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**Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”**  
**The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945**

**Series 2: “ You have nothing to fear but fear itself:” FDR  
and the New Deal**

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**File No. 815**

**1935 November 11**

**Arlington, VA - Armistice Day Address**

Nov. 11, 1935

(1)

Draft

The living memory of the World War is close to each of us today. Our thoughts return to great ~~objectives~~ <sup>objectives</sup> ~~purposes~~ of the past, even as the mind <sup>of</sup> older men goes back to their boyhood's ideals.

We Americans were so placed that we ~~remained~~ <sup>remained</sup> ~~grain~~ grain ~~in these days~~ a perspective of the great world conflict that was perhaps ~~clearer~~ <sup>clearer</sup> than ~~less among~~ <sup>that of</sup> our fellow-men who were closer to the scenes of battle. For ~~most~~ <sup>most</sup> ~~the~~ first three years of the War we were not participants; ~~and~~ during the final phase we ourselves engaged on many fronts.

For that reason perhaps we understood, as well as any, the cries that went up -- that the world conflict should be made a war to end wars. We were not invaded nor were we threatened with invasion then or later; but the very distance of our view led us to perceive the dire results of war through days of following peace.

~~Except to those few who have placed or who place temporary, selfish gain ahead of national or world peace,~~  
~~the overwhelming mass of American citizens~~ <sup>Desert 21</sup>

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The primary purpose of this Nation is to avoid being drawn into war. It seeks also in every practicable way to promote peace and to discourage war. Except to those few who have placed or who place temporary, selfish gain ahead of national or world peace, the overwhelming mass of American citizens are in hearty accord with these basic policies of our Government, as they are also entirely sympathetic with the efforts of other Nations to end war.

(2)

That is why ~~we~~ we have striven with great consistency to approve steps to remove the causes of war and to disapprove steps taken by others to commit acts of aggression. <sup>either or performed our full part</sup> We have led in every ~~united~~ attempt to limit and to reduce armaments. We have sought by definite act and solemn commitment to establish the United States as a good neighbor among nations. <sup>in a strong</sup> We ~~have~~ <sup>wanted</sup> to simplify definitions and facts by calling war "War" when armed invasion and a resulting killing of human beings take place.

But though our course ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> <sup>consistent and clear</sup>, it is with sorrow that <sup>thus far</sup> we confess that the world's gain has been small.

I would not be frank with you if I did not tell you that the dangers that confront the future of mankind as a whole are greater to us than the dangers which confront the people of the United States by themselves <sup>and in</sup>.

Jealousies between nations continue; <sup>that disturb the world's peace</sup> armaments increase; ~~imperial~~ national ambitions are thrust forward. Most serious of all, international confidence in the sacredness of international contracts is on the wane.

The memory of our hopes of 1917 and 1918 dies with the death of those of us who took part: It is, therefore, your sacred obligation and mine, by conscious effort, to pass that memory on to succeeding generations. A new generation, even in its cradle or still unborn, is coming to the fore. The children in our schools, the young men and women passing through our colleges into productive life have, unlike us, no direct knowledge of the meaning of war. They are not immune to the glamour of war, to the opportunities to escape from the drabness and worry of hard times at home in the glory and heroism of the arms factory and the battlefield. Fortunately, there is evidence on every hand that the youth of America, as a whole, is not trapped by that delusion. They know that elation and prosperity which may come from a new war must lead -- for those who survive it -- to economic and social collapse more ~~great~~<sup>shocking</sup> than any we have experienced in the past. While, therefore, we cannot and must not hide our concern for grave world dangers, and while, at the same time, we cannot build walls around ourselves and hide our heads in the sand, we must go forward with all our strength to stress and to strive for international peace.

In this effort America must and will protect herself. Under no circumstances will this policy of ~~suff~~<sup>self</sup> protection go to lengths beyond protection. Aggression on the part of the United States is an impossibility

insofar as ~~the~~ present Government is concerned. Defense against aggression by others -- adequate defense on land ~~and~~ <sup>in</sup> sea and air -- is our accepted policy; and the measure of that defense is and will be solely the amount necessary to safeguard us against the armaments of others. The more greatly they decrease their armaments, the more quickly ~~and surely~~ shall we decrease ours.

In many other fields, by word and deed, we are giving example to the world by ~~lowering~~ <sup>removing or lowering</sup> barriers which impede friendly intercourse. Our soldier and sailor dead call to us across the years to make our lives effective in building constructively for peace. It is fitting that on this Armistice Day, I am privileged to tell you that between us and a great ~~neighbor~~ <sup>Neighbour</sup>, another act cementing our historic friendship has been consummated. Between Canada and the United States exists a neighborliness, a genuine friendship which for over a century has dispelled every passing rift.

Our two peoples, each independent in themselves, are closely knit by ties of blood and a common heritage; our standards of life are substantially the same; our commerce and our economic conditions rest upon the same foundations. Between two such peoples, if we would build constructively for peace and progress, <sup>mutually beneficial and not merely</sup> ~~the~~ flow of intercourse should be ~~unimpeded~~ <sup>unimpeded</sup>. Each has much to gain by material profit and by increased employment through the means of enlarged trade,

one with the other.

I am, therefore, happy to be able to tell you on Armistice Day that the Canadian Prime Minister and I, after thoughtful discussion of our national problems, have reached a definite agreement which, ~~without undue sacrifice~~ ~~of~~, will eliminate disagreements and unreasonable restrictions, and <sup>thus</sup> ~~these~~ work to the advantage <sup>of</sup> both ~~of~~ Canada and ~~the~~ the United States.

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(6)

The ~~force~~ <sup>power</sup> of good example is the strongest in the world. It surpasses preachers; it excels good resolutions; it is better than agreements unfulfilled.

If we as a nation, by our good example, can contribute to the peaceful well-being of the fellowship of nations, our course through the years will not have been in vain.

We who ~~have~~ <sup>survive</sup> have profited by the good example of ~~those~~ our fellow Americans who gave their lives in war. On these surrounding hills of Virginia they rest - thousands upon thousands - in the last bivouac of the dead. Below us, across the river, we see a great capital of a great nation.

The past and the present unite in the prayer that America will ever seek the ways of peace, and by her example at home and abroad speed the return of good will among men.

~~H.B.~~

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

PPF  
F-1

DIVISION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Nov. 9, 1946

Mr. Early:

These notes I had to prepare under considerable pressure in order to get them done in time. Their quality is therefore not quite what I would have liked them to be. However, I have furnished an excess of words (about 1,750), in order that the President may find it easier to remove the considerable dross he will undoubtedly find, without having to add further material. It has not been possible to submit these notes for approval to anyone else.

Noel H. Field, 8.40 p.m.

*N. H. Field*

NOTES FOR THE PRESIDENT'S ARMISTICE DAY  
ADDRESS

The first celebrations of Armistice Day were held under the immediate shadow of the World War and its horrors and irreplaceable losses. Our citizens and those of all nations who participated in the conflict were consecrated to the memory of those who had given their lives and who had been maimed in the struggle. Armistice Day was a day of thanksgiving that the great World War had ended. The future was not foremost in their minds - world peace, the hope and dream of which had inspired those who fought and those who prayed for them at home, had been established and few doubted that it would be of long duration or even everlasting. The stresses and strains of the early post-war years seemed clearly to be the inevitable aftermath of the greatest war in history and their removal essentially a problem of reconstruction and recovery. But when economic crisis broke over all nations in 1929 and aggravated the earlier political unrest, and when new wars again appeared not only likely but in some parts of the world became a reality, the

thoughts

thoughts of men and women gathered at Armistice Day commemorations increasingly turns toward the future and toward problems of how to prevent another even more horrible breakdown of our civilization.

During the past two years, we have seen an accelerating measure of domestic recovery, ~~in~~ in the United States and in the majority of other nations. But international relations have continued to deteriorate to the point where the aftermath of one great war has appeared almost imperceptibly to slip into the threatened prelude of a new war period. Hostilities between two nations are again in progress at this moment. The peace machinery so hopefully built up after the Armistice has failed to prevent the outbreak of ~~hostilities~~ <sup>the conflict</sup> and efforts to end ~~it~~ <sup>them</sup> to date have not been successful. Perhaps even more ominous is the new spirit of belligerent militarism which is stalking through many countries. War is again being praised as a builder of character and the advantages of conquest are being explained, as though these fallacies had not been long exploded. A new <sup>race</sup> ~~size~~ in armaments has resulted

resulted which, if left uncontrolled, must inevitably absorb ever larger proportions of the energy and wealth of nations and which can end only in a new holocaust.

The United States, fortunately, has not as yet been engulfed by this new tide. Our people are traditionally opposed to the exaggerations of the military spirit. The avoidance of war has become a fundamental basis of our foreign policy. In this we are aided by our geographical position and the abundance of our resources which gives us an unequalled opportunity to remain aloof from the controversies of less happily situated peoples. We have fought wars in the course of our history, but our phenomenal rise from a small and feeble state living by its farms and fisheries to a great power with trade interests encircling the globe has been possible only through the release of boundless energy during long periods of peace. As we have grown and our interests have spread, the maintenance of peace in all parts of the world has become of increasing importance to us. No war, no matter how distant, can leave us entirely unaffected.

Thus

Thus both tradition and self-interest have led us not only to strive with might and main to avoid being drawn into war ourselves, but also to play a leading part in the constructive promotion of world peace. For a century we have set an example in concluding treaties of conciliation and arbitration. Our statesmen participated actively in formulating the various Hague Conventions, designed not only to humanize the conditions of war but also to avoid, as far as possible, its outbreak. We were unable to escape involvement in the World War, but we fought it not for aggrandizement or for conquest, but for the purpose of ending war itself. During the post-war years, our Government has untiringly sought to promote peace and security through the reduction of armaments by international agreement. It assisted in initiating the Pact of Paris, by which the nations of the earth solemnly renounced war as an instrument of national policy, and it has repeatedly declared this Pact to be the cornerstone of its foreign policy. Unhappily, this peace effort has only been partially successful and has not withstood the pressure of growing militarism

and

and expansionism.

The threatening war clouds have brought to the fore a renewed expression of the vigorous determination of our people to remain at peace with other nations. This determination underlies the neutrality legislation recently adopted by Congress, and, in the various steps I have followed since the outbreak of the war between Ethiopia and Italy, I have sought to carry out consistently the mandate of our people that this country must not become involved in the conflict. I shall not detail these steps to you at this time, since they are already well-known to you. Suffice it to emphasize that they are both in accord with our basic policy of keeping out of war and in harmony with our continuing desire to encourage the early conclusion of a just and equitable peace.

Faced with the danger that the localized war situation we are witnessing today might ultimately, if the present downward trend should continue, lead to a new general conflict, some of our citizens are inclined in helpless, fainthearted desperation to let matters take their course and

concentrate

concentrate entirely on bending every effort exclusively toward preparing for the catastrophe they think inevitable; others would callously or with subversive intent permit us to drift toward the abyss without preparation and leave their country to the mercy of any potential aggressor; still others, in mistaken though sincere idealism, would take a desperate chance on unilateral disarmament and place their faith in the power of example. But all these misguided groups are a minority. The great mass of our citizens still has the conviction that a way to lasting peace can be found, not through illusory gestures or through frantic, self-defeating armament, but through intelligent unremitting search for the causes of the present unrest and for the means of resolving them specifically, combined with the building up of that minimum of armament which will discourage interference with our rights abroad and protect our lives and possessions at home.

This, I am certain, is the view of the vast majority to whom above all this day is sacred and to whom I am particularly

particularly addressing myself - the veterans of the World War. You know better than any others what war means. You saw and felt its horrors; you witnessed the death of your comrades at your sides; you suffered wounds and some of you still bear the ruthless marks of modern warfare on your bodies. In your innermost souls you have learned to hate war's senseless cruelty and degradation. Not as cowards do you fear its repetition. You went into the last war fired by an ideal, the ideal of democracy, of justice and of liberty for the common man and, above all, of ultimate lasting peace. If you saw the need to give your lives again for something greater than ~~yourself~~, you would answer your country's call with the same courage and self-sacrifice. But all the more do you insist that the best efforts of this nation and, foremost, the efforts of those ~~few~~ whom you have appointed your leaders in public life and in government, should be devoted to achieving mankind's highest ideals without recourse to war, for you know that war is not inevitable. In the history of the world, in the life of our own great people, you have seen the steady realization of ideals, the progress of material and

and spiritual culture and of human understanding and happiness by methods of law and order. You know that, if the rules of tribal warfare could be displaced by peaceful processes in domestic life, it must be possible and also it is our foremost task to overcome the law of the jungle in international life.

The living memory of the World War is indelibly engraved in the souls not only of the former combatants but also of all who were of conscious age when the war began. To most of them, the purported glamors and glories of war can have little appeal. But memory dies with those who remain, unless a conscious effort is made to pass it on to succeeding generations. More than twenty-one years have gone by since mankind was presented with the bill for its own shortsightedness. The ranks of those who read this terrible accounting are beginning to thin and a new generation which then was in its cradle or still unborn is coming to the fore. The children in our schools, the young men and women passing through our colleges and into productive life, the men who are entering the armed

forces - none of these have any direct knowledge of the meaning of war. It is they who are the easiest victims of the war spirit. They are apt to see the chance to quick employment in vast arms production and tremendous arms;<sup>15</sup> they are apt to look for escape from the drabness and worry of hard times at home in the glory and heroism of the battlefield. Fortunately, there is evidence on every hand that the youth of America as a whole is not being trapped by this delusion. Large numbers of young people have acquired an understanding that the very economic depression and insecurity from which war promises unreal exit were itself to a large extent brought about by the war and that the pseudo-elation and prosperity of a new war must - for those who survive it - lead to even more complete collapse.

We of the pre-war generation can and must assist the youth of today in its search for a wise answer to the burning problem of peace and war. Through transmitting to it our remembrance of its evils, we can foster

youth's

youth's attachment to peace. Through instruction in the lessons of history and through sane guidance we can turn youth's strivings into constructive channels and enable it to avoid the pitfalls of ill-considered and rash actions. Through our own example in advocating peaceful processes in international affairs, in promoting friendship with other nations and permanently making our foreign policy that of the good neighbor, we can, when the time comes for youth to take over the reins, rest secure in the knowledge that it will do its share toward ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ building a world in which America will develop its priceless contribution to a civilization in peaceful competition with other nations.

Let us humbly dedicate ourselves to this challenging task, while there is yet time. Let each recurrence of this day find us more united and more successful in carrying it out. We have shown in the past that, while we can lead in war and can meet the aggressor to the last drop of our blood, we have been of greatest service to mankind in the pursuits of peace. May this past be a mirror of our future.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY, VIRGINIA

November 11, 1935, 11.20 A.M.

Friends and fellow Americans:

The living memory of the World War is close to each and every one of us today. Our thoughts return to great objectives of the past, even as the minds of older men go back to their boyhood's ideals.

We Americans were so placed in those days that we gained a perspective of the great world conflict that was perhaps clearer than that of our fellow-men who were closer to the scene of battle. For most of the first three years of the (War) conflict we were not participants; but during the final phase we ourselves engaged on many fronts.

For that reason perhaps we understood, as well as any, the cries that went up -- that the world conflict should be made a war to end wars. We were not invaded nor were we threatened with invasion then or later; but the very distance of our view led us to perceive the dire results of war through days of following peace.

The primary purpose of (this Nation) the United States of America is to avoid being drawn into war. (Applause)

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.

(It) We seek(s) also in every practicable way to promote peace and to discourage war. (Applause) Except for those few who have placed or who place temporary, selfish gain ahead of national (or) and world peace, the overwhelming mass of American citizens are in hearty accord with these basic policies of our Government, as they are also entirely sympathetic with the efforts of other Nations to avoid and to end war. (Applause)

So, my friends, that is why we too have striven with great consistency to approve steps to remove the causes of war and to disapprove steps taken by others to commit acts of aggression. We have either led or performed our full part in every important attempt to limit and to reduce world armaments. We have sought by definite act and solemn commitment to establish the United States as a good neighbor among nations. We are acting to simplify definitions and facts by calling war "War" when armed invasion and a resulting killing of human beings take place. (Applause)

But though our course is consistent and clear, it is with disappointment and sorrow that (we) most Americans confess that the world's gain thus far has been small.

I would not be frank with you if I did not tell

you that the dangers that confront the future of mankind as a whole are greater to the world and therefore to us than the dangers which confront the people of the United States by and in themselves alone.

Jealousies between nations continue; armaments increase; national ambitions that disturb the world's peace are thrust forward. Most serious of all, international confidence in the sacredness of international contracts is on the wane. (Applause)

The memory of our hopes of 1917 and 1918 dies with the death of those of us who took part: It is, therefore, your sacred obligation and mine, by conscious, definite effort, to pass that memory on to succeeding generations. A new generation, even in its cradle or still unborn, is coming to the fore. The children in our schools, the young men and women passing through our colleges into productive life have, unlike us, no direct knowledge of the meaning of war. They are not immune to the glamour of war, to the opportunities to escape from the drabness and worry of hard times at home in the glory and heroism of the arms factory and the battlefield. Fortunately, there is evidence on every hand that the youth of America,

as a whole, is not trapped by that delusion. They know that elation and prosperity which may come from a new war must lead -- for those who survive it -- to economic and social collapse more sweeping than any we have experienced in the past. While, therefore, we cannot and must not hide our concern for grave world dangers, and while, at the same time, we cannot and must not build walls around ourselves and hide our heads in the sand, we must go forward with all our strength to stress and (to) strive for international peace.

In this effort America must and will protect herself. Under no circumstances will this policy of self protection go to lengths beyond self protection. Aggression on the part of the United States is an impossibility in so far as the present administration of your Government is concerned. Defense against aggression by others -- adequate defense on land, on sea and in air -- is our accepted policy; and the measure of that defense is and will be solely the amount necessary to safeguard us against the armaments of others. The more greatly they decrease their armaments, the more quickly and surely shall we decrease ours.

In many other fields, by word and by deed, we are giving example to the world by removing or lowering barriers which impede friendly intercourse. Our soldier and sailor dead call to us across the years to make our lives effective in building constructively for peace. It is fitting that on this Armistice Day, seventeen years later, I am privileged to tell you that between us and a great neighbor, another act cementing our historic friendship has been agreed upon and is being consummated. Between Canada and the United States exists a neighborliness, a genuine friendship which for over a century has dispelled every passing rift.

Our two peoples, each independent in themselves, are closely knit by ties of blood and a common heritage; our standards of life are substantially the same; our commerce and our economic conditions rest upon the same foundations. Between two such peoples, if we would build constructively for peace and progress, the flow of intercourse should be mutually beneficial and not unduly hampered. Each has much to gain by material profit (and), by spiritual profit, by increased employment through the means of enlarged trade, one with the other.

I am, therefore, happy to be able to tell you (on) almost in celebration of this Armistice Day that the Canadian Prime Minister and I, after thoughtful discussion of our national problems, have reached a definite agreement which will eliminate disagreements and unreasonable restrictions, and thus work to the advantage of both Canada and the United States. (Applause)

I hope that this good example will reach around the world some day, for the power of good example is the strongest force in the world. It surpasses preachments; it excels good resolutions; it is far better than agreements unfulfilled.

If we as a nation, by our good example, can contribute to the peaceful well-being of the fellowship of nations, our course through the years will not have been in vain.

We who survive have profited by the good example of our fellow Americans who gave their lives in war. On these surrounding hills of Virginia they rest -- thousands upon thousands -- in the last bivouac of the dead. Below us, across the river, we see a great capital of a great nation.

The past and the present unite in prayer that America will ever seek the ways of peace, and by her example at home and abroad speed the return of good will among men. (Applause)

The living memory of the World War is close to each of us today. Our thoughts return to great objectives of the past, even as the minds of older men go back to their boyhood's ideals.

We Americans were so placed that we gained a perspective of the great world conflict that was perhaps clearer than that of our fellow-men who were closer to the scene of battle. For most of the first three years of the War we were not participants; but during the final phase we ourselves engaged on many fronts.

For that reason perhaps we understood, as well as any, the cries that went up -- that the world conflict should be made a war to end wars. We were not invaded nor were we threatened with invasion then or later; but the very distance of our view led us to perceive the dire results of war

through days of following peace.

The primary purpose of this Nation is to avoid being drawn into war. It seeks also in every practicable way to promote peace and to discourage war. Except ~~for~~ those few who have placed or who place temporary, selfish gain ahead of national or world peace, the overwhelming mass of American citizens are in hearty accord with these basic policies of our Government, as they are also entirely sympathetic with the efforts of other Nations to end war.

That is why we too have striven with great consistency to approve steps to remove the causes of war and to disapprove steps taken by others to commit acts of aggression. We have either led or performed our full part in every important attempt to limit and to reduce armaments. We have sought by definite act and solemn commitment to establish

the United States as a good neighbor among nations. We are acting to simplify definitions and facts by calling war "War" when armed invasion and a resulting killing of human beings take place.

But though our course is consistent and clear, it is with disappointment and sorrow that we confess that the world's gain thus far has been small.

I would not be frank with you if I did not tell you that the dangers that confront the future of mankind as a whole are greater to the world and therefore to us than the dangers which confront the people of the United States by and in themselves alone.

Jealousies between nations continue; armaments increase;

national ambitions that disturb the world's peace are thrust forward. Most serious of all, international confidence in the sacredness of international contracts is on the wane.

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In this effort America must and will protect herself. Under no circumstances will this policy of self protection

go to lengths beyond self protection. Aggression on the part of the United States is an impossibility insofar as the present administration of your Government is concerned. Defense against aggression by others -- adequate defense on land, on sea and in air -- is our accepted policy; and the measure of that defense is and will be solely the amount necessary to safeguard us against the armaments of others. The more greatly they decrease their armaments, the more quickly and surely shall we decrease ours.

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this Armistice Day, I am privileged to tell you that between us and a great neighbor, another act cementing our historic friendship has been agreed upon and is being consummated. Between Canada and the United States exists a neighborliness, a genuine friendship which for over a century has dispelled every passing rift.

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much to gain by material profit and by increased employment through the means of enlarged trade, one with the other.

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America will ever seek the ways of peace, and by her example  
at home and abroad speed the return of good will among men.

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*not used*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 9, 1935

*File*

Dear Mr. President:

This has been written hurriedly  
done and I hope that some thought herein  
may be of some value. I will be available at  
any time if I can be of further assistance.

Very sincerely,

*Daniel P. Sweeney*



SUGGESTIONS FOR ARMISTICE DAY ADDRESS

We have gathered here in the shrine  
erected in honor of the patriotic service of  
those who have served their country in times of  
WAR.

Seventeen years ago on this day the  
greatest conflict that the world has ever known  
was stilled, and our country with the other  
nations rejoiced in its ending. We have  
gathered here to celebrate that occasion and  
to do honor to those, both the living and the  
dead, who then so courageously served our nation.  
Down through our history from the immortal  
Washington to the present time, our country has  
honored its veterans with bounty and special  
care. Our veterans occupy a special place in the  
minds and hearts of our citizens unexcelled by  
any other group. The title "veteran" is an  
honored title in our country.

Our solicitude for those men and women who have served in war has gone beyond mere words. The nation has awarded much in a material way -- pensions, compensation, insurance, training, employment and hospitalization. The numbers who receive benefits and amounts in cost go far beyond a sum easy to conceive. To what may we attribute this feeling of reward on the part of our people to those who have served? In my judgment it may be attributed to one thing and one thing only, and that is the patriotic desire of our people to give recognition to those who have met the highest test of citizenship, that is, the willingness to serve one's country without regard to sacrifice.

It is eminently fitting that organizations of service men -- organizations such as the American Legion under whose auspices today these services are held -- should take a leading part in emphasizing the full

significance of Armistice Day, and in bringing us together in reverence and respect for those whose patriotic service to their country resulted in the erection of this splendid memorial.

Here at the tomb of the Unknown Warrior, a hero embodying the highest ideals of patriotism, we are reminded with the passing of years since the World War, of the greater responsibilities which have devolved upon all. As you of the Legion have grown older, both in years and experience, your influence has broadened and you occupy positions of public trust in your own communities as well as in the nation. Your interests cover an increasingly greater field in civic affairs. Your membership finds themselves in positions of greater responsibility and importance. More and more each day we find veterans in the field of leadership, not this time on the field of battle

but in the field of peace time pursuits. It is well that it should be thus, because I feel it is in this leadership that I can see for you greater opportunities.

Thus, by the example set by men who have served their country in whatever manner during the war, is the example set for young America to love and respect our country and our flag.

The ideals for service men of all our wars, and more particularly the ideals of the last great conflict, are clearly set out in the preambles of practically all the constitutions of the organizations of veterans. They are the specifications of good citizenship. Abiding by them would leave no basis of argument within our own country for disloyalty, for selfishness, for greed, or for any of those things that cause men and nations to differ so seriously.

Those who have fought for their country, giving the greatest evidence of true citizenship, are those who desire to live at peace both at home and abroad. I feel confident that it is their earnest desire that some formula be worked out that peace may ever be maintained.

Our efforts for an adequate national defense are based upon that same desire, feeling as we do that respect for our rights as well as the rights of others, respect for our citizens and our flag, as we are willing to respect the citizens and the flags of others, bring the surest assurance of peace and tranquility.

Our citizens desire to be builders in peace which will result in greater progress, give better homes, greater happiness and greater opportunity for all our people.

While ours is still a young nation, many opportunities are still available and others, I am confident, will be developed in order that all our people will have opportunity in increasing abundance. There is within those service organizations gathered here today the power to materially help in making a greater nation and a happier people.

SUGGESTIONS FOR ARMISTICE DAY ADDRESS

We have gathered here in the shrine  
erected in honor of the patriotic service of  
those who have served their country in times of  
war.

Seventeen years ago on this day the  
greatest conflict that the world has ever known  
was stilled, and our country with the other  
nations rejoiced in its ending. We have  
gathered here to celebrate that occasion and  
to do honor to those, both the living and the  
dead, who then so courageously served our nation.  
Down through our history from the immortal  
Washington to the present time, our country has  
honored its veterans with bounty and special  
care. Our veterans occupy a special place in the  
minds and hearts of our citizens unexcelled by  
any other group. The title "veteran" is an  
honored title in our country.

Our solicitude for those men and women who have served in war has gone beyond mere words. The nation has awarded much in a material way — pensions, compensation, insurance, training, employment and hospitalization. The numbers who receive benefits and amounts in cost go far beyond a sum easy to conceive. To what may we attribute this feeling of reward on the part of our people to those who have served? In my judgment it may be attributed to one thing and one thing only, and that is the patriotic desire of our people to give recognition to those who have met the highest test of citizenship, that is, the willingness to serve one's country without regard to sacrifice.

It is eminently fitting that organizations of service men — organizations such as the American Legion under whose auspices today these services are held — should take a leading part in emphasizing the full

significance of Armistice Day, and in bringing us together in reverence and respect for those whose patriotic service to their country resulted in the erection of this splendid memorial.

Here at the tomb of the Unknown Warrior, a hero embodying the highest ideals of patriotism, we are reminded with the passing of years since the World War, of the greater responsibilities which have devolved upon all. As you of the Legion have grown older, both in years and experience, your influence has broadened and you occupy positions of public trust in your own communities as well as in the nation. Your interests cover an increasingly greater field in civic affairs. Your membership finds themselves in positions of greater responsibility and importance. More and more each day we find veterans in the field of leadership, not this time on the field of battle

but in the field of peace time pursuits. It is well that it should be thus, because I feel it is in this leadership that I can see for you greater opportunities.

Thus, by the example set by men who have served their country in whatever manner during the war, is the example set for young America to love and respect our country and our flag.

The ideals for service men of all our wars, and more particularly the ideals of the last great conflict, are clearly set out in the preambles of practically all the constitutions of the organisations of veterans. They are the specifications of good citizenship. Abiding by them would leave no basis of argument within our own country for disloyalty, for selfishness, for greed, or for any of those things that cause men and nations to differ so seriously.

Those who have fought for their country, giving the greatest evidence of true citizenship, are those who desire to live at peace both at home and abroad. I feel confident that it is their earnest desire that some formula be worked out that peace may ever be maintained.

Our efforts for an adequate national defense are based upon that same desire, feeling as we do that respect for our rights as well as the rights of others, respect for our citizens and our flag, as we are willing to respect the citizens and the flags of others, bring the surest assurance of peace and tranquility.

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STATEMENTS FILE  
Shorthand By Kanner

November 11, 1936

FOR THE PRESS

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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This address of the President, to be delivered in the Amphitheater, Arlington National Cemetery, Virginia, on Armistice Day, November 11, 1936, MUST BE HELD IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE until released.

Release upon delivery, expected about 11:20 o'clock A. M., Eastern Standard Time.

CAUTION: Please safeguard against premature release.

STEPHEN EARLY

Assistant Secretary to the President

The living memory of the World War is close to each of us today. Our thoughts return to great objectives of the past, even as the minds of elder men go back to their boyhood's ideals.

We Americans were so placed that we gained a perspective of the great world conflict that was perhaps clearer than that of our fellow-men who were closer to the scene of battle. For most of the first three years of the war we were not participants; but during the final phase we ourselves engaged on many fronts.

For that reason perhaps we understood, as well as any, the cries that went up -- that the world conflict should be made a war to end wars. We were not invaded nor were we threatened with invasion then or later; but the very distance of our view led us to perceive the dire results of war through days of following peace.

The primary purpose of this Nation is to avoid being drawn into war. It seeks also in every practicable way to promote peace and to discourage war. Except for those few who have placed or who place temporary, selfish gain ahead of national or world peace, the overwhelming mass of American citizens are in hearty accord with these basic policies of our Government, as they are also entirely sympathetic with the efforts of other Nations to end war.

That is why we too have striven with great consistency to approve steps to remove the causes of war and to disapprove steps taken by others to commit acts of aggression. We have either led or performed our full part in every important attempt to limit and to reduce armaments. We have sought by definite act and solemn commitment to establish the United States as a good neighbor among nations. We are acting to simplify definitions and facts by calling war "war" when armed invasion and a resulting killing of human beings take place.

But though our course is consistent and clear, it is with disappointment and sorrow that we confess that the world's gain thus far has been small.

I would not be frank with you if I did not tell you that the dangers that confront the future of mankind as a whole are greater to the world and therefore to us than the dangers which confront the people of the United States by and in themselves alone.

Jealousies between nations continue; armaments increase; national ambitions that disturb the world's peace are thrust forward. Most serious of all, international confidence in the sacredness of international contracts is on the wane.

The memory of our hopes of 1917 and 1918 dies with the death of those of us who took part in it; is, therefore, your sacred obligation and mine, by conscious effort, to pass that memory on to succeeding generations. A new generation, even in its cradle or still unborn, is coming to the fore. The children in our schools, the young men and women passing through our colleges into productive life have, unlike us, no direct knowledge of the meaning of war. They are not immune to the glamour of war, to the opportunities to escape from the dreariness and worry of hard times at home in the glory and heroism of the arms factory and the battlefield. Fortunately, there is evidence on every hand that the youth of America, as a whole, is not trapped by that delusion. They know that elation and prosperity which may come from a new war must lead -- for those who survive it -- to economic and social collapse more sweeping than any we have experienced in the past. While, therefore, we cannot and must not hide our concern for grave world dangers, and while, at the same time, we cannot build walls around ourselves and hide our heads in the sand, we must go forward with all our strength to stress and strive for international peace.

In this effort America must and will protect herself. Under no circumstances will this policy of self protection go to lengths beyond self protection. Aggression on the part of the United States is an impossibility insofar as the present administration of your Government is concerned. Defense against aggression by others -- adequate defense on land, on sea and in air -- is our accepted policy; and the measure of that defense is and will be solely the amount necessary to safeguard us against the armaments of others. The more greatly they decrease their armaments, the more quickly and surely shall we decrease ours.

In many other fields, by word and deed, we are giving example to the world by removing or lowering barriers which impede friendly intercourse. Our soldier and sailor dead call to us across the years to make our lives effective in building constructively for peace. It is fitting that on this Armistice Day, I am privileged to tell you that between us and a great neighbor, another act cementing our historic friendship has been agreed upon and is being consummated. Between Canada and the United States exists a neighborliness, a genuine friendship which for over a century has dispelled every passing rift.

Our two peoples, each independent in themselves, are closely knit by ties of blood and a common heritage; our standards of life are substantially the same; our commerce and our economic conditions rest upon the same foundations. Between two such peoples, if we would build constructively for peace and progress, the flow of intercourse should be mutually beneficial and not unduly hampered. Each has much to gain by material profit, and by increased employment through the means of enlarged trade, one with the other.

I am, therefore, happy to be able to tell you on Armistice Day that the Canadian Prime Minister and I, after thoughtful discussion of our national problems, have reached a definite agreement which will eliminate disagreements and unreasonable restrictions, and thus work to the advantage of both Canada and the United States.

(1) The power of good example is the strongest force in the world. It surpasses preachments; it excels good resolutions; it is better than agreements unfulfilled.

If we as a nation, by our good example, can contribute to the peaceful well-being of the fellowship of nations, our course through the years will not have been in vain.

We who survive have profited by the good example of our fellow Americans who gave their lives in war. On these surrounding hills of Virginia they rest - thousands upon thousands - in the last bivouac of the dead. Below us, across the river, we see a great capital of a great nation.

The past and the present unite in the prayer that America will ever seek the ways of peace, and by her example at home and abroad speed the return of good will among men. (b)

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November 1, 1935

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