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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. 1022**

**1936 December 1**

**Buenos Aires, Argentina - Address to the Inter-American Conference for Maintenance of Peace**

President Franklin D. Roosevelt

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
BEFORE THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE  
FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE  
ASSEMBLED AT BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA  
December 1, 1936, 6 P.M., Buenos Aires Time

Members of the American family of nations:

On the happy occasion of the convening of this conference I address you thus, because members of a family need no introduction or formalities when, in pursuance of excellent custom, they meet together for their common good.

As a family we appreciate the hospitality of our host, President Justo, and the government and people of Argentina; and all of us are happy that to our friend Dr. Saavedra Lamas has come the well deserved award of the Nobel Prize for great service in the cause of world peace.

Three years ago the American family met in nearby Montevideo, the great capital of the republic of Uruguay. They were dark days. A shattering depression, unparalleled in its intensity, held us together with the rest of the world in its grasp. And on our own continent a tragic war was raging between two of our sister republics.

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.~~

Yet, at that conference there was born, not only hope for our common future, but a greater measure of mutual trust between the American democracies than had ever existed before. In this Western Hemisphere the night of fear has been dispelled. Many of the intolerable burdens of economic depression have been lightened and, due in no small part to our common efforts, every nation of this hemisphere is today at peace with its neighbors.

This is no conference to form alliances, to divide the spoils of war, to partition countries, to deal with human beings as though they were the pawns in a game of chance. Our purpose, under happy auspices, is to assure the continuance of the blessing of peace.

Three years ago, recognizing that a crisis was being thrust upon the New World, with splendid unanimity our twenty-one republics set an example to the whole world by proclaiming a new spirit, a new day in the affairs of this hemisphere.

While the succeeding period has justified in full measure all that was said and done at Montevideo, it has unfortunately emphasized the seriousness of the threat to peace among other nations. Events elsewhere have served only to strengthen our horror of war and all that war

means. The men, women and children of the Americas know that warfare in this day and age means more than the mere clash of armies: they see the destruction of cities and of farms -- they foresee that children and grand-children, if they survive, will stagger for long years not only under the burden of poverty, but also amid the threat of broken society and the destruction of constitutional government.

I am profoundly convinced that the plain people everywhere in the civilized world today wish to live in peace one with another. And still leaders and governments resort to war. Truly, if the genius of mankind that has invented the weapons of death cannot discover the means of preserving peace, civilization as we know it lives in an evil day.

But we cannot now, especially in view of our common purpose, accept any defeatist attitude. We have learned by hard experience that peace is not to be had for the mere asking; that peace, like other great privileges, can be obtained only by hard and painstaking effort. We are here to dedicate ourselves and our countries to that work.

You who assemble today carry with you in your

deliberations the hopes of millions of human beings in other less fortunate lands. Beyond the ocean we see continents rent asunder by old hatreds and new fanaticism. We hear the demand that injustice and inequality be corrected by resorting to the sword and not by resorting to reason and peaceful justice. We hear the cry that new markets can be achieved only through conquest. We read that the sanctity of treaties between nations is disregarded.

We know, too, that vast armaments are rising on every side and that the work of creating them employs men and women by the millions. It is natural, however, for us to conclude that such employment is false employment, that it builds no permanent structures and creates no consumers goods for the maintenance of a lasting prosperity. We know that nations guilty of these follies inevitably face the day either when their weapons of destruction must be used against their neighbors or when an unsound economy like a house of cards will fall apart.

In either case, even though the Americas become involved in no war, we must suffer too. The madness of a great war in other parts of the world would affect us and threaten our good in a hundred ways. And the economic

collapse of any nation or nations must of necessity harm our own prosperity.

Can we, the Republics of the New World, help the Old World to avert the catastrophe which impends? Yes, I am confident that we can.

First, it is our duty by every honorable means to prevent any future war among ourselves. This can best be done through the strengthening of the processes of constitutional democratic government -- to make these processes conform to the modern need for unity and efficiency and, at the same time, preserve the individual liberties of our citizens. By so doing, the people of our nations, unlike the people of many nations who live under other forms of government, can and will insist on their intention to live in peace. Thus will democratic government be justified throughout the world.

In the determination to live at peace among ourselves we in the Americas make it at the same time clear that we stand shoulder to shoulder in our final determination that others who, driven by war madness or land hunger might seek to commit acts of aggression against us, will find a hemisphere wholly prepared to consult together for our mutual safety and our mutual good. I repeat what I

said in speaking before the Congress and the Supreme Court of Brazil, "Each one of us has learned the glories of independence. Let each one of us learn the glories of interdependence."

Secondly, and in addition to the perfecting of the mechanism of peace, we can strive even more strongly than in the past to prevent the creation of those conditions which give rise to war. Lack of social or political justice within the borders of any nation is always cause for concern. Through democratic processes we can strive to achieve for the Americas the highest possible standard of living conditions for all our people. Men and women blessed with political freedom, willing to work, and able to find work, rich enough to maintain their families and to educate their children, contented with their lot in life and on terms of friendship with their neighbors, will defend themselves to the utmost but will never consent to take up arms for a war of conquest.

Interwoven with these problems is the further self-evident fact that the welfare and prosperity of each of our nations depends in large part on the benefits derived from commerce among themselves and with other nations, for our present civilization rests on the basis of

an international exchange of commodities. Every nation of the world has felt the evil effects of recent efforts to erect trade barriers of every known kind. Every individual citizen has suffered from them. It is no accident that the nations which have carried this process furthest are those which proclaim most loudly that they require war as an instrument of their policy. It is no accident that attempts to be self-sufficient have led to falling standards for their people and to ever-increasing loss of the democratic ideals in a mad race to pile armament on armament. It is no accident that because of these suicidal policies and the suffering attending them, many of their people have come to believe with despair that the price of war seems less than the price of peace.

This state of affairs we must refuse to accept with every instinct of defense, with every exhortation of enthusiastic hope, with every use of mind and skill.

I cannot refrain here from reiterating my gratification that in this, as in so many other achievements, the American Republics have given a salutary example to the world. The resolution adopted at the inter-American Conference at Montevideo endorsing the principles of

liberal trade policies has shone forth like a beacon in the storm of economic madness which has been sweeping over the entire world during these later years. Truly, if the principles there embodied find still wider applications in your deliberations, it would be a notable contribution to the cause of peace. For my own part I have done all in my power to sustain the consistent efforts of my Secretary of State in negotiating agreements for reciprocal trade, and even though the individual results may seem small, the total of them is significant. These policies in recent weeks have received the approval of the people of the United States, and they have, I am sure, the sympathy of the other nations here assembled.

There are many other causes for war -- among them, long festering feuds, unsettled frontiers, territorial rivalries. But these sources of danger which still exist in the Americas, I am thankful to say, are not only few in number, but already on the way to peaceful adjudication. While the settlement of such controversies may necessarily involve adjustments at home or in our relations with our neighbors which may appear to involve material sacrifice, let no man or woman forget that there is no profit in war. <sup>Yours,</sup> Sacrifices in the cause

of peace are infinitely small compared with the holocaust of war.

Peace comes from the spirit, and must be grounded in faith. In seeking peace, perhaps we can best begin by proudly affirming the faith of the Americas; the faith in freedom and its fulfillment which has proved a mighty fortress beyond reach of successful attack in half the world.

That faith arises from a common hope and a common design given us by our fathers in differing form, but with a single aim -- freedom and security of the individual, which has become the foundation of our peace.

If then, by making war in our midst impossible, and if within ourselves and among ourselves we can give greater freedom and fulfillment to the individual lives of our citizens, the democratic form of representative government will have justified the high hopes of the liberating fathers. Democracy is still the hope of the world. If we in our generation can continue its successful applications] in the Americas, it will spread and supersede other methods by which men are governed and which seem to most of us to run counter to our ideals of human liberty and human progress.

Three centuries of history sowed the seeds which

grew into our nations; the fourth century saw those nations become equal and free and brought us to a common system of constitutional government; the fifth century is giving to us a common meeting ground of mutual help and understanding. Our hemisphere has at last come of age. We are here assembled to show <sup>in unity</sup> [it united] to the world. We took from our ancestors a great dream. We here offer it back as a great unified reality.

Finally, in expressing our faith of the Western World, let us affirm:

That we maintain and defend the Democratic form of constitutional representative government.

That through such government we can more greatly provide a wider distribution of culture, of education, of thought and of free expression.

That through it we can obtain a greater security of life for our citizens and a more equal opportunity for them to prosper.

That through it we can best foster commerce and the exchange of art and science between nations; that through it we can avoid the rivalry of armament, avert hatred and encourage good will and true justice.

That through it we offer hope for peace and a more abundant life to the peoples of the whole world.

But this faith of the Western World will not be complete if we fail to affirm our faith in God. In the whole history of mankind, far back into the dim past before man knew how to record thoughts or events, the human race has been distinguished from other forms of life by the existence -- the fact -- of religion. Periodic attempts to deny God have always come and will always come to naught.

In the constitutions and in the practices of our nations is the right of freedom of religion. But this ideal, these words presuppose a belief and a trust in God.

The faith of the Americas, therefore, lies in the spirit. The system, the sisterhood of the Americas is impregnable so long as her nations maintain that spirit.

In that faith and spirit we will have peace over the Western World. In that faith and spirit we will all watch and guard our hemisphere. In that faith and spirit may we also, with God's help, offer hope to our brethren overseas.

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James Roosevelt has  
Reading copy of this  
speech

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FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE  
ASSEMBLED AT BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA

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DECEMBER 1, 1936  
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This text is  
closer to the speech  
as delivered (recording)  
than any of  
the others in  
this book.

S. B. S.

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Please make no issue of this  
Buenos Aires

From DF 200-13

IMPORTANT

Please Strictly Observe - Publication of  
This Address is not Authorized Until 6:00 p.m., Buenos Aires Time  
and 4:00 p.m., Eastern Standard Time.

IMPORTANT

(Please Observe This Restriction in Your Cables)

Address of President Roosevelt  
Before The Inter-American Conference For the Maintenance of Peace  
Assembled at Buenos Aires, Argentina  
1 December, 1936

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In the constitutions and in the practice of our nations is the right of freedom of religion. But this ideal, these words presuppose a belief and a trust in God.

The faith of the Americas, therefore, lies in the spirit. The system, the sisterhood of the Americas is impregnable so long as her nations maintain that spirit.

In that faith and spirit we will have peace over the Western World. In that faith and spirit we will all watch and guard our hemisphere. In that faith and spirit may we also, with God's help, offer hope to our brethren overseas.

Members of the American Family of Nations:

*Final Draft*  
*for B.A.*

On the happy occasion of the convening of this Conference I address you thus, because members of a family need no introduction or ~~any~~ formalities when, in pursuance of excellent custom, they meet together for their common good.

As a family we appreciate the hospitality of our host, President Justo and the Government and people of Argentina; and all of us are happy that our friend Dr. Saavedra Lamas has come <sup>to</sup> the well-deserved ~~award~~ <sup>awards</sup> of the Nobel Prize for great service in the cause of peace.

Three years ago the American family met in nearby Montevideo, the great capital of the Republic of Uruguay. They were dark days. A shattering depression, unparalleled in its intensity, held us together with the rest of the world in its grip. And on our own continent a tragic war was raging between two of our sister republics.

Yet, at that conference there was born, not only hope for our common future but a greater measure of mutual trust between the American democracies than had ever existed before. In this western hemisphere the night of fear has ~~ended~~ <sup>been lightened.</sup> Many of the intolerable burdens of economic depression have been lightened and, due in no small part to our common efforts, every nation of this hemisphere is to-day at peace with its neighbors.

This is no conference to form alliances, to divide the spoils of war, to partition countries, to deal with human beings as though they were the pawns in a game of chance. Our purpose, under happy auspices, is to assure the continuance of the blessings of peace.

Three years ago recognizing that a crisis was being thrust upon the New World, with splendid unanimity our twenty-one republics set an example to the whole world by proclaiming a new spirit, a new day in the affairs of this hemisphere.

While the succeeding ~~past~~ has justified in full measure all that was said and done at Montevideo, ~~they have~~ unfortunately emphasized the seriousness of threats to peace ~~as~~ among other nations. Events elsewhere have served only to strengthen our horror of war and all that war means. The men, women and children of the Americas, know that warfare in this day and age means more than the mere clash of armies; they see the destruction of cities and of farms - they foresee that ~~these~~ children and grandchildren, if they survive, will stagger for long years not only under the burden of poverty, but also ~~and~~ the threat of broken society and the destruction of constitutional government.

I am profoundly convinced that the plain people everywhere in the civilized world today wish to live in peace one with another. And still leaders and governments resort to war. Truly, if the genius of mankind that has invented the weapons of death cannot discover

the means of preserving peace, civilization as we know it is in a  
most dangerous position. We cannot now, especially in view of our common purpose,  
accept any defeatist attitude. We have learned by hard experience  
that peace is not to be had for the asking; that peace, like other  
great privileges can be obtained only by hard and painstaking effort.

We are here to dedicate ourselves and our country <sup>its</sup> to that work.

You who assemble to-day carry with you in your deliberations  
the hopes of millions of human beings in other less fortunate lands.

Beyond the ocean we see continents ~~marked~~<sup>lorn</sup> asunder by old hatreds  
and new fanaticisms. We hear the demand that injustice and inequality  
be corrected by resorting to the sword and not by resorting to reason  
and peaceful justice. We hear the cry that new markets can be  
achieved only through conquest. We read that the sanctity of treaties  
between nations is disregarded.

We know, too, that vast armaments are rising on every side. ~~and~~  
that the work of creating them employs men and women by the millions.  
~~because, for us to conclude,~~  
It is natural, ~~that we conclude~~ that such employment is false employment,  
~~but it creates no permanent structures, consumers goods which soon~~  
that it ~~creates~~ <sup>undermines no</sup> for the building  
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inevitably face the day <sup>when</sup> ~~when~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~they~~ <sup>must</sup> ~~will~~ face the day when <sup>when</sup> ~~when~~ <sup>they</sup> ~~will~~ be used against  
their neighbors or ~~that~~ <sup>cause</sup> <sup>recovery lies in</sup> ~~an unsound house of cards will fall to the earth.~~ <sup>apart</sup>

In either case, though the Americas become involved in no war, we must suffer too. The madness of a great war in other parts of the world ~~would affect us and threaten our good~~ <sup>and threaten to involve us in it</sup> in a hundred ways. And the economic collapse of any nation or nations must of necessity affect our <sup>own</sup> prosperity.

Can we, the republics of the New World, help the Old World to avert the catastrophe which impends? Yes, I am confident that we can.

First, it is our duty by every honorable means to prevent any future war among ourselves. This can best be done through the strengthening of the processes of constitutional democratic government - to make these processes conform to the modern need for unity and efficiency and, at the same time, ~~to~~ preserve the individual liberties of our citizens. By so doing, the people of our nations, unlike the people of many nations who live under other forms of government, can and will insist on their intention to live in peace. Thus will democratic government be justified throughout the world. In ~~the~~ <sup>our</sup> determination to live in peace among ourselves we in the Americas make it at the same time clear that we stand shoulder to shoulder in our final determination that others who, driven by war ~~or~~ <sup>or lead hunger</sup> madness, might seek to commit acts of aggression against us will find a hemisphere wholly prepared to consult together for our mutual safety and our mutual good. I repeat what I said in speaking before the Congress and the Supreme Court of Brazil "Each one of us has learned

the glories of independence. Let each one of us learn the glories of interdependence."

Secondly, and in addition to the perfecting of the mechanisms of peace, we can strive even more strongly than in the past to prevent the creation of those conditions which give rise to war. Lack of social or political justice within the borders of any nation is always cause for concern. Through democratic processes we can strive to achieve for the Americas the highest possible standard of living conditions for all our people. Men and women blessed with political freedom, willing to work and find work, able to maintain their families, <sup>and</sup> to educate their children, contented with their lot in life and on terms of friendship with their neighbors will defend themselves to the utmost but will never consent to take up arms for a war of conquest.

Interwoven with these problems is the further ~~more~~ evident fact that the welfare and prosperity of each of our nations depends in ~~a~~ large part on the benefits derived from commerce among ourselves and with other nations, for our present civilization in ~~a~~ great part rests on the basis of an international exchange of commodities. Every nation of the world has felt the evil effects of recent efforts to erect trade barriers of every known kind. Every individual <sup>therein</sup> has suffered from them. It is no accident that the nations which have carried this process furthest are those which proclaim most loudly that they require war as an instrument of their policy. It is no accident that attempts

6

to be self-sufficient have led to falling standards for their people and to ever increasing loss of the democratic ideals in a mad race to pile armament on armament. It is no accident that because of these suicidal policies and the suffering attending them many of ~~the~~ <sup>their</sup> people have come to believe with despair that the price of war seems less than the price of peace.

Stand ~~in~~ this state of affairs ~~which~~ we must refuse to accept with every instinct of defense, with every exhortation of enthusiastic hope, with every use of mind and skill.

I cannot refrain here from reiterating my gratification that in this, as in so many other achievements, the American Republics have given a salutary example to the world. The resolution adopted at the Inter-American conference at Montevideo endorsing the principles of liberal trade policies has shown forth like a beacon in the storm of economic madness which has been sweeping over the entire world during these later years. Truly, if the principles there embodied find still wider application in your deliberations, it will be a notable contribution to the cause of peace.

*for foreign  
affairs  
and  
colonies*

For my own part I have done all in my power to sustain the consistent efforts of my Secretary of State in negotiating agreements for reciprocal trade, and even though the individual results may seem small, the total of them is significant. These policies have in recent weeks received the approval of the people of the United States, and they have I am sure the sympathy of the other nations here assembled.

There are many other causes for war - among them, long festering feuds, unsettled frontiers, territorial rivalries. But these sources of danger which still exist in the Americas, I am thankful to say are not only few in number, but already on the way to peaceful adjudication. While the settlement of such controversies may necessarily involve

adjustments at home or in our relations with our neighbors which may appear to involve material sacrifice, let no man or woman forget that there is no profit in war. Sacrifices in the cause of peace are infinitesimal compared with the holocaust of war.

Peace comes from the spirit, and must be grounded in faith.

In seeking peace, perhaps we can best begin by proudly affirming the faith of the Americas: ~~The~~ <sup>is</sup> faith in freedom and fulfillment which has proved a mighty fortress beyond reach of ~~any~~ <sup>intelligent attack</sup> in half the world.

That faith arises from a common hope and a common design, given us by our fathers, in differing form, but with a single aim - <sup>Security</sup> freedom and ~~individual~~ <sup>of the individual</sup>, which has become the foundation of our peace.

If then, by making war in our midst impossible, and if within ourselves and among ourselves we can give greater freedom and fulfillment to the individual lives of our citizens, the democratic form of representative government will have justified the high hopes of the liberating fathers. Democracy is still the hope of the world. If we in our generation can continue its successful application in the Americas, it will spread and supersede other methods by which men govern themselves and which seem to most of us to run counter to our ideals of human liberty and human progress.

A-7

Three centuries of history sowed the seeds which grew into nations; the fourth century saw those nations become equal and free and brought us to a common system of constitutional government; the fifth century is giving to us a common meeting ground of mutual help and understanding. Our hemisphere has at last come of age. We are here assembled to show its unity to the world. We took from our ancestors a great dream. We here offer it back as a great unified reality.

Finally, in expressing our faith of the Western World, let us affirm:

That we maintain and defend the democratic form of constitutional representative government.

That through it we can more greatly provide a wider distribution of culture, <sup>and</sup> education, of thought and of free expression.

That through it we can obtain a greater security of life for our citizens and a more equal opportunity to prosper.

That through it we can best foster commerce and the exchange of art and science between nations.

That through it we can <sup>avoid</sup> ~~end~~ the rivalry of armaments, ~~would~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~not~~, <sup>which</sup> hatreds and encourage good will and true justice.

That through it we offer hope for peace and a more abundant life to the peoples of the world.

But this faith of the Western World ~~would~~ <sup>not</sup> be complete if we fail to affirm our faith in God. In the whole history of

mankind, far back into the dim past before man knew how to record thoughts or events, the human race has been distinguished from other forms of life by ~~the fact~~, the existence of religion.

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In that faith and spirit we may also, with God's help, offer hope to our brethren overseas.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

A 7

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For and See pages 8 and 9 - All religions

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Address of President Roosevelt  
Before the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace  
Assembled At Buenos Aires, Argentina  
1 December, 1936

Members of the American Family of Nations:

On the happy occasion of the convening of this conference I address you thus, because members of a family need no introduction or formalities when, in pursuance of excellent custom, they meet together for their common good.

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Yet, at that conference there was born, not only hope for our common future but a greater measure of mutual trust between the American democracies than had ever existed before. In this Western Hemisphere the night of fear has been dispelled. Many of the intolerable burdens of economic depression have been lightened and, due in no small part to our common efforts, every nation of this hemisphere is today at peace with its neighbors.

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Three years ago, recognizing that a crisis was being thrust upon the New World, with splendid unanimity our twenty-one Republics set an example to the whole world by proclaiming a new spirit, a new day in the affairs of this hemisphere.

While the succeeding period has justified in full measure all that was said and done at Montevideo, it has unfortunately emphasized the seriousness of threats to peace among other nations. Events elsewhere have served only to strengthen our horror of war and all that war means. The men, women and children of the Americas, know that warfare in this day and age means more than mere clash of arms; they see the destruction of cities and of farms - they foresee that children and grandchildren, if they survive, will stagger for long years not only under the burden of poverty, but also amid the threat of broken society and the destruction of constitutional government.

I am profoundly convinced that the plain people everywhere in the civilized world today wish to live in peace one with another. And still leaders and governments resort to war. Truly, if the genius of mankind that has invented the weapons of death cannot discover the means of preserving peace, civilization as we know it lives in an evil day.

But we cannot now, especially in view of our common purpose, accept any defeatist attitude. We have learned by hard experience that peace is not to be had for the mere asking; that peace, like other great privileges can be obtained only by hard and painstaking effort. We are here to dedicate ourselves and our countries to that work.

You who assemble today carry with you in your deliberations the hopes of millions of human beings in other less fortunate lands. Beyond the ocean we see continents rent asunder by old hatreds and new fanaticisms. We hear the demand that injustice and inequality be corrected by resorting to the sword and not by resorting to reason and peaceful justice. We hear the cry that new markets can be achieved only through conquest. We read that the sanctity of treaties between nations is disregarded.

We know, too, that vast armaments are rising on every side and that the work of creating them employs men and women by the millions.

It is natural, however, for us to conclude that such employment is false employment, that it builds no permanent structures and creates no consumers goods for the maintenance of a lasting prosperity. We know that nations guilty of these follies inevitably face the day either when their weapons of destruction must be used against their neighbors or when an unsound economy like a house of cards will fall apart.

In either case, even though the Americas become involved in no war, we must suffer too. The madness of a great war in other parts of the world would affect us and threaten our good in a hundred ways. And the economic collapse of any nation or nations must of necessity harm our own prosperity.

Can we, the Republics of the New World, help the Old World to avert the catastrophe which impends? Yes, I am confident that we can.

First, it is our duty by every honorable means to prevent any future war among ourselves. This can best be done through the strengthening of the processes of constitutional democratic government - to make these processes conform to the modern need for unity and efficiency and, at the same time, preserve the individual liberties of our citizens. By so doing, the people of our nations, unlike the people of many nations who live under other forms of government, can and will insist on their intention to live in peace. Thus will democratic government be justified throughout the world.

In this determination to live at peace among ourselves we in the Americas make it at the same time clear that we stand shoulder to shoulder in our final determination that others who, driven by war madness or land hunger might seek to commit acts of aggression against us, will find a hemisphere wholly prepared to consult together for our mutual safety and our mutual good. I repeat what I said in speaking before the Congress and the Supreme Court of Brazil, "Each one of us has learned the glories of independence. Let each one of us learn the glories of interdependence".

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Interwoven with these problems is the further self-evident fact that the welfare and prosperity of each of our nations depends in large part on the benefits derived from commerce among ourselves and with other nations, for our present civilization rests on the basis of an international exchange of commodities. Every nation of the world has felt the evil effects of recent efforts to erect trade barriers of every known kind. Every individual citizen has suffered from them. It is no accident that the nations which have carried this process furthest are those which proclaim most loudly that they require war as an instrument of their policy. It is no accident that attempts to be self-sufficient have led to falling standards for their people and to ever increasing loss of the democratic ideals in a mad race to pile armament on armament. It is no accident that because of these suicidal policies and the suffering attending them many of their people have come to believe with despair that the price of war seems less than the price of peace.

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If then, by making war in our midst impossible, and if within ourselves and among ourselves we can give greater freedom and fulfillment to the individual lives of our citizens, the democratic form of representative government will have justified the high hopes of the liberating fathers. Democracy is still the hope of the world. If we in our generation can continue its successful application in the Americas, it will spread and supersede other methods by which men are governed and which seem to most of us to run counter to our ideals of human liberty and human progress.

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Interwoven with these problems is the further self-evident fact that the welfare and prosperity of each of our nations depends in large part on the benefits derived from commerce among ourselves and with other nations, for our present civilization rests on the basis of an international exchange of commodities. Every nation of the world has felt the evil effects of recent efforts to erect trade barriers of every known kind. Every individual citizen has suffered from them. It is no accident that the nations which have carried this process furthest are those which proclaim most loudly that they require war as an instrument of their policy. It is no accident that attempts to be self-sufficient have led to falling standards for their people and to ever increasing loss of the democratic ideals in a mad race to pile armament on armament. It is no accident that because of these suicidal policies and the suffering attending them many of their people have come to believe with despair that the price of war seems less than the price of peace.

This state of affairs we must refuse to accept with every instinct of defense, with every exhortation of antisexistic hope, with every use of mind and skill.

I cannot refrain here from reiterating my gratification that in this, as in so many other achievements, the American Republics have

given a salutary example to the world. The resolution adopted at the Inter-American Conference at Montevideo endorsing the principles of liberal trade policies has shone forth like a beacon in the storm of economic madness which has been sweeping over the entire world during these later years. Truly, if the principles there embodied find still wider application in your deliberations, it will be a notable contribution to the cause of peace. For my own part I have done all in my power to sustain the consistent efforts of my Secretary of State in negotiating agreements for reciprocal trade, and even though the individual results may seem small, the total of them is significant. These policies in recent weeks have received the approval of the people of the United States, and they have I am sure the sympathy of the other nations here assembled.

There are many other causes for war - among them, long festering feuds, unsettled frontiers, territorial rivalries. But these sources of danger which still exist in the Americas, I am thankful to say are not only few in number, but already on the way to peaceful adjudication. While the settlement of such controversies may necessarily involve adjustments at home or in our relations with our neighbors which may appear to involve material sacrifice, let no man or woman forget that there is no profit in war. Sacrifices in the cause of peace are infinitesimal compared with the holocaust of war.

Peace comes from the spirit, and must be grounded in faith. In seeking peace, perhaps we can best begin by proudly affirming the faith of the Americas: the faith in freedom and its fulfillment which has proved a mighty fortress beyond reach of successful attack in half the world.

That faith arises from a common hope and a common design given us by our fathers in differing form, but with a single aim - freedom and security of the individual, which has become the foundation of our peace.

If then, by making war in our midst impossible, and if within ourselves and among ourselves we can give greater freedom and fulfillment to the individual lives of our citizens, the democratic form of representative government will have justified the high hopes of the liberating fathers. Democracy is still the hope of the world. If we in our generation can continue its successful application in the Americas, it will spread and supersede other methods by which men are governed and which seem to most of us to run counter to our ideals of human liberty and human progress.

Three centuries of history sowed the seeds which grew into our nations; the fourth century saw those nations become equal and free and brought us to a common system of constitutional government; the fifth century is giving to us a common meeting ground of mutual help and understanding. Our hemisphere has at last come of age. We are here assembled to show its unity to the world. We took from our ancestors a great dream. We here offer it back as a great unified reality.

Finally, in expressing our faith of the Western World, let us affirm:

That we maintain and defend the democratic form of constitutional representative government.

That through such government we can more greatly provide a wider distribution of culture, of education, of thought and of free expression.

That through it we can obtain a greater security of life for our citizens and a more equal opportunity for them to prosper.

That through it we can best foster commerce and the exchange of art and science between nations.

That through it we can avoid the rivalry of armaments, avert hatreds and encourage good will and true justice.

That through it we offer hope for peace and a more abundant life to

the peoples of the whole world.

But this faith of the Western World will not be complete if we fail to affirm our faith in God. In the whole history of mankind, far back into the dim past before man knew how to record thoughts or events, the human race has been distinguished from other forms of life by the existence - the fact - of religion. Periodic attempts to deny God have always come and will always come to naught.

In the constitutions and in the practice of our nations is the right of freedom of religion. But this ideal, these words presuppose a belief and a trust in God.

The faith of the Americas, therefore, lies in the spirit. The system, the sisterhood of the Americas is impregnable so long as her nations maintain that spirit.

In that faith and spirit we will have peace over the Western World. In that faith and spirit we will all watch and guard our hemisphere. In that faith and spirit may we also, with God's help, offer hope to our brethren overseas.

*for Ed speech*

Three years ago, the representatives of the American Republics met in nearby Montevideo, the great capital of the Republic of Uruguay. Those were dark days. Fear haunted the hearts and minds of men and women everywhere. A shattering depression, unparalleled in its intensity, held us, together with the rest of the world, in its grip. And here, on our own Continent, a tragic war was raging between two of our sister Republics. Yet, at that Conference at Montevideo, there was born, not only hope for our common future, but a greater measure of mutual confidence and trust between the American democracies than had ever existed before.

The crowded events of the short span that has since elapsed have been witness that our hope and confidence have been justified. In this Western Hemisphere, the night of fear has lifted. Due in no small part to the efforts which our Governments have individually and jointly made, the intolerable burdens of the economic depression have in great part been lightened. Due in no small part to our common efforts, every nation of this Hemisphere is today at peace with its neighbors.

Today, we sense the unmistakable determination of all of our peoples that the progress of our nations must be along the paths of peace. And that is why - and it seems to me that this is a fact of profound significance - this Conference which assembles today is not a conference convened, as so many peace conferences have been, for the purpose of attempting to rebuild the ruins left smouldering

*Good idea  
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at the end of a devastating war, when the souls of men are still instinct with hatred and revenge. This is no conference to divide the spoils of war, to partition countries, to deal with peoples as though they were the pawns in a game of chance. This is a conference which assembles under far happier auspices. We meet during a time of peace. Our purpose is to assure continuance of the blessings of that peace.

I am profoundly convinced that the plain people every where in the civilized world today wish to live in peace with one another. They welcome the happiness of peace; they have suffered the horrors of war. The peoples realize that should war return, cities will be razed; crops destroyed; they foresee that their children and their grandchildren, if they survive, will stagger for long years under the burden of war debt, war disease, and broken societies. The peoples know that war means death at the front by bullets, poison gas, and liquid fire - and for those left behind at home, starvation, or destruction by one of the myriad inventions with which scientists have cursed our modern world. And still leaders and governments resort to war. Truly, if the genius of mankind that has invented the weapons of death cannot discover the means of preserving peace, civilization as we know it is doomed. We cannot now accept any defeatist attitude. We must refuse to believe that the human intelligence is bankrupt. We have learnt by experience that peace is not to be had by wishing for it; that peace, like other great privileges, can be had only by hard and painstaking work. We are here to dedicate ourselves and our countries to that work.

You, who assemble here today, are the Delegates of the American Republics, but I believe that you carry with you in your deliberations, the hopes of millions of human beings in other less fortunate lands which today are haunted by the fear of war. Beyond the oceans we see continents rent asunder by old hatreds and new fanaticisms. We hear the demand that injustice and inequity be corrected by resort to the sword and not by resort to reason. We hear the cry that new markets can only be achieved through conquest. The sanctity of treaties between nations is disregarded. Vast armaments are being builded on every side.

Once again, with lances at rest, the Four Horsemen strain to hear the sound which will send them riding over the face of the earth to destroy all that which makes life as we know it worth the living.

That is the challenge ~~to this Continent~~. We must regard it as a challenge to our own ingenuity to insure our own protection and our own preservation. It is even more a challenge to our faith in the permanence of civilization, so that we may undertake our full share of responsibility by offering our example and our cooperation to the other nations of the world. We are entitled to hope that they also may yet join with us in our determination to avert the disasters which seem impending. But in any case, the dual challenge to the American democracies cannot pass unanswered.

The way to answer that dual challenge is surely not solely through the perfection of the mechanisms of peace. Far more important, it would seem to me, is the need to recognize clearly the causes of war and to strive to prevent the creation of those conditions which give rise to war.

The lack of social or political justice within the borders of any nation is surely one of the causes for international concern. It so often happens that the leaders of a people find it easier to allay popular dissatisfaction by provoking foreign war, rather than to face with courage and determination the fact that the peoples they are called upon to guide demand a greater measure of social or of political equity. We all have seen, in other parts of the world, many wars engendered from this cause. We, in the New World, have had better fortune. While we at present feel confident that the danger of a war springing from these causes is remote on this Continent, we can make assurance doubly sure by striving to achieve for the Americas the highest possible standard of living conditions for all our peoples.

We are pledged to the belief that men and women are entitled to fulfill themselves; to provide for their needs; and to rear their families. This means a right to hold such property as is needed for a reasonable extension of personality; and such holding may be made subject to such regulation as shall make property a means of fulfillment and not a tool of oppression, national or international. I question whether any people blessed with political freedom, with reason to be contented with their lot in life, and able to satisfy their needs through commerce, will ever consent to take up arms for a war of conquest.

Closely interwoven with these truths is the further self-evident fact that in this modern world, the welfare and prosperity of every nation depends in large part upon the benefits derived from international trade; upon the export of those raw materials and manufactured goods which

a nation can produce efficiently and upon the importation of those in which its own resources and skill are lacking. Our present civilization in great part rests on the basis of the international exchange of commodities. No nation can remain prosperous and live unto itself alone. Yet, that is exactly what some nations today are attempting to do. These, and many other nations too, have erected every conceivable barrier to international trade through tariffs, quotas, licenses, exchange controls, clearing and compensation devices, in the vain effort to achieve national self-sufficiency, in products which are available in better quality and at a <sup>far</sup> cheaper price from other countries. Every nation of the world has felt the catastrophic effect of these policies. Every individual has suffered from them. It is no accident that the nations which have carried this process farthest are those which have proclaimed most loudly that they require war as an instrument of policy. It is no accident that attempts to be self-sufficient have led to falling standards for their people, and to ever-increasing submergence of the life of their own nationals in a mad race to build up greater armaments. I think it is not too much to say that these policies automatically result in naming Misery as Crown Prince, and Death as universal heir.

These policies dislocate our entire economic structure. They have resulted in the throwing of millions of human beings out of gainful employment; they have increased the cost of living; they have been productive only of despair and of desperation. Because this is a perversion of good sense, and does violence to every sane human instinct, appeals through organized propaganda have been required to create artificial hatreds, without which the process could not go on.

Individual men and women, able to fulfill themselves, spiritually and materially, do not hate; they do not make war. Because of these suicidal policies, to many peoples the price of war has seemed less than the price of peace.

It is this state of affairs which we must refuse to accept with every instinct of defense, with every exaltation of enthusiastic hope, with every use of mind and skill.

I cannot refrain here from reiterating my gratification that in this, as in so many other achievements, the American Republics have given a salutary example to the world. The resolution adopted at the Inter-American Conference at Montevideo endorsing the principles of liberal trade policies has shone forth like a beacon in the storm of economic madness which has been sweeping over the world during these later years. Truly, if the principles there embodied find still wider application in your deliberations, it will be a notable contribution to the cause of peace.

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That faith arises from a common hope and a common design, given us by our fathers, in differing form, but with a single aim - freedom and fulfillment of the individual, which has become the true foundation of our peace.

In the time of their greatest power, two strong nations, Spain and Portugal, took grant of the New World upon the precise understanding that it would be justified only by bringing the Christian faith to liberate the souls of every individual in the Americas. This was carried forward with a declaration of individual rights by the injunction which Queen Isabella laid upon her great successor Charles the Fifth, requiring that he guarantee to his subjects freedom to maintain their lives and to hold their property. From this in turn came the declaration of civil rights which came down to us in the Laws of the Indies: a charter of human rights unmatched in its day and age.

In like manner our forefathers in the United States brought from England the long tradition of Magna Carta, and the guarantees of personal liberty against overmastering force, even of the sovereign. And these customs, enriched and implemented by the French thought of Rousseau, found expression in our own Declaration of Independence, and concrete form in the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States. There at length the two disparate lines of thought converged; whereby it comes about that the Bill of Rights, the charter of guarantees of the individual, the declaration of democratic faith, is found in practically every constitution of the Americas, whether

its language be English, Spanish, Portuguese, or French. Three centuries of history brought us together as nations equal and free; the fourth has brought us into a common system of mutual understanding and cooperation. Our hemisphere has at length come of age. We are here assembled to show its unity to the world. We took from our ancestor nations a great dream. We here offer it back as a great unified reality.

What is this faith, now become a great union of half the world?

We here affirm that it is based on belief in the freedom and fulfillment of individual men and women; and declare our belief that the result of that freedom is peace.

There must be freedom to think; with which goes freedom to worship. Constitutional limitations in our various countries will naturally suggest, and in the common interest there will be accepted, the proper regulation of relationship between spiritual freedom and temporal organization; but the hope of our institutions lies in the spiritual support. Organization is evanescent; ideals endure forever. It seems to me, therefore, that we of the Western World must make common cause in a common faith to the end that we may not be sucked into the vortex of disaster which seems to be forming ~~in the Old World~~ across the seas.

Specifically, let us affirm so far as the Western World is concerned

That men do not exist for governments; but that governments exist to give expression to men; and that the true strength of governments lies in their ability to ask their peoples freely to assume burdens for the general welfare.

That there is a natural obligation to afford to individuals their right to live, to work, to rear families,

to express their thoughts, to worship, and to have free access to the arts of commerce and exchange.

That between free peoples thus able freely to express themselves there is no need for armaments, no motive to appeal by propaganda to hatreds; no cause to set nation against nation or group against group.

That because the faith of the Americas lies in the spirit, the system of the Americas is impregnable so long as her sister nations maintain that spirit.

In that faith we will have peace over the western half of the world. In that faith we all watch and guard our hemisphere. In that faith we may also, under God, offer hope overseas.

*for B.O. speech*

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Today, we sense the unmistakable determination of all of our peoples that the progress of our nations must be along the paths of peace. And that is why - and it seems to me that this is a fact of profound significance - this Conference which assembles today is not a conference convened, as so many peace conferences have been, for the purpose of attempting to rebuild the ruins left smouldering at the end of a devastating war, when the souls of men are still instinct with hatred and revenge. This is no conference to divide the spoils of war, to partition countries, to deal with peoples as though they were the pawns in a game of chance. This

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That is the challenge. We must regard it as a challenge to our own ingenuity to insure our own protection and our own preservation. It is even more a challenge to our faith in the permanence of civilization, so that we may undertake our full share of responsibility by offering our example and our cooperation to the other nations of the world. We are entitled to hope that they also may yet join with us in our determination to avert the disasters which seem impending. But in any case, the dual challenge to the American democracies cannot pass unanswered.

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We are pledged to the belief that men and women are entitled to fulfill themselves; to provide for their needs; and to rear their families. This means a right to hold such property as is needed for a reasonable extension of personality; and such holding may be made subject to such regulation as shall make property a means of fulfillment and not a tool of oppression, national or international. I question whether any people blessed with political freedom, with reason to be contented with their lot in life, and able to satisfy their needs through commerce, will ever consent to take up arms for a war of conquest.

Closely interwoven with these truths is the further self-evident fact that in this modern world, the welfare and prosperity of every nation depends in large part upon the benefits derived from international trade; upon the export of those raw materials and manufactured goods which a nation can produce efficiently and upon the importation of those in which its own resources and skill are lacking. Our present civilization in great part rests on the basis of the international exchange of commodities. No nation can remain prosperous and live unto itself alone. Yet, that is exactly what some nations today are attempting to do. These, and many other nations too, have erected every conceivable barrier to international trade through tariffs, quotas, licenses, exchange controls, clearing and compensation devices, in the vain effort to achieve national self-sufficiency in products which are available in far better quality and at a far cheaper price from other countries. Every nation of the world has felt the catastrophic effect of these policies. Every individual has suffered from them. It is no accident that the nations which have carried this process farthest are those which

have proclaimed most loudly that they require war as an instrument of policy. It is no accident that attempts to be self-sufficient have led to falling standards for their people, and to ever-increasing submergence of the life of their own nationals in a mad race to build up greater armaments. I think it is not too much to say that these policies automatically result in naming Misery as Crown Prince, and Death as universal heir.

These policies dislocate our entire economic structure. They have resulted in the throwing of millions of human beings out of gainful employment; they have increased the cost of living; they have been productive only of despair and of desperation. Because this is a perversion of good sense, and does violence to every man's human instinct, appeals through organized propaganda have been required to create artificial hatreds, without which the process could not go on. Individual men and women, able to fulfill themselves, spiritually and materially, do not hate; they do not make war. Because of these suicidal policies, to many peoples the price of war has seemed less than the price of peace.

It is this state of affairs which we must refuse to accept with every instinct of defense, with every exaltation of enthusiastic hope, with every use of mind and skill.

I cannot refrain here from reiterating my gratification that in this, as in so many other achievements, the American Republics have given a military example to the world. The resolution adopted at the Inter-American Conference at Montevideo endorsing the principles of liberal trade policies has shone forth like a beacon in the storm of economic madness which has been sweeping over the world during these later years. Truly, if the principles there embodied find still wider application in your deliberations, it will be a notable contribution to the cause of peace.

There are many other causes for war - among them, long fostering feuds, unsettled frontiers, territorial rivalries. But these sources of danger which still exist in the Americas, I am thankful to say, are not only few in number, but already on the way to peaceful adjudication. While the settlement of such controversies may necessarily involve adjustments at home or in our relations with our neighbors which may appear to involve material sacrifice, let no man or woman forget that there is no profit in war. Sacrifices in the cause of peace are infinitesimal compared to the holocaust of war.

Peace comes from the spirit, and must be generated in faith. In seeking peace, perhaps we can best begin by proudly affirming the faith of the Americas: The faith in freedom and fulfillment which has proved a mighty fortress beyond reach of arms in half the world.

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In the time of their greatest power, two strong nations, Spain and Portugal, took grant of the New World upon the precise understanding that it would be justified only by bringing the Christian faith to liberate the souls of every individual in the Americas. This was carried forward with a declaration of individual rights by the injunction which Queen Isabella laid upon her great successor Charles the Fifth, requiring that he guarantee to his subjects freedom to maintain their lives and to hold their property. From this in turn came the declaration of civil rights which came down to us in the Laws of the Indies: a charter of human rights unmatched in its day and age.

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What is this faith, now become a great union of half the world?

We here affirm that it is based on belief in the freedom and fulfillment of individual men and women; and declare our belief that the result of that freedom is peace.

There must be freedom to think; with which goes freedom to worship. Constitutional limitations in our various countries will naturally suggest, and in the common interest there will be accepted, the proper regulation of relationship between spiritual freedom and temporal organization; but the hope of our institutions lies in the spiritual support. Organization is evanescent; ideals endure forever. It seems to me, therefore, that we of the Western World must make common cause in a common faith to the end that we may not be sucked into the vortex of disaster which seems to be forming across the seas.

Specifically, let us affirm so far as the Western World is concerned

That men do not exist for governments; but that governments exist to give expression to men; and that the true strength of governments lies in their ability to ask their peoples freely to assume burdens for the general welfare.

That there is a natural obligation to afford to individuals their right to live, to work, to rear families, to express their thoughts, to worship, and to have free access to the arts of commerce and exchange.

That between free peoples thus able freely to express themselves there is no need for armaments, no motive to appeal by propaganda to hatreds; no cause to set nation against nation or group against group.

That because the faith of the Americas lies in the spirit, the system of the Americas is impregnable so long as her sister nations maintain that spirit.

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The crowded events of the short span that has since elapsed have been witness that our hope and confidence have been justified. In this Western Hemisphere, the night of fear has lifted. Due in no small part to the efforts which our Governments have individually and jointly made, the intolerable burdens of the economic depression have in great part been lightened. Due in no small part to our common efforts, every nation of this Hemisphere is today at peace with its neighbors.

Today, we sense the unmistakable determination of all of our peoples that the progress of our nations must be along the paths of peace. And that is why - and it seems to me that this is a fact of profound significance - this Conference which assembles today is not a conference convened, as so many peace conferences have been, for the purpose of attempting to rebuild the ruins left smouldering at the end of a devastating war, when the souls of men are still instinct with hatred and revenge. This is no conference to divide the spoils of war, to partition countries, to deal with peoples as though they were the pawns in a game of chance. This

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I am profoundly convinced that the plain people every where in the civilized world today wish to live in peace with one another. They welcome the happiness of peace; they have suffered the horrors of war. The peoples realize that should war return, cities will be razed; crops destroyed; they foresee that their children and their grandchildren, if they survive, will stagger for long years under the burden of war debt, war disease, and broken societies. The peoples know that war means death at the front by bullets, poison gas, and liquid fire - and for those left behind at home, starvation, or destruction by one of the myriad inventions with which scientists have cursed our modern world. And still leaders and governments resort to war. Truly, if the genius of mankind that has invented the weapons of death cannot discover the means of preserving peace, civilization as we know it is doomed. We cannot now accept any defeatist attitude. We must refuse to believe that the human intelligence is bankrupt. We have learnt by experience that peace is not to be had by wishing for it; that peace, like other great privileges, can be had only by hard and painstaking work. We are here to dedicate ourselves and our countries to that work.

You, who assemble here today, are the Delegates of the American Republics, but I believe that you carry with you in your deliberations, the hopes of millions of human beings in other less fortunate lands which today are haunted by the fear of war. Beyond the oceans we see continents rent asunder by old hatreds and new fanaticisms. We hear the demand that injustice and inequity be corrected by resort to the sword and not by resort to reason. We hear the cry that new markets can only be achieved through conquest,

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Once again, with lenses at rock, the Four Horsemen strain to hear the sound which will send them riding over the face of the earth to destroy all that which makes life as we know it worth the living.

That is the challenge. We must regard it as a challenge to our own ingenuity to insure our own protection and our own preservation. It is even more a challenge to our faith in the permanence of civilisation, so that we may undertake our full share of responsibility by offering our example and our cooperation to the other nations of the world. We are entitled to hope that they also may yet join with us in our determination to avert the disasters which seem impending. But in any case, the dual challenge to the American democracies cannot pass unanswered.

The way to answer that dual challenge is surely not solely through the perfection of the mechanisms of peace. Far more important, it would seem to me, is the need to recognise clearly the causes of war and to strive to prevent the creation of those conditions which give rise to war.

The lack of social or political justice within the borders of any nation is surely one of the causes for international concern. It so often happens that the leaders of a people find it easier to allay popular dissatisfaction by provoking foreign war, rather than to face with courage and determination the fact that the peoples they are called upon to guide demand a greater measure of social or of political equity. We all have seen, in other parts of the world, many wars engendered from this cause. We, in the New World, have had better fortune. While we at present feel confident that the danger of a war springing from these causes is remote on this Continent, we can make assurance doubly sure by

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You, who assemble here today, are the Delegates of the American Republics, but I believe that you carry with you in your deliberations, the hopes of millions of human beings in other less fortunate lands which today are haunted by the fear of war. Beyond the oceans we see continents rent asunder by old hatreds and new fanaticisms. We hear the demand that injustice and inequity be corrected by resort to the sword and not by resort to reason. We hear the cry that new markets can only be achieved through conquest.

The sanctity of treaties between nations is disregarded. Vast armaments are being builded on every side.

Once again, with lances at rest, the Four Horsemen strain to hear the sound which will send them riding over the face of the earth to destroy all that which makes life as we know it worth the living.

That is the challenge. We must regard it as a challenge to our own ingenuity to insure our own protection and our own preservation. It is even more a challenge to our faith in the permanence of civilization, so that we may undertake our full share of responsibility by offering our example and our cooperation to the other nations of the world. We are entitled to hope that they also may yet join with us in our determination to avert the disasters which seem impending. But in any case, the dual challenge to the American democracies cannot pass unanswered.

The way to answer that dual challenge is surely not solely through the perfection of the mechanisms of peace. Far more important, it would seem to me, is the need to recognize clearly the causes of war and to strive to prevent the creation of those conditions which give rise to war.

The lack of social or political justice within the borders of any nation is surely one of the causes for international concern. It so often happens that the leaders of a people find it easier to allay popular dissatisfaction by provoking foreign war, rather than to face with courage and determination the fact that the peoples they are called upon to guide demand a greater measure of social or of political equity. We all have seen, in other parts of the world, many wars engendered from this cause. We, in the New World, have had better fortune. While we at present feel confident that the danger of a war springing from these causes is remote on this Continent, we can make assurance doubly sure by

striving to achieve for the Americas the highest possible standard of living conditions for all our peoples.

We are pledged to the belief that men and women are entitled to fulfill themselves; to provide for their needs; and to rear their families. This means a right to hold such property as is needed for a reasonable extension of personality; and such holding may be made subject to such regulation as shall make property a means of fulfillment and not a tool of oppression, national or international. I question whether any people blessed with political freedom, with reason to be contented with their lot in life, and able to satisfy their needs through commerce, will ever consent to take up arms for a war of conquest.

Closely interwoven with these truths is the further self-evident fact that in this modern world, the welfare and prosperity of every nation depends in large part upon the benefits derived from international trade; upon the export of those raw materials and manufactured goods which a nation can produce efficiently and upon the importation of those in which its own resources and skill are lacking. Our present civilization in great part rests on the basis of the international exchange of commodities. No nation can remain prosperous and live unto itself alone. Yet, that is exactly what some nations today are attempting to do. These, and many other nations too, have erected every conceivable barrier to international trade through tariffs, quotas, licenses, exchange controls, clearing and compensation devices, in the vain effort to achieve national self-sufficiency in products which are available in far better quality and at a far cheaper price from other countries. Every nation of the world has felt the catastrophic effect of these policies. Every individual has suffered from them. It is no accident that the nations which have carried this process farthest are those which

have proclaimed most loudly that they require war as an instrument of policy. It is no accident that attempts to be self-sufficient have led to falling standards for their people, and to ever-increasing submergence of the life of their own nationals in a mad race to build up greater armaments. I think it is not too much to say that these policies automatically result in naming Misery as Crown Prince, and Death as universal heir.

These policies dislocate our entire economic structure. They have resulted in the throwing of millions of human beings out of gainful employment; they have increased the cost of living; they have been productive only of despair and of desperation. Because this is a perversion of good sense, and does violence to every sane human instinct, appeals through organized propaganda have been required to create artificial hatreds, without which the process could not go on. Individual men and women, able to fulfill themselves, spiritually and materially, do not hate; they do not make war. Because of these suicidal policies, to many peoples the price of war has seemed less than the price of peace.

It is this state of affairs which we must refuse to accept with every instinct of defense, with every exaltation of enthusiastic hope, with every use of mind and skill.

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Peace comes from the spirit, and must be grounded in faith. In seeking peace, perhaps we can best begin by proudly affirming the faith of the Americas: The faith in freedom and fulfillment which has proved a mighty fortress beyond reach of arms in half the world.

That faith arises from a common hope and a common design, given us by our fathers, in differing form, but with a single aim - freedom and fulfillment of the individual, which has become the true foundation of our peace.

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There must be freedom to think; with which goes freedom to worship. Constitutional limitations in our various countries will naturally suggest, and in the common interest there will be accepted, the proper regulation of relationship between spiritual freedom and temporal organization; but the hope of our institutions lies in the spiritual support. Organization is evanescence; ideals endure forever. It seems to me, therefore, that we of the Western World must make common cause in a common faith to the end that we may not be sucked into the vortex of disaster which seems to be forming across the seas.

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The crowded events of the short span that has since elapsed have been witness that our hope and confidence have been justified. In this Western Hemisphere, the night of fear has lifted. Due in no small part to the efforts which our Governments have individually and jointly made, the intolerable burdens of the economic depression have in great part been lightened. Due in no small part to our common efforts, every nation of this Hemisphere is today at peace with its neighbors.

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Memorandum for the File:

For address of F.D.R. at Montevideo, Uruguay

December 2, 1936 -

see

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See: Special Budget Bureau File under date of