafter. Please go over it with Aranha and let me have the benefit of his views and suggestions as to any amendments et cetera as quickly as possible.

"AGENDA

## I. Neutrality

Consideration of the rights and duties of neutrals and belligerents in the present situation with a view to the preservation of the integral sovereignty and the peace of the nations of the Western Hemisphere; Steps to be taken in common or individually:

1. To suppress violations of neutrality and subversive activities by nationals of belligerent countries or others seeking to promote the interests of belligerent powers in the territory and jurisdiction of any or all of the American Republics.

2. To enforce the obligations of belligerent public and merchant vessels and aircraft in neutral territorial waters and areas.

3. To safeguard the carrying on of legitimate international trade, commerce, and communications of the American Republics on the high seas, on land and in the air.

4. To discharge neutral obligations toward belligerent nations.

Sumner Welles.

See footnote 1, p. 15.

Oswaldo Aranha, Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

### II. Protection of the Peace of the Western Hemisphere

Consideration of measures to preserve the American continent free from conflict whether on land, in the air, within territorial waters, or within the area of the primary defense of the Western Hemisphere.

#### III. Economic Cooperation

Consideration of measures to safeguard in the present situation the economic and financial stability of the American Republics. Such measures include:

A. Measures to preserve commercial and financial interests of

the American Republics.

B. Continuation and expansion of long-term programs for commercial and economic cooperation among the American Republics."

> [Welles] Hull

740.00111 A.R./24c: Circular telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Argentina (Armour)1

Washington, September 4, 1939-9 p.m.

Department's No. 142, September 3, 9 a.m. Favorable replies now having been received, the simplest way to proceed would appear to be for Panama to extend the invitation in the name of all 9 countries (including its own) to the Governments of the other 12 Republics, namely, those of Bolivia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

Accordingly, you will please immediately request of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government to which you are accredited authorization for the Department to inform the Panamanian Government of the readiness of his Government to participate in this joint invitation to be issued by Panama in accordance with the text suggested in the Department's telegram of September 3, 9 a.m. Please reply by telegraph as soon as you have received the requested authorization.

You should also say to the Minister for Foreign Affairs that it would appear possible to convene the Conference on September 21.

HULL

<sup>&#</sup>x27;The same, mutatis mutandis, on the same date to the Diplomatic Missions in Brazil (referring to Department's No. 164); Chile (referring to No. 110); Colombia (referring to No. 84); Cuba (referring to No. 101); Mexico (referring to No. 193); and Peru (referring to No. 51).

740.00111 A.R./24b : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Panama (Dawson)

Washington, September 4, 1939-9 p.m.

69. The Department's telegram No. 68, September 3, 9 a. m.<sup>8</sup> The following circular telegram is being sent to our missions in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, and Peru: [Here follows text of circular telegram of September 4, 9 p. m., printed *supra*.] Please inform the Panamanian Government of the procedure envisaged which we have assumed from your No. 91, September 3, 8 p. m.<sup>9</sup> will be satisfactory to it.

Ambassador Daniels 10 indicates that the Mexican authorization 11

may be telegraphed directly to the Panamanian Government.

HULL

740.00111 A.R./26: Telegram

The Ambassador in Panama (Dawson) to the Secretary of State

Panama, September 5, 1939—noon. [Received 1:04 p. m.]

92. Department's telegram No. 69 of September 4, 9 p. m. The procedure envisaged is entirely agreeable to the Panamanian Government which will issue the joint invitation in accordance with suggested text as soon as authorization of the several inviting governments is received either through the Department or directly.

DAWSON

740.00111 A.R./36: Telegram

The Ambassador in Brazil (Caffery) to the Secretary of State

RIO DE JANEIRO, September 5, 1939—5 p. m. [Received 5:58 p. m.]

303. For the Under Secretary. Your 168, September 4, 6 p. m. Aranha and President Vargas approve agenda as drafted.

Aranha wants to know who is going from Washington. He would like to go but does not feel that he can leave Rio de Janeiro at this time. He will send several technical experts from here by air. He

Not printed.
 Josephus Daniels, Ambassador in Mexico.

See footnote 1, p. 15.

n See Preliminaries of the Meeting, in The International Conferences of American States, First Supplement, 1933-1940... Collected and Edited in the Division of International Law of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Washington, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1940), p. 315, footnote 1.

has in mind sending his Ambassador at Washington as principal delegate.

CAFFERY

740.00111 A.R./31: Telegram

The Ambassador in Panama (Dawson) to the Secretary of State

Panama, September 5, 1939—10 p. m. [Received September 6—12:10 a. m.]

95. The joint invitation was despatched by the Panamanian Government to the other 12 republics at 10:00 p.m. this evening.

DAWSON

740.00111 A.R./36: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Brazil (Caffery)

Washington, September 6, 1939-4 p. m.

170. For the Ambassador from the Under Secretary. Your 303, September 5, 5 p. m. While no announcement will be made for the moment, you may inform Aranha confidentially that I myself will represent this Government at the Panama Conference. Please express my earnest hope that Aranha may find it possible to go because of the increased prestige and importance which will be given the Conference by his presence. You may add that the President has instructed me to say that should he desire to proceed by airplane to Trinidad and find it convenient in order to arrive in Panama on the date set for the Conference, the President will order a United States cruiser to be available at Trinidad in order to transport such delegate to Panama. Similar offers will be made to the delegates of Uruguay and of Paraguay. [Welles.]

HULL

740.00111 A.R./66b: Circular telegram

The Secretary of State to Chiefs of Diplomatic Missions in the American Republics Except Brazil

Washington, September 6, 1939-6 p. m.

For the Conference of the American Republics to be held in Panama, September 21, the Department has prepared the tentative agenda quoted hereafter.

You are requested immediately to present a copy of the suggested agenda to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the country to which you are accredited. In presenting it, you should state that because

of the emergency and in order to advance as rapidly as possible preparations for the Conference by each Government, this Government felt it might be helpful in making these suggestions for the consideration of the other Governments. You should also state that the basic consideration which this Government had in mind when it drew up the suggested agenda was the desirability of confining it strictly to questions arising out of the war in Europe. These questions, which may be summarized under the headings of (1) Neutrality, (2) Protection of the Peace of the Western Hemisphere, and (3) Measures to Safeguard the Economic and Financial Stability of the American Republics, are of an urgent character requiring very prompt attention and in some cases immediate action. In order that the Conference may achieve its purpose it is obvious that it must adhere closely to the problems presently confronting all the countries of this Hemisphere because of the war, so that you will discourage discreetly any suggestions for the addition of questions not directly pertinent to the purposes of this Conference.

In order that decision regarding the agenda may be reached as quickly as possible, it is suggested that the views of the Government to which you are accredited be communicated as rapidly as possible through you to the Department. It is suggested that the final views of all the governments be presented to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union for the approval of a final agenda at a special meeting to be held on September 12 at 3 o'clock. It is hoped that under the foregoing procedure the introduction of any subject not strictly germane can be avoided so that the meeting of the Board will in effect be limited to a ratification of the agenda previously discussed and agreed upon.

The proposed text follows:

[Here follows text of agenda quoted in telegram No. 168, September 4, 6 p. m., to the Ambassador in Brazil, printed on page 17.]

Hull

740.00111 A.R./100c: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Panama (Dawson)

Washington, September 7, 1939—3 p. m.

74. The Department considers it very desirable that the Director General of the Pan American Union be present at the approaching meeting in Panama of the representatives of the American republics. Please suggest to the Minister for Foreign Affairs that an invitation be extended to Dr. Rowe in his official capacity and if such invitation is received by Dr. Rowe, he will request the approval of the Govern-

ing Board of the Pan American Union to his attendance at the special meeting of the Board to take place on September 13.

HILL

740.00111 A.R./96: Telegram

The Ambassador in Panama (Dawson) to the Secretary of State

Panama, September 8, 1939—noon. [Received 1:45 p. m.]

Department's telegram No. 74, September 7, 3 p. m. Minister of Foreign Affairs will send an invitation to the Director General of the Pan American Union immediately.

DAWSON

740.00111 A.R. /97a: Circular telegram

The Secretary of State to Chiefs of Diplomatic Missions in the American Republics

Washington, September 8, 1939-4 p. m.

The President has announced that the Under Secretary of State 12 will represent the United States at the conference in Panama. He will be assisted by the following as advisers: The Honorable Edwin C. Wilson, Minister Designate to Uruguay; and Dr. Herbert Feis,13 Dr. Warren Kelchner,14 and Miss Marjorie M. Whiteman,15 of the Department of State. Mr. Paul C. Daniels, Foreign Service Officer. will act as secretary to Mr. Welles.16

You will please inform the Government to which you are accredited.

HULL

740.00111 A.R./119: Telegram

The Ambassador in Venezuela (Corrigan) to the Secretary of State

Caracas, September 9, 1939—1 p. m. [Received 2:50 p. m.]

Department's rush circular September 6, 6 p.m. The Foreign Minister is unconvinced of the need of holding a conference at this time particularly without adequate preparation but informs me that

<sup>12</sup> Sumner Welles, Representative of the Secretary of State.

15 Marjorie M. Whiteman, Legal Adviser; Assistant to the Legal Adviser,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Herbert Feis, Adviser; Adviser on International Economic Affairs, Department of State.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Warren Kelchner, Secretary General of the Delegation: Chief, Division of International Conferences, Department of State.

Department of State.

<sup>15</sup> For a complete list of the delegation of the United States, see *Report of the* Delegate of the United States of America to the Meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the American Republics Held at Panamá September 23-October 3, 1939 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1940).

Venezuela will participate and that the Venezuelan Minister to Panama will probably be named as representative. He expressed the view that holding a conference so soon after the outbreak of war may prejudice future efforts at concerted action if a real emergency should develop. He has no observations whatever to make with respect to the proposed agenda.

CORRIGAN

740.00111 A.R./129: Telegram

The Ambassador in Panama (Dawson) to the Secretary of State

Panama, September 9, 1939—5 p. m. [Received 9 p. m.]

104. The Minister for Foreign Affairs informs me that replies have now been received from all of the 12 Republics invited and that all are favorable with the possible exception of Venezuela whose Government requested certain information but failed to specify whether it would participate. He has asked the Venezuelan Minister here to telegraph his Government in order to clear up the matter. The Panamanian Minister for Foreign Affairs tells me also that thus far the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Haiti, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Peru have signified their intention of being present and that it appears from their replies that the Bolivian, Mexican, and Peruvian Foreign Ministers are planning to be here about September 19. Does the Department wish me to transmit information as it becomes available regarding the representatives to be designated by other governments and does it desire also the names of advisers, experts, et cetera, who will accompany them?

DAWSON

740.00111 A.R./119: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Venezuela (Corrigan)

Washington, September 11, 1939-5 p.m.

79. Personal for the Ambassador from the Under Secretary. Your 95, September 9, 1 p. m. Please see the Minister for Foreign Affairs as soon as possible and tell him that while I am most happy to know that Venezuela will participate in the Panama meeting and that we may thereby have the invaluable benefit of the assistance and cooperation of the Government of Venezuela in the deliberations of the meeting, I am somewhat concerned as to the reasons for the feeling expressed to you by the Minister that he is "unconvinced of the need of holding a conference at this time." It has seemed to this Government that the outbreak of any general European war clearly constitutes a potential menace to the peace of this continent and it was for that

reason that this Government strongly supported the idea of an early consultation as provided for in the Convention and Declaration of Buenos Aires and in the Declaration of Lima. Prior to the declaration of war, several governments had approached the Government of the United States indicating their belief that consultation should take place as provided for in the Convention of Buenos Aires, and others publicly announced their belief in the same sense. Immediately after the declaration of war, this Government informed the governments referred to that it was ready to join in a request for consultation and suggested that the Government of Panama be the intermediary in this case.

If there had been more time available, this Government would have immediately undertaken an exchange of views with the Government of Venezuela, but in view of the urgency of the situation and in view of the most helpful and cooperative attitude always shown by the Government of Venezuela in all questions affecting the welfare of the continent and particularly in view of the position taken by the Government of Venezuela in both the Buenos Aires and the Lima Conferences, this Government assumed that the Government of Venezuela would coincide in its own belief that consultation at the earliest possible date would be desirable.

Please say to the Minister that I personally had hoped that I might have the privilege of working with him at the Panama meeting and that I still hope there may be some chance that he may find it possible to attend in representation of his Government. You may add that there is no statesman on the continent whose presence at Panama would, in my judgment, be more conducive to an outcome of the meeting which would prove in the highest interest of all the American Republics. [Welles.]

HULL

740.00111 A.R./176a: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Panama (Dawson)

Washington, September 11, 1939—5 p.m.

80. In view of the doubt whether certain of the delegates can reach Panama by September 21, I think it would be desirable for the Government of Panama to telegraph all countries suggesting that the definite date for convening the conference be September 23. Please make this suggestion to the Panamanian Government and reply by telegraph.

With reference to your telegram 104, September 9, 5 p. m., please report by cable to reach Washington by morning of September 14 names of delegates, advisers, et cetera, who will represent the other American Republics.

HULL

740:00111 A.R./318

Memorandum by the Assistant Chief of the Division of the American Republics (Briggs)

[Washington,] September 11, 1939.

As of this evening we have received word from 18 countries (all except Cuba and Guatemala) that they are satisfied with the agenda which will be considered by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union tomorrow afternoon.

The only country to submit its own suggestion is Mexico, whose resolution on "Continental Solidarity" was considered at the meeting this morning.

ELLIS O. BRIGGS

740.00111 A.R./255

Memorandum by the Chief of the Division of the American Republics (Duggan) to the Under Secretary of State (Welles)

[Washington,] September 12, 1939.

There is attached the map <sup>17</sup> about which I spoke to you this morning, drawn by Mr. Boggs. <sup>18</sup> The radius of the neutral zone is 300 nautical miles, which is the equivalent of 345.47 statute miles. Mr. Boggs suggests the use of nautical miles because that is the terminology used and understood by mariners.

I have gone over with Mr. Boggs the question of the northern and southern termini of the zone and offer for your consideration the

following definition of the zone:

300 nautical miles from the coast of the mainland or neighboring islands of the American Republics between the following parallels of latitude:

(a) In the Atlantic, between 44°46′36″ North Latitude, except the territorial waters of any part of Canada included within this area, and 60° South Latitude;

(b) In the Pacific, between 48°29'38". 11 North Latitude and

60° South Latitude.

On the Atlantic side, therefore, the line would start in Passamaquoddy Bay and would extend east along the parallel mentioned until striking the territorial waters of Nova Scotia. It would follow the limits of territorial waters of Nova Scotia on the west, south and east coasts until it reaches the same parallel.

Facing p. 35.
 Samuel W. Boggs, Geographer of the Department of State.

On the Pacific side, the line would start at the boundary terminus in the Strait of Juan de Fuca, which is the agreed upon boundary with Canada.

LAURENCE DUGGAN

740.00111 A.R./177: Telegram

The Ambassador in Panama (Dawson) to the Secretary of State

Panama, September 12, 1939—noon. [Received 1:15 p. m.]

110. Department's telegram No. 80, September 11, 5 p. m. The Government of Panama approves your suggestion and is telegraphing to all countries suggesting that the definite date for convening the Conference be September 23.

DAWSON

740.00111 A.R./221a: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Argentina (Armour)

Washington, September 12, 1939-6 p. m.

151. Please refer to despatch no. 371 of the American Legation at Buenos Aires, dated November 18, 1914, regarding a suggestion by the Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs "that the Pan American Union should be authorized by all the American republics to propose to the belligerents that certain sections of the southern Atlantic and Pacific should be closed to naval warfare and that the belligerents should come to some arrangement with the Union as to the protection of neutral shipping". This despatch is printed on page 438 of Foreign Relations, 1914 Supplement. Any additional information available in your files on the subject of this proposal should be airmailed to Warren Kelchner, Secretary General of the American Delegation, American Embassy, Panama, not later than September 21. (Summary of such information should be telegraphed to the Department at once.)

HULL

740.00111 A.R./202: Telegram

The Ambassador in Venezuela (Corrigan) to the Secretary of State

Caracas, September 13, 1939—3 p. m. [Received 6:55 p. m.]

98. Department's 79, September 11, 5 p. m. The complimentary references of the Under Secretary were conveyed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and were received with appreciation. The Foreign Minister in turn sends a message of friendship and affection to the Under Secretary. He fervently desires for Mr. Welles and for the

United States complete success in the forthcoming Conference. While he deplores the hastiness and especially the neglect of previous consultation, I obtained an assurance that Venezuela would lend its wholehearted cooperation to the success of the Panama Conference.

The Venezuelan delegation will be named later today after con-

sultation with the President.

CORRIGAN

740.00111 A.R./223: Telegram

The Ambassador in Argentina (Armour) to the Secretary of State

Buenos Aires, September 14, 1939—5 p.m. [Received 8: 20 p. m.]

168. Department's telegram 151, September 12, 6 p. m. Embassy's files contain in addition to despatch mentioned in the Department's telegram only a telegram on the same subject from the Chargé d'Affaires 19 dated November 18, 6 p. m., 1914 printed page 437 of Foreign Relations, 1914, Supplement, and despatch No. 380, December 11, 1914, page 452 same volume. Department has presumably noted resolution adopted by Pan American Union on December 8, 1914, page 444, Foreign Relations, apparently resulting from the action proposed by the Argentine Government.

Lorillard's despatches indicate proposal was handled through Argentine Minister at Washington and it is possible that the Argentine

Embassy might have additional information.

In this connection the Department may be interested in reference by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to proposal of the Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs made through the Argentine Legation at Washington in 1916 for a conference of American Republics to discuss situation created by German submarine campaign (see Embassy's despatch 113 of September 8,20 which should reach the Department today). The Minister for Foreign Affairs is examining the files here to give me further data on this proposal which was apparently distinct from the proposal referred to in the Department's telegram No. 151. In the meantime I am endeavoring discreetly to obtain further information on 1914 proposal through the Foreign Office.21

Repeated to Panama.

ARMOUR

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> George Lorillard.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Not printed.

<sup>21</sup> In despatch No. 136, September 19, the Ambassador in Argentina reported:

"It now appears that Dr. Cantilo was mistaken in his recollection of what transpired in 1916. What he apparently had in mind were the 1914 proposals and the action resulting therefrom which continued on up to 1916. In other words, the Argentine Government does not appear to have made any new proposals in 1916 to meet the situation resulting from the German unrestricted submarine warfare, as Dr. Cantilo had thought." (740.00111 A.R./360)

740.00111 A.R./428

Memorandum by the Chief of the Division of the American Republics (Duggan)

[Washington,] September 21, 1939.

In connection with the resolution which Mr. Welles intends to present at Panama for a neutral zone around the Americas, with the exception of the territorial waters of European possessions, the Department has ascertained that there are at the present time in ports of the American Republics approximately 82 German vessels. There is one German vessel in United States ports. Their distribution is indicated on the attached tabulation.

Under the proposed arrangement it would be possible for all of these vessels to engage in carrying goods between the American Republics free from search and seizure by the war vessels of Great Britain and France. A difficult problem of patrol may be presented, since these vessels might serve as mother ships to supply German submarines just at the edge of the neutral zone.

There is also the problem of these vessels being clandestinely fitted out as raiders and then of their attacking merchant shipping outside of the zone, returning within the zone in order to escape attack of the war vessels of Great Britain and France.

LAURENCE DUGGAN

# Annex GERMAN VESSELS IN PORTS OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS

Argentina			3	Costa Rica	4
Uruguay			4	Nicaragua	0
Brazil			26	Honduras	0
Surinam		16	1	Salvador	. 0
Venezuela			2	Guatemala	0
Colombia		8	1	Mexico	10
Ecuador	35		4	Cuba	0*
Peru			5	Dominican Republic	0
Chile	220		6	Haiti	0
Panama			0	Curacao	16
				Total:	82

740.00111 A.R./3501

Memorandum of Conversation, by the Chief of the Division of European Affairs (Moffat)

[Washington,] September 25, 1939.

In the course of a conversation this morning Mr. Hoyer Millar <sup>22</sup> told me that according to a report from the British Minister at Panama,

<sup>\*</sup> Habana only. [Footnote in the original.]

F. R. Hoyer Millar, First Secretary of the British Embassy.

the German Minister had asked for permission to have a German delegation present at the conference as "observers". The Panamanian Minister of Foreign Affairs declined the suggestion.

PIERREPONT MOFFAT

740,00111 A.R./383

Memorandum of Conversation, by the Secretary of State

[Washington,] September 27, 1939.

The Ambassador of Great Britain 23 called at his own request. He said he came in to inquire about that feature of the present Pan American meeting relating to a so-called safety zone around this hemisphere. He said that, of course, his Government stands for the wellestablished principle of international law relating to the freedom of the seas and the rights of both neutrals and belligerents to utilize the sea as a public highway open to all alike, and that, therefore, his Government is naturally interested in this pending proposal at Panama. I replied that the matter at present is in the developing stage; that whatever our attitude may later be, it was my understanding that the present plan contemplates a patrol system similar to the present patrol system of this Government from opposite the Canadian border to the lower end of the Caribbean Sea; that, in addition to this patrol plan, the Pan American proposal at Panama probably contemplates that the 21 American republics, after declaring a purpose jointly to patrol the sea a considerable distance from shore and entirely around this hemisphere to the Canadian border, will request belligerent governments to agree not to engage in any act of hostilities within this so-called safety zone of the ocean; that if either or both belligerents should refuse thus to agree, the 21 American republics would go forward with their patrol work, and, in the event there should be acts of hostilities on the part of any belligerent within the so-called safety zone, the American republics would proceed to confer, with the view to determining what step or steps they might take to deal with such a situation; that no specific method of so dealing with such hostile acts will be discussed or agreed upon in advance by the American republics. I added that, of course, if one belligerent should agree to the request aforementioned it would do so on condition that an opposing belligerent would likewise agree and would carry out this promise; that if the opposing belligerent should violate its promise and if the 21 American republics should fail to deal effectively or satisfac-

<sup>23</sup> Lord Lothian.

torily with such violation, then Great Britain might feel constrained to come into the safety zone and deal with it herself. I stated that, of course, the request would contemplate that both sides must agree to comply and both sides must carry out the agreement in order for it to be operative; that this proposal would except, from the safety zone plan, British possessions in this hemisphere. I then added that, of course, the 21 American republics would be specially interested in keeping submarines from Europe away from this hemisphere and away from any base of supplies in this hemisphere; that in harmony with this spirit it was not improbable that Congress might prohibit submarines from coming into harbors of the United States for any purpose. The Ambassador seemed satisfied with this general proposal provided both sides agree to it and carry out their agreement and provided it does not interfere with British access to British colonies and other possessions lying and situate within this proposed so-called safety zone. I stated that the proposal would naturally make an exception with respect to access on the part of the British to British possessions in this hemisphere.

C[ORDELL] H[ULL]

740.00111 A.R./380a : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the American Delegate (Welles)

Washington, September 27, 1939-10 p.m.

24. According to our latest data, at the present time there are at least 80 German vessels in the ports of the American republics and Dutch possessions. Under the terms as they now stand of the proposed declaration establishing the so-called safety zone, these vessels and any other German vessels that might slip into ports of the American countries could engage in coast wise trade within the zone. This possibility raises a number of important questions. For instance, the entry into the carrying trade between the Americas of all of these ships might create serious complications and hardship for American shipping regularly engaged in this service. Moreover, considering the large number of vessels involved, what attitude might be expected from the British and French who seem intent upon bottling up in port all German shipping.

Would you be good enough to give me the thoughts you may

have on these and any other related questions?

HULL

740.00111 A.R./378: Telegram

The American Delegate (Welles) to the Secretary of State

Panama, September 28, 1939—4 p. m. [Received 7:47 p. m.]

20. Your 24, September 27, 10 p. m. I have had the matter mentioned in your telegram very much in mind from the beginning of our consideration of the proposed restricted zone around this continent and if I remember correctly discussed it with you and with the President.

It is of course clear that if the proposed restricted zone is established and respected by the belligerents both Germany and the allies will derive certain advantages as well as disadvantages therefrom. From the standpoint of possible advantages to the allies the security of their ships carrying supplies of raw materials from the South American Republics to their own ports so long as they remain within the restrictive zone would be a very great gain. They would derive even greater benefits from the fact that if the restricted zone is respected they would be enabled to reduce materially their naval patrols within such areas as well as from the fact that their colonial possessions within the restricted zone would be far less liable to incur any danger. The sole disadvantage to the allies which I can see derives from the relative advantage to Germany which would result from the security of German merchant ships now within the restricted zone which would be enabled as you indicate to engage in coastwise shipping.

As you know there is already under way a movement on the part of some of the American governments to attempt to take over these German merchant vessels and if this is done there is no doubt that the allied governments would immediately raise the question as to the validity of such transfer of title during the war period. If we sustain the general proposal for the creation of a restricted zone on the ground that the American Republics are entitled to continue normal shipping communications with each other notwithstanding the outbreak of war in Europe it would seem to me that there would necessarily be inherent in such proposal the right of all belligerents to engage in maritime communications between the American Republics so long as their merchant ships kept within a reasonable distance of our coasts. The great fear of many of the American Republics which has been expressed to me in my conversations here and particularly in conversations with the representatives of the Pacific Coast republics is that the sharp reduction in British shipping from South American ports to Europe caused by the outbreak of war cannot within any foreseeable period be compensated for by any commensurate increase in American merchant ships. The unanimous tendency on the part of these republics will be to insist that German ships be permitted to continue inter-American trade whether under German flags or under the flags of some of these republics themselves after transfer of title.

I realize the complicated nature of this problem but so far as my own opinion is concerned I have reached the very definite conclusion that from the standpoint of preserving so far as possible healthy trade and commerce between the American Republics notwithstanding the outbreak of war the disadvantages resulting from the creation of the restricted zone would be far less than the advantages to be derived therefrom; I need hardly emphasize the fact that as is clearly stated in the project the restricted zone would only continue so long as all of the American Republics retained their present neutral status.

WELLES

740.00111 A.R./378: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the American Delegate (Welles)

Washington, September 29, 1939—8 p. m.

32. For the Under Secretary from Berle. Your 20, September 28, 4 p. m. Have discussed the proposed line with the Navy Department and with the President.

The President has in mind a patrol line under which the Argentine, Brazil and ourselves in cooperation patrol from a point just below Mar del Plata to the northern boundary of the United States. He believes that the Argentine government might be persuaded to take on patrolling part of the Brazilian coast to a point south of Rio and the Brazilians from there on as far north as they could, but probably to a point off Natal, and that they would have to invite us to share patrolling from there north to the southern terminus of our own patrol. Such patrols would be chiefly by destroyers, seaplanes, etc. In the event that focal areas required special patrolling, necessary measures might be worked out in consultation. This would require that arrangements be made by which Brazil would invite us to patrol a portion of her area and Brazilians and Argentines mutually agree on patrolling from Mar del Plata north.

The primary purpose of the patrol would be to prevent establishment of submarine bases and to assure that unneutral use of these coasts was not made by any belligerent. A possible measure might be understanding that unneutral use of the coast of any of the American republics would be considered as an unneutral use of the coast of all American republics, so that a ship acting unneutrally from an Argentine base might be interned if she entered a Brazilian port or the like.

The problem of German merchant vessels now blockaded in Latin American harbors has likewise been discussed. The probable provisions of the new Neutrality Act will be such as to release a great many American vessels which would promptly seek to enter Latin American trade, and for this reason it is not thought that the German vessels will be needed to maintain communications with the Latin American republics. Further, both the Navy and the Department are impressed by the obvious dangers of allowing German ships with German crews to engage extensively in the coastwise continental trade. The President does not believe it advantageous to create a situation permitting these ships to operate freely in the restricted zone.

British Embassy has indicated to us that it will not recognize title to German ships transferred to neutral flags, and will insist on right to capture German ships in any event. Nevertheless, it is contemplated that representations may be made to the British suggesting that German ships taken over by neutrals and put into the trans-Atlantic trade may be of great importance to them in view of the provisions of the Neutrality Act, and we plan further discussions with the British

on this point.

Under these circumstances it seems to me, first, that the resolution as drafted textually may stand, but that the limitation on hostile acts might be so handled as not to release German vessels now immobilized unless or until arrangements are made to take over the blockaded vessels. The consultation committee might be so set up as to remain in continuous contact with a view to determining any particular areas, ports or lanes in which belligerent activities interrupted inter-American communications and in any such case measures might be devised for ending activities by diplomatic or naval action, or both. [Berle.]

740.00111 A.R./415: Telegram

The American Delegate (Welles) to the Secretary of State

Panama, October 3, 1939—9 a. m. [Received 12: 20 p. m.]

36. For the President and Secretary. I am deeply gratified to be enabled to report that a final agreement was reached today by the meeting upon all of the remaining proposals submitted. From the commencement of the discussions there has been complete harmony and an exact identity of criterion on the part of all of the delegations.

The four points contained in the declaration providing for the restricted zone around the American Republics were agreed upon in precisely the form approved by the Department. No suggestion was

made by the Argentine delegation or any other delegation for a change in the extent of the zone.

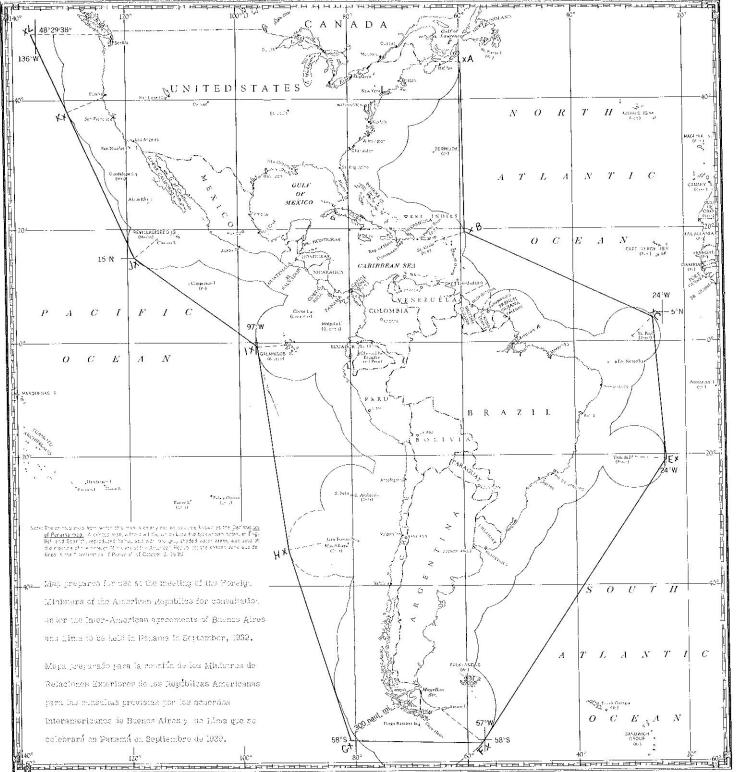
The delegations of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Peru have indicated their desire to purchase the German merchant ships which have taken refuge in their respective ports. I believe of course that it would be exceedingly necessary that steps on this character be taken promptly in order to eliminate the danger of a large number of German merchant vessels undertaking inter-American maritime service.

A general agreement on the norms of neutrality measures was likewise reached in what in my judgment constitutes an exceedingly desirable form. A considerable number of other declarations and resolutions were adopted none of them, however, of any peculiar significance other than one providing for the establishment of inter-American police contacts so as to guard against the danger of agents of the belligerents undertaking concerted subversive activities in the territory of any American republic.

Full texts of all of the declarations and resolutions adopted will

be sent to the Department by air mail.

WELLES



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The history of the Declaration of Panama map, preceding the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the American Republics in Panama, follows:

At the request of the Division of the American Republics in the State Department the Office of the Geographer laid down on National Geographic Society maps of the Western Hemisphere, at different times, the limits of waters within 500, 700, 1,000 and then finally 300 nautical miles of all of the 21 American Republics, including their island possessions—and excluding Canada, Newfoundland, and the colonies of European countries in the Americas. The 300-mile limit was regarded as being adequate, and the arcs of 300-mile radius were then laid down on a U. S. Hydrographic Office chart of the world, taking into account the latitude variations in scale on the Mercator chart. That chart, with only the 300-mile arcs (as shown within the shaded areas on the accompanying map) was sent to President Roosevelt.

The President selected turning points of a provisional zone, which he identified with small "x" marks in pencil, and lettered them from "A" to "L". He then drew straight lines with a ruler between those points. The map was returned to the geographer of the Department with a request that the zone provisionally laid down by President Roosevelt be shown on a well drafted map, and described textually. In order to facilitate description, some of the turning points were slightly moved. The parallels of latitude serving as northern limits of the zone, on both the Atlantic and Pacific sides, are the latitudes of the termini of the U. S.-Canada boundary, as defined in the joint reports of the Boundary Commissioners; all of the other turning points were assumed to be points at integral numbers of degrees nearest the President's lettered turning points. The limits of the gray shaded areas, on the accompanying map, precisely coincide with the lines thus modified from the President's preliminary lines. Wherever the limiting lines do not follow a meridian or a parallel they are defined as "rhumb lines," which means that they follow a continuous true compass course between the points concerned, and that the lines are straight lines on a Mercator projection.

The textual description of the zone is given in the Declaration of Panama, printed on page 36.

It will be noted that there was no point "D" on the map in President Roosevelt's notation. Also that the point "H" was ignored in laying down the modified limits; the 300-mile arc beside which President Roosevelt marked "H" had been incorrectly laid down by the draftsman, from a spot on the map which had been mistaken for the Chilean island "Mas Afuera." The Hawaiian Islands, two Chilean islands, Easter Island and Sala y Gomez Islands, and other distant islands, were ignored in laying down the 300-mile arcs on which the zone was based.

The waters within three nautical miles of Bermuda, Jamaica, the Guianas, and other European territorial possessions were excluded from the zone described in the Declaration of Panama. They could not be excluded from the shaded area of the map because of the smallness of the scale.

The map, as printed and sent to Panama for use at the meeting of the Foreign Ministers, showed the shaded area, with the latitude and longitude of turning points, and the English and Spanish notes, as shown on the accompanying map, but without the 300-mile arcs there shown, and without the "x" marks and letters which had been added (on another map) by President Roosevelt.

740.00111 A.R./508

#### Declaration of Panamá 24

The Governments of the American Republics meeting at Panamá, have solemnly ratified their neutral status in the conflict which is disrupting the peace of Europe, but the present war may lead to unexpected results which may affect the fundamental interests of America and there can be no justification for the interests of the belligerents to prevail over the rights of neutrals causing disturbances and suffering to nations which by their neutrality in the conflict and their distance from the scene of events, should not be burdened with its fatal and painful consequences.

During the World War of 1914-1918 the Governments of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru advanced, or supported, individual proposals providing in principle a declaration by the American Republics that the belligerent nations must refrain from committing hostile acts within a reasonable distance from their shores.

The nature of the present conflagration, in spite of its already lamentable proportions, would not justify any obstruction to inter-American communications which, engendered by important interests, call for adequate protection. This fact requires the demarcation of a zone of security including all the normal maritime routes of communication and trade between the countries of America.

To this end it is essential as a measure of necessity to adopt immediately provisions based on the above-mentioned precedents for the safeguarding of such interests, in order to avoid a repetition of the damages and sufferings sustained by the American nations and by their citizens in the war of 1914–1918.

There is no doubt that the Governments of the American Republics must foresee those dangers and as a measure of self-protection insist that the waters to a reasonable distance from their coasts shall remain free from the commission of hostile acts or from the undertaking of belligerent activities by nations engaged in a war in which the said governments are not involved.

For these reasons the Governments of the American Republics Resolve and Hereby Declare:

1. As a measure of continental self-protection, the American Republics, so long as they maintain their neutrality, are as of inherent right entitled to have those waters adjacent to the American continent, which they regard as of primary concern and direct utility in their relations, free from the commission of any hostile act by any non-American belligerent nation, whether such hostile act be attempted or made from land, sea or air.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Transmitted to the Department in covering despatch of October 3 from the American Delegate. This Declaration was part of the Final Act of the Meeting of the Foreign Ministers, approved October 3, 1939.

Such waters shall be defined as follows. All waters comprised within the limits set forth hereafter except the territorial waters of Canada and of the undisputed colonies and possessions of European countries within these limits:

Beginning at the terminus of the United States-Canada boundary in Passamaquoddy Bay, in 44°46′36″ north latitude, and 66°54′11″

west longitude;

Thence due east along the parallel 44°46'36" to a point 60° west of Greenwich:

Thence due south to a point in 20° north latitude;

Thence by a rhumb line to a point in 5° north latitude, 24° west longitude;

Thence due south to a point in 20° south latitude;

Thence by a rhumb line to a point in 58° south latitude, 57° west longitude;

Thence due west to a point in 80° west longitude;

Thence by a rhumb line to a point on the equator in 97° west longitude;

Thence by a rhumb line to a point in 15° north latitude, 120° west

longitude;

Thence by a rhumb line to a point in 48°29'38" north latitude, 136° west longitude;

Thence due east to the Pacific terminus of the United States-Canada boundary in the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

2. The Governments of the American Republics agree that they will endeavor, through joint representation to such belligerents as may now or in the future be engaged in hostilities, to secure the compliance by them with the provisions of this Declaration, without prejudice to the exercise of the individual rights of each State inherent in their sovereignty.

3. The Governments of the American Republics further declare that whenever they consider it necessary they will consult together to determine upon the measures which they may individually or collectively undertake in order to secure the observance of the provisions

of this Declaration.

4. The American Republics, during the existence of a state of war in which they themselves are not involved, may undertake, whenever they may determine that the need therefor exists, to patrol, either individually or collectively, as may be agreed upon by common consent, and in so far as the means and resources of each may permit, the waters adjacent to their coasts within the area above defined. (Approved, October 3, 1939.)

740.00111 A.R./492

The Chargé in Chile (Frost) to the Secretary of State

No. 50

Santiago, October 4, 1939. [Received October 10.]

Sir: I have the honor to report that the Acting Chief of the political section of the Foreign Office, Señor Enrique Gajardo, informed me this morning that Chile's only hesitation respecting the three hundred

mile safety zone agreed upon by the Pan American Conference had arisen from the opinion of the Chilean Navy that the latter would not be able effectively to patrol the extensive ocean areas which the zone establishes. The Navy last week expressed the view that a fifty mile zone would be much more practicable. As assurances were received by the Chilean delegation at Panama, however, from Under Secretary Welles, that each country would be expected only to effect such patrol measures as its naval resources permit, the Chilean Government was glad to accept the proposal. He indicated that the Declaration of Panama regarding the safety zone is to be communicated to all the belligerent Governments by the president of the Conference; and expressed the opinion that Germany would be fully as ready to accept it as would England and France.

Much interest has been aroused at Santiago by the possibility that the German merchant ships which have sought refuge in Chilean harbors might navigate freely within the safety zone. This would be to the advantage of Germany, but would also be beneficial to Chilean commerce. The decision of Panama that the merchant ships of belligerents in Latin American ports might be transferred to Latin American ownership if the sales are bona fide is of some relevance; but it is doubtful whether Chile possesses sufficient German exchange or funds to put through genuine purchases of the six vessels now in her ports. Some of the leading American mineral enterprises in Chile would be pleased to see such a transfer take place, or to learn that the regulations in connection with the establishment of the safety zone will permit German vessels to operate without danger throughout the western hemisphere. Señor Gajardo stated that his Government has not as yet given this question protracted or thorough consideration.

It may be mentioned that Señor Gajardo drafted the instructions to the Chilean delegation to Panama, with the approval of the Foreign Minister, which is said at all times to have been readily forthcoming. He states that no difficulties of any consequence arose, from a Chilean standpoint, during the Conference. The Chilean delegation under instructions from its Government, he feels, was able to cooperate cordially and without differences of opinion in the deliberations of the Panama Conference; which he considers to have been eminently successful. From such cursory attention as the Embassy has found time to devote to the Santiago press during the past week it would appear that the public reaction to the labors of the Conference has not been very active; but that it has been favorable, except that the Nacista-Socialist El Trabajo attacks the results as representing one more advance for imperialism.

Respectfully yours,

Wesley Frost

740.00111 A.R./502

Memorandum of Conversation, by the Secretary of State

[Washington,] October 7, 1939.

The French Ambassador <sup>25</sup> called at his own request. He made some reference to the so-called safety zone around this hemisphere as suggested by the Panama Conference during this week. I made it clear to him that it was really just an extension to the lower end of the Caribbean of our present patrol policy in the Atlantic opposite this country; that it simply further implemented the consultative peace pacts of Buenos Aires and Lima; that there were no implications of the use of force in any of these consultative pacts, from the Buenos Aires Conference to and including that in Panama; that this Government in no event contemplates the use of force unless and until it is first attacked; that there is no plan or purpose to break down or destroy international law; that it is deemed important that this and other American nations should know something of what is going on as far out in the ocean as any activities might be calculated to affect the national security of the American Republics.

The Ambassador seemed to be satisfied, and added that his Government had not requested him to make any inquiry or representations.

C[ORDELL] H[ULL]

740.00111 A.R./498: Telegram

The Ambassador in Panama (Dawson) to the Secretary of State

Panama, October 10, 1939—10 a. m. [Received 1:40 p. m.]

123. On October 4, President Arosemena cabled the Declaration of Panama to the King of England, the President of France and the Chancellor of Germany. Although he requested acknowledgment of receipt, the only reply received thus far is that of the King of England who states that he has referred the message to his responsible Ministers.<sup>28</sup>

DAWSON

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Count de Saint-Quentin. <sup>26</sup> On October 16, the Panamanian Minister for Foreign Affairs directed a note to the Department of State enclosing a reply (undated) from the President of France stating that the note of October 4 would be the object of an attentive examination. (740.00111 A.R./645)

740.00111A/110b: Circular telegram

The Secretary of State to Diplomatic Missions in the American Republics

Washington, October 19, 1939-4 p. m.

On October 18 the President of the United States announced the following Proclamation with reference to "Use of ports or territorial waters of the United States by submarines of foreign belligerent states": <sup>27</sup>

[Here follows text of proclamation printed in Department of State

Bulletin, October 21, 1939, page 396, and 54 Stat. 2668.]

Please make the foregoing text available to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, explaining that the action was taken in accordance with paragraph 3, subparagraph (k), of the General Declaration of Neutrality of the American Republics, approved at Panama City on October 3, 1939,<sup>28</sup> which states that neutrals "may exclude belligerent submarines from the waters adjacent to their territories or admit them under the condition that they conform to the regulations which each country may prescribe."

[The following American Republics adopted legislation or issued decrees during the year 1939 designed to prohibit and/or limit the entry of belligerent submarines into their ports and territorial waters:

Brazil (Article 13 of decree-law No. 1561 of September 2, 1939, in Pan American Union, Law and Treaty Series No. 12: Decrees and Regulations on Neutrality, p. 23).

Mexico (Article 5-b of decree of September 11, 1939, ibid., p. 51; repeated in article 1 of decree of October 5, 1939, ibid., p. 53).

Venezuela (Article 10 of decree of September 12, 1939, ibid., p. 82).

Dominican Republic (Article 21 of law No. 163 of October 18, 1939, ibid., p. 68).

Panama (Decree No. 167 of November 6, 1939, ibid., p. 59). Honduras (Article 9 of decree No. 38 of November 13, 1939, ibid.,

p. 46).]

740.00111 A.R./631

The Panamanian Chargé (Briceño) to the Secretary of State
[Translation]

No. D-248

Washington, October 26, 1939.

Mr. Secretary: I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that I have received instructions from my Government to communicate

A similar proclamation was issued on November 4, 1939, under authority of the joint resolution of November 4, 1939; 54 Stat. 4 and 2672.

Department of State *Bulletin*, October 7, 1939, pp. 326, 328.

to the Department of State that His Excellency the President of the Republic of Panama has received a reply from the Fuehrer Adolf Hitler, Head of the Executive Power of Germany [to the telegram] <sup>29</sup> in which he transmitted to him the Declaration of Panama.

The Fuehrer's reply is of the following tenor: 30

"His Excellency Dr. Juan Demostenes Arosemena, President of the Republic of Panama, Panama. I acknowledge to Your Excellency the receipt of the telegram of October 5 in which you communicate to me the decision of the American Governments, reached at Panama, to establish a prohibited zone around America to prevent belligerent activities. I have charged the proper offices of the Government with the examination of the matter. Please accept, Mr. President, the expression of my highest esteem.

Adolf Hitler."

I avail myself [etc.]

Julio E. Briceño

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Brackets appear in the file translation.
<sup>20</sup> Translation from the German.