

THE DEPTH OF PAN-AMERICAN PEACE STRUCTURE

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The most important service rendered to the Americas by Bolivar was the part he played in formulating a league-of-nations plan for the American nations. This plan was presented at the first Pan-American Congress meeting at Panama in 1826 (Barrenchea 1930:50). He saw with clarity the importance of strengthening the spirit of cooperation and unity of the American nations. At that early date he asserted that Europe would continue to have its wars due to centuries of hatred and that these wars would also menace the Americas. He would have united the American republics into a strong confederation in order to meet this danger (Reynolds 1943:20-21).

In spite of the fact that the "Pact of Union and Perpetual Confederation" signed at Panama was ratified by only one of the countries participating, the idea was not forgotten. Because of a series of events it has been converted into a system of international cooperation without a parallel in history, a system in which the principal attribute has been the maintenance of the Western Hemisphere nations against any external menace. This attribute, maintained resolutely by the public opinion of the continent, arose from the European menace of 1822-26 and has functioned in the adjustment of boundary disputes within the continent. The idea has become a practical reality.

The idea of cooperation has had continuity and vitality. In the congress at Lima, 1847, the delegates of New Granada, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile were present. They were in accord for the pacific settlement of inter-American disputes. Similar action was taken by the delegates meeting in Santiago, Chile, 1856 (Rowe 1940). In November 1864 the government of Peru called an American Congress at which delegates from the United States, Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, Venezuela, Argentina, and Guatemala attended. At this congress various agreements were signed, among them one entitled "Pact of Union, Defense and Alliance" and another the "Pact for the Preservation of Peace," but none were ratified by the states interested. By what has been said one can see with certainty that the idea of Pan-American cooperation did not disappear during the half century before the gathering of the delegates called by Secretary Blaine to meet in Washington, 1889. The results of this conference were limited. Secretary Blaine had in mind commercial leadership for the United States in this hemisphere. But the greatest service this congress rendered to Pan-American peace structure was the effort made to establish a permanent organism in the form of the Pan-American Union.

Late in 1889 the President of the United States announced that the congress was to discuss "Peace and Commerce" and to "animate the prosperity of the various American nations." While commercial and financial matters, customs duties, and reciprocity have been discussed at the same time, the Pan-American conferences have never lost sight of the need for arbitration and the preservation of peace has occupied an important place in their meditations. The Americas have rendered constructive service in international peace structure.

Although the theme of commercial cooperation dominated the first efforts looking toward solidarity, conquest was denounced in American international law. In this resolution is found the principle which 50 years later was converted into a solemn declaration of the American republics that conquest of territory by force would not be recognized. This declaration was the Havana Act of July 21, 1940. The second step toward continental cooperation was taken when a plan for arbitration of disputes was formulated, and the third when

the "International Union of the American Republics" was created. These advances were made in 1889.

These conferences made progress in Pan-American cooperation. Unfortunately statesmen of the United States in the period following the War with Spain, 1898, adopted a policy of imperialism, evidenced by intervention in elections, invasion and seizure of territory of neighbor republics, and financial imperialism, all of which led to adverse criticism in Hispanic America. Far-seeing statesmen such as Presidents Wilson and Hoover and Secretary of State Stimson have brought about a change in the policy of the United States. The vagueness of the Monroe Doctrine has been removed by collective action, continental cooperation. Pan-American peace structure was given a sound base when American statesmen conceded equality of small or weak nations with large or strong nations. Pan-Americanism has been strengthened by the change in policy from unilateral action to that of collective action as a basis for interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine.

The idea of the good-neighbor policy was first suggested by President Wilson who explained that Pan-Americanism has nothing of imperialism, but is a mutual service among cooperative friends in the preservation of liberty, peace, common sentiments, and ideals.

The policy of the good neighbor announced by President Roosevelt and formulated and developed by Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, has borne fruit during the period from 1933 to 1944. In a series of conferences held during the last decade, as in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Lima, Panama, and Havana, the Americas have finally formulated a league of Western Hemisphere nations. The dreams of Bolivar have finally come true. Who doubts that foreign dangers have had much to do in formulating the policy of the good neighbor?

Continental cooperation has been implemented by *financial* and *economic* as well as cultural ties. Spanish America has provided strategic materials such as rubber, manganese, tin, nitrates, and tungsten for the purpose of making guns, tanks, and bombers, in North American factories in defense of the Americas (Trueblood 1940). This policy of cooperation, of importance equal to that of the Atlantic Charter for continental cooperation, has worked in the Western Hemisphere as in no other part of the world. In the second place, one should realize that international organization should be first tried out in regions before it is extended to the world front. Thus one would have evolution going from the simpler to the more complex.

Cultural ties, economic ties, and diplomatic cooperation as well as military cooperation have gradually been realized in this hemisphere. The great principles on which international friendship should be based have had much success in experience.

While progress has been made, keen students of Latin America realize that we have much to do in the future. The ideals set up are far beyond our present reach. Barriers to inter-American cooperation, such as customs tariffs, have caused an estranged feeling in the past and should be removed. Trade treaties have been made on reciprocal bases, thus removing this barrier to trade in many instances. Merchandise is flowing freely where it is needed. Other difficulties such as lack of exchange stand in the way, for after all, gold is dug in the Urals and buried in Kentucky. While our economics are competitive in some instances, they are in general, complementary. Parts of Latin America produce the very things the United States lacks, such as coffee, rubber, petroleum, iron ore, tropical fruits, and tin. Inadequate shipping space due to submarine activities has made interchange difficult. Through highways are in only the beginning stages of construction. Subversive groups still exist in the Americas but through international cooperation their activities have been reduced.

While a league of nations has not been realized for this hemisphere, Pan-

Americanism has almost become a practical reality. The principles on which the international structure should rest have been in operation or in the process of development from 1826 to 1944 (Anon. 1944).

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