ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

MONTEVIDEO

December 3, 1936

Your excellency President Terra, and Senora de Terra, it is a privilege today to be the guest of the Government of the Republic of Uruguay and it is a great personal pleasure to which I have looked forward for many years.

Here three years ago in this beautiful city of Montevideo there was born a new era of friendship and confidence among the Americas. No one is entitled to more credit for this new day than Your Excellency; for you labored unceasingly and generously both as host and as statesman for the success of that conference.

I believe that when history comes to be written the origin of the new American era will be placed here in the memorable year 1933. Truly, it is an inspiration for the average citizen of all our republics that that conference is giving back its fruits in terms of achievement for the people of the world. During the past week I have become certain of this because I have seen in the faces of the men, women and children in Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires and, today, in Montevideo a joyful expression of hope and faith which can and will inspire us, their chosen representatives, to even
You expect your President to be the keen eye of the
government and the leader of the nation, and I believe
you expect him to be an eloquent speaker.

In these trying days, the people who work for you
and me need the confidence that their country is
confident in you. They need to know that they can
depend on the Government to find a way out of the
sickening depression.

I believe that you and I are facing a great crisis
together. It is a crisis of the mind and will to
make the nation's economy work. We are now
facing a long, hard road. It will be a task of
vital importance for all of us to work together
towards the goal of restoring prosperity.

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.
greater activity in the common cause.

You, Mr. President, have used a term in speaking of that great patriot, General Artigas, which can well be the inspiration of us all. You have spoken of his "Serghe and noble spirit of applied justice". It is because of this spirit which actuated the founding fathers of the American Republics that we their followers are inspired to maintain the democratic principles for which they fought.

I am particularly grateful for the kind words which you, Mr. President, have spoken concerning our policies in the United States of America. We fully join with you in the thought that the first battlefield of peace is that of securing well-being at home. It has been of special interest to me to know that you in the Republic of Uruguay have made such great advances in behalf of the well-being of your citizens.

In the days of General Artigas and of his friend President Monroe, human society had, of course, little conception of the economic and social problems which we face today. None of the fathers of any of our republics had even heard of an eight-hour day, of minimum wages, of protection for women and children, of collective bargaining between employers and employees, of old-age security, of modern sanitation, of concrete highways, of railroads or steel buildings. The fathers had not thought of the telegraph, the radio, the automobile, or of travel by fast steamships
and by air. They knew little of the problems of modern science, of modern finance.

And yet, you and I are very certain that if they were alive today the founders of our Governments would look with approval on what we are seeking to do to use the processes of democratic government in solving the new problems.

I recognize as you do that these new problems are common to all our nations. I am glad that you have said that we have been compelled to abandon the comfortable attitude of statesmen of the old school. Every nation in all the world has been compelled to recognize the fact of new conditions. It is of the utmost importance that the nations of the new world have found it possible under vigorous leadership to find the answer within the spirit and the framework of constitutional government and democratic processes.

We have not completed our task. In accordance with the objectives and theory of democratic government, that task is a continuing one. We seek new remedies for new conditions; new conditions will continue to arise: Sometimes the remedies succeed, and sometimes they must be altered or improved. But the net result is that we move forward. We learn, and ought to learn, much from each other -- much that is good and some things which, from experience, we must avoid.

In the case of agriculture, for example, you are familiar with the fact that in the United States we did many
things in the past which ran counter to the laws of nature and of sensible economics. In many parts of my country we have used land in such a way as to diminish its productiveness, we have harmed our supply of water and we have lost our top soil. Today our Government seeks to work with our farming population in correcting these mistakes and in bringing back a greater prosperity and a more permanent use of the land. I cite this as an example, which you undoubtedly know of, to show the need among all our Republics of keeping in close touch with each other, for many of our problems are similar.

On this delightful visit to Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay I have been impressed with the immediate need for better and quicker services of travel and communication between North and South America. I look forward to the day when instead of its being a long and unusual journey, visits between the nations of South America and those of Central America and of North America will be so usual and simple that tens of thousands of our citizens will meet each other in friendly intercourse every year.

And, may I add, that I hope that we shall have a much greater familiarity with each other's languages. It is a great regret of my life that while with some difficulty I can read a little Spanish, I cannot yet converse in it. These visits which I am making on this voyage are so enjoyable in every way that I look forward to an opportunity to return in the future. When that day comes I hope that I shall be
able to speak with all of you in your native tongue.

And may I also express the hope that it will be possible for you, Mr. President and Senora de Terra, to be the guests of Mrs. Roosevelt and myself in Washington while we are still in the White House. Nothing would give us and the people of the United States more pleasure.

It has touched me deeply that you have proposed a toast to Mrs. Roosevelt. She was deeply disappointed that she could not come with me and she will be happy to know of your courtesy and your thought of her.

I lift my glass to the good health and happiness of you and Senora de Terra, and to the continued prosperity, happiness, and progress of the people of the Republic of Uruguay.
Speech of the President at Montevideo - December 3, 1936

Your Excellency President Terra, and Senora de Terra, it is a privilege to-day to be the guest of the Government of the Republic of Uruguay and it is a great personal pleasure to which I have looked forward for many years.

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and progress of the people of the Republic of Uruguay.
MEMORANDUM FOR MONTEVIDEO

I count it a privilege today to be the guest of
the Government of Uruguay.

It was here, three years ago in this same beautiful
city of Montevideo that there was born a new era of
friendship, understanding, and confidence among the
three Republics of this Western Hemisphere, that there
was established for the first time a real confederation
of the three Republics of this Western Hemisphere. It
is true that the great idea of the confederation was
not put into effect, but the fact that it was
considered and set forth as a genuine effort toward
the solution of the problems of the hemispheric
policy is a matter of great significance.

I still regret that I was not present at that
Conference in 1933. There the ground of distrust and
suspicion was broken; there seeds of confidence were sown
whose fruits are now being harvested. I wish it had been
possible for every man, woman, and child of the twenty-
one American Republics to have seen that harvest in the
capital of your great neighbor across the river. That
Conference, drawing its inspiration from the common
peoples of the Continent, is giving back its fruits in
terms of achievement for the peace of the world.

I am particularly grateful for the kind words which
your President has spoken concerning our policy in the
United States of America. We have a firm-confidence in
the processes of constitutional, democratic government;
and we are aware that no single government can
make enough permanent progress for any country or any
community of countries. Our mandate must come from the
people:
people; and our inspiration from their faith.

We have likewise the idea that the first battlefield of peace is that of securing well-being at home. Contented nations need not make war. Their public opinion and the efforts made by their officials, as has always proved the case in your own country, can be counted as in accord with the great tide of feeling among the people of the American Republics that peace must be maintained; must be made permanent; that war as an instrument of international policy must disappear. A government which has solved its problems at home as your President has suggested, may then enter the lists for peace serene in the consciousness that its people will approve whatever it says or does. Peace and justice are related concepts. Justice must be internal as well as external; its criterion must be the moral judgment of the common people as well as the judgment of the world.

I am particularly happy today because the suggestions made by the Government of Uruguay when the agenda for the Buenos Aires Conference was under study were evidence of enlightened interest in the cause of peace. Your interests were in developing facilities for communication and
and travel; for improvement in the system for commercial interchange; for procedure for investigation, conciliation and arbitration. All of these are factors of importance in our common and unconquerable campaign for peace. His Excellency, Dr. Terra, wisely observed concerning the Conference in progress:

"For my part, I have no fear of inconsistent solutions; neither do I fear the dispersion of ideas and dissipation of energy produced by lack of guidance and confusion. The purpose will be the same, namely, the preservation of the supreme good, peace, and the means of action will never conflict among themselves."

Differences of opinion no doubt can arise regarding the means to be adopted to obtain our object, but as your President has observed, with a common will these differences cannot defeat our purpose.

The purpose of the United States of America is the same as your own; and I am firm in my belief that conferences such as these can be made to serve a useful end. They can teach us to agree upon the means; they can teach us that no individual nation gains anything for itself or for the world by insisting on its own solution as the only one. In lesser degree we have found this true when specific problems had to be solved. Your Government and my own are represented today at the Chaco Peace Conference now
now in session in Buenos Aires, which is making steady progress in its efforts to help two sister republics towards a peaceful and definitive end of their differences. Delegations representing two other sister American republics are at present negotiating in the capital of my country to settle a boundary issue. In proportion to what must be accomplished on a world scale these results may be small. But each is a victory for peace; each is important in itself in the cause of assuring friendly international relations. By solving such differences we can produce a cumulative effect; we shall show to ourselves and to the world that there is a means of solving difficulties in accordance with justice and reason, and progress towards world peace becomes increasingly more rapid.

It is perhaps permissible here to discuss what we may expect from conferences such as that of Montevideo in 1933 and of Buenos Aires in 1936.

There has been much criticism of the conference methods in conducting international relations. Perhaps the record will show more failures than successes. There are disadvantages and difficulties, of course, but these
must be weighed against the advantages and the constructive factors. We need not be afraid to face the facts.

To begin with, any group of nations meeting in conference must have sufficient unity of purpose and enough interests in common to offer a fair chance for agreement upon matters under consideration. It is too natural and too obvious a fact to ignore that the twenty-one American republics must have many conflicting interests. That is one of the principal reasons why we should meet in conference. We want to reconcile those conflicting interests in a tolerant spirit of give and take.

The American republics do not claim to be free from the weaknesses of humanity. We make many of the same mistakes made by other nations. We have our share of the failures, of the shortcomings, that exist in the family of nations. We know as do other nations the meaning of national jealousies, of selfishness, of personal ambition, of appeals to force. But we have in our hearts a great vision: the vision of a hemisphere ruled by a great consciousness of justice. We hope to make this
this conception so strong that it will be a beacon light in the old world as well as in the new. Based on the solid foundation that our twenty-one governments represent the interests and will and ideals of our peoples rather than of ambitious groups, it is possible to appeal to the deepest moral forces. And in that underlying sense of morality which is the possession of every man, we find our greatest rampart against war.

The appeal to moral force carries with it an equal obligation. No one can justifiably ask that right be done unless he is prepared to do right himself. This places all of us under an inescapable duty to consider the economic welfare of all the peoples and nations of the western hemisphere as a whole. We need each other. We need each other's products, trade, and resources for our economic development. We need each other's culture for the enrichment of our civilization. We need a continuous contact to bring about a broader and more sympathetic understanding of each other's lives and points of view. I am happy in the knowledge that these things are gradually coming to pass; and that all of us are prepared to take measures to extend the increase of exchange which has increased
increased so rapidly in the last few years.

Let me develop my ideas with regard to a single topic in that field. Economic welfare offers a splendid opportunity both for individual accomplishment on the part of each country and for broad collective action on the part of all. I expressed my belief in Buenos Aires that individual security, individual national welfare, the opportunity of every man and woman to work and to live, lay at the root of peace. Yet we know that this can be accomplished best if many countries agree upon these principles; and it is gratifying to me to hear your President today announce his own belief in that same point of view.

You are familiar with the policy of my Government in this respect. You know that the Government of the United States is throwing its active support in favor of liberal policies in international trade the world over. You know that it is seeking to break down barriers and overcome obstacles in the way of the free and natural flow of trade, I am convinced, and I believe that a fair estimate of the results obtained will bear out my conviction, that this policy is a sound and effective one.
Sustained revival of international trade is of first importance in the solution of world problems. From it would flow more employment and the utilization of each country’s natural resources. If this policy succeeds we shall avoid the terrible spectacle of peoples condemned to misery and want, who regard violence as a lesser evil than that of slow and continued suffering.

The problems that we face today are not the result of sudden or isolated actions on the part of any one nation or any group of nations. They are due to a changing world, to the injection of new factors into individual and international relationships, to an increasingly complex civilization, and to mistakes of omission and commission. No nation can escape a part of the responsibility and to make its contribution toward a solution. Perhaps the remedy will not be found immediately, but great improvement is possible at once. To build for the future, and to build well, requires time. Before the permanent edifice can be completed, there will be need for temporary structures. We must not discard the merely workable because it is not the ideal.

If
If I have stressed today my belief in economic liberalism and democratic government, it is merely because I am keenly aware of the duty which rests upon us to see that justice is done nationally and internationally. Yet I realize that justice is no mere matter of economics and politics. It flows from the spirit; and from that great devotion to higher ideals which is the birthright of humanity. When all else fails those forces can be appealed to; and not in vain. It is a privilege for me and my country to have a small part in realizing the great unity of the Americas. As my knowledge of the peoples of the continent grows my confidence becomes unbounded in the ultimate success of our efforts for peace and good will.
A NEW ERA OF FRIENDSHIP AND CONFIDENCE AMONG THE AMERICAN PERIOD NO ONE IS ENTITLED TO MORE CREDIT FOR THIS NEW DAY THAN YOUR EXCELLENCY SEMICOLON FOR YOU LABORED UNCEASINGLY AND GENTLELY BOTH AS XXXXX HOSTAS STATESMAN FOR THE SUCCESS OF THAT CONFERENCE PERIOD PARAGRAPH (BEYOND THAT WHEN HISTORY COMES TO BE WRITTEN THE ORIGIN OF THE NEW AMERICAN ERA WILL BE PLACED HERE IN THE MEMORABLE YEAR NINETEEN THIRTYTHREE PERIOD TRULY COMMA IT IS AN INSPIRATION FOR THE AVERAGE CITIZEN OF ALL OUR REPUBLICS THAT THAT CONFERENCE IS GIVING BACK ITS FRUITS IN TERMS OF ACHIEVEMENT FOR 

THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD PERIOD DURING THE PAST WEEK I HAVE BECOME CERTAIN OF THIS BECAUSE I HAVE SEEN IN THE FACES OF THE MEN COMMA WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN RIO DE JANEIRO COMMA BUENOS AIRES AND COMMA TODAY COMMA IN MONTEVIDEO A JOYFUL EXPRESSION OF HOPE AND FAITH WHICH CAN AND WILL INSPIRE YOUR COMMA THEIR CHOSEN REPRESENTATIVES COMMA TO EVEN GREATER ACTIVITY IN THE COMMON CAUSE PERIOD PARAGRAPH YOU COMMA MR PRESIDENT COMMA HAVE USED A TERM IN SPEAKING OF THAT GREAT PATRIOT COMMA GENERAL ARTIGAS WHICH CAN WELL THE INSPIRATION OF US ALL PERIOD YOU HAVE 

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a Spanish translation of FDR's speech at Montevideo, Uruguay as it appeared in the Spanish press. Sent to FDR by Julius G. Lay, Minister to to Uruguay. (Speech of Dec 3, 1936. Removed from OF 200-JJ)

HL Jacoby
Vuestra Excelencia, Señor Presidente Terra y Señora de Terra.

Es un privilegio para mí ser hoy huésped del Gobierno de la República del Uruguay y es un gran placer personal que he estado esperando por muchos años.-

Hace tres años, aquí, en esta hermosa Ciudad de Montevideo, se inició una nueva era de amistad y de confianza entre las Américas. Nadie tiene mayores derechos a este nuevo día que Vuestra Excelencia; por cuanto habéis trabajado incesante y generosamente, tanto en vuestra capacidad de invitante como de estadista, por el éxito de esa conferencia.-

Creo que cuando se escriba la historia el origen de la nueva era americana será fijado aquí en el año memorable de 1933.- En verdad, es una inspiración para los ciudadanos de todas nuestras repúblicas que esa conferencia está dando frutos en términos de realizaciones para todo el mundo. Durante la última semana me he aminorado en esta creencia por cuanto he visto en los semblantes de los hombres, mujeres y niños en Río de Janeiro, Buenos Aires y, hoy, en Montevideo una alegre expresión de confianza y fe que debe inspirarnos, a nosotros, sus representantes elegidos, a esforzarnos a una actividad mayor por la causa común.-

Al hablar de ese gran patriota, el General Artigas, he sido usado, Señor Presidente, una expresión que puede muy bien ser inspiración para todos nosotros. "Habéis hablado de su espiritú sereno y noble de justicia aplicada". Es debido a ese mismo espiritú, que movía a los fundadores de las Repúblicas Americanas, que nosotros, sus discípulos, estamos inspirados para mantener los principios democráticos por los cuales ellos lucharon.-

Estoy particularmente agradecido, Señor Presidente, por vuestras amables palabras con respecto a nuestras directivas en los Estados Unidos, de América. Estamos en perfecto acuerdo con Vuestra Excelencia que el primer paso en la lucha por la Paz es el de asegurar el bienestar de los pueblos. Me ha sido de especial interés saber que en la República del Uruguay habéis hecho tan grandes
progresos por el bienestar de vuestros ciudadanos.

En los días del General Artigas y de su amigo el President Monroe, la sociedad humana tenía, por supuesto, una muy pequeña concepción de los problemas económicos y sociales que nosotros debemos encarar hoy. Ninguno de los precursores de nuestras repúblicas oyó jamás de un día de ocho horas, de salario mínimo, de protección a la mujer y al niño, de negociaciones colectivas entre patronos y obreros, de jubilaciones, de sanidad moderna, de carreteras deshormigón, de ferrocarriles o de edificios de acero. Nuestros precursores no tenían idea alguna del telégrafo, la radio, el automovil, o de los viajes por rápidos vapores y por aire. Conocían muy poco de los problemas de la ciencia moderna, de finanzas modernas.

Y, sin embargo, Vuestra Excelencia y yo estamos muy ciertos que si estuviesen viviendo hoy, los fundadores de nuestros Gobiernos aprobarían lo que estamos haciendo con el fin de aplicar los procedimientos de gobierno democrático para resolver los nuevos problemas.

Reconozco, como lo reconocéis, que estos nuevos problemas son comunes para todas nuestras naciones. Me compadeció haber oído decir que nos hemos visto obligados a abandonar la actitud cómoda de los estadistas de la vieja escuela. Todas las naciones, en todas las partes del mundo, se han visto obligadas a reconocer el hecho de las nuevas condiciones. Es de la mayor importancia que las naciones del nuevo mundo hayan podido, dirigidos por guías vigorosos, la repuesta dentro del espíritu y de la estructura de un gobierno constitucional y de procedimientos democráticos.

No hemos terminado nuestra tarea. De acuerdo con los objetivos y la teoría de los gobiernos democráticos, esa tarea es continua. Buscamos nuevos remedios para las nuevas condiciones. A veces los remedios tienen éxito, otras deben ser cambiados o mejorados. Pero el resultado final es que adelanamos. Aprendemos y debemos aprender uno del otro, mucho que es bueno y algunas cosas que, por experiencia, debemos evitar.

Por ejemplo, tomando el caso de la agricultura, sabéis que en
los Estados Unidos hiciemos muchas cosas en el pasado contrarias a las leyes de la naturaleza y a la economía. — En muchas partes de mi país hemos usado la tierra de tal manera que hemos disminuido su productividad, hemos dañado nuestras fuentes de agua y hemos perdido nuestras tierras de cultivo. Hoy nuestro Gobierno trata de corregir, con la ayuda de nuestra población agraria, estos errores y de obtener una más grande prosperidad y un uso más permanente de la tierra. Cito esto como ejemplo, de lo que no dudo tenéis conocimiento, para indicar la necesidad en todas nuestras repúblicas, de mantenernos en contacto estrecho, debido a que mucho de nuestros problemas son similares.

En esta deliciosa visita al Brasil, Argentina y Uruguay me ha impresionado la necesidad inmediata de un mayor y más rápido servicio de pasajeros y de comunicaciones entre la América del Norte y la del Sur. Aguardo el día que las visitas entre las naciones de Sudán de América, Centro América y Norte América, que hoy requieren vides tan largos y tan poco comunes, serán tan comunes y fáciles que decenas de miles de nuestros ciudadanos se encontrarán en amistoso intercambio todos los años.

Y, me permito agregar que confío que tendremos una mayor familiaridad con nuestros idiomas. Es el gran pesar de mi vida que, aún cuando con alguna dificultad puedo leer el español, no puedo aún hablarlo. Las visitas que hago en este viaje son tan agradables en todo sentido que espero que tener una nueva oportunidad para repetirlas en el futuro. En ese día confío poder hablar con todos Vd. en vuestro propio idioma.

Y me permito expresar también la esperanza que os será posible, Señor Presidente y Señora de Terra, ser huéspedes de la Señora de Roosevelt y míos en Washington mientras estamos en la Casa Blanca. — Nada nos dará, tanto a nosotros como al pueblo de los Estados Unidos, un mayor placer. Me ha afectado profundamente el brindis que heba mi señora de mi esposa de que no me acompañara en este viaje y he sentido feliz al saber de vuestra cortesía y de vuestro pensamiento hacia ella.
Levanto mi copa por la salud y felicidad de Vuestra Excelencia y por la continúa prosperidad, felicidad y progreso del pueblo de la República del Uruguay.