
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**

File No. 1093

1937 October 5

**Chicago, IL - Outerlink Bridge Dedication -
"Quarenteen"**

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AT CHICAGO

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
at the dedication of the Outerlink Bridge
over the mouth of the Chicago River

Chicago, Illinois
October 5, 1937, 11:15 A.M., C.T.

MAYOR KELLY, GOVERNOR HORNER, MY FRIENDS IN CHICAGO:

I am glad to come once again to Chicago and especially to have the opportunity of taking part in the dedication of this important project of civic betterment.

I congratulate Chicago and Cook County on the opening of this splendid bridge and of these thirty miles of lake front boulevard.

On my trip across the continent and back I have been shown many evidences of the result of common-sense cooperation between municipalities and the Federal Government, and I have been greeted by tens of thousands of Americans who have told me in every look and word that their material and spiritual well-being has made great strides forward in the past few years.

And yet, as I have seen with my own eyes, the prosperous farms, the thriving factories and the busy railroads -- as I have seen the happiness and security and especially the peace which covers our wide land, almost inevitably I have been compelled to contrast our peace with very different scenes that are being enacted in other parts of the world.

It is because the people of the United States (under modern conditions) must, for the sake of their own future, give thought to the rest of the world, that I, as the responsible executive head of the Nation, have chosen this great inland city and this gala occasion

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.

as witnessed we expect to have some sort of help as I
would like to witness out of my ability to determine all that
is necessary to facilitate that
the unknown and the visible shall have equal importance.
when that will be within your power to say when shall we

make any kind of deal has happened and when that we do
nothing whatsoever makes sense to him self to somebody who
is naturally good even I am, therefore I expect out the existing balance
between you guys at the best and our government to attempt to meet
assists every whom and guided-lines leading has helped right now
when we have got to know
what is going on down there and I am, Joe Lask
now even I am -- situation good out has protocol material out, and
you always holds meaq our witness fine witness has developed out
the practice of helping dead even I received such a mail this
morning that at bottom united the last seven months give this among
other aids to
prosecution) before getting out to whom add amount of \$2
or figure even, you are about to who out not than (and this
to need evidence witnesses out so, I just time out to just out
whom also with has the begining being and speech over, which out

to speak to you on a subject of definite national importance.

The political situation in the world, which of late has been growing progressively worse, is such as to cause grave concern and anxiety to all the peoples and nations who wish to live in peace and amity with their neighbors.

Some fifteen years ago the hopes of mankind for a continuing era of international peace were raised to great heights when more than sixty nations solemnly pledged themselves not to resort to arms in furtherance of their national aims and policies. The high aspirations expressed in the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact and the hopes for peace thus raised have of late given way to a haunting fear of calamity. The present reign of terror and international lawlessness began a few years ago.

It began through unjustified interference in the internal affairs of other nations or the invasion of alien territory in violation of treaties. (and) It has now reached a stage where the very foundations of civilization are seriously threatened. The landmarks, (and) the traditions which have marked the progress of civilization toward(s) a condition of law and order and justice are being wiped away.

Without a declaration of war and without warning or justification of any kind civilians, including vast numbers of women and children, are being ruthlessly murdered with bombs from the air. In times of so-called peace ships are being attacked and sunk by submarines without cause or notice. Nations are fomenting and taking sides in civil warfare in nations that have never done them any harm. Nations claiming freedom for themselves deny it to others.

Innocent peoples, (and) innocent nations are being cruelly

sacrificed to a greed for power and supremacy which is devoid of all sense of justice and humane consideration.

To paraphrase a recent author "perhaps we foresee a time when men, exultant in the technique of homicide, will rage so hotly over the world that every precious thing will be in danger, every book (and) every picture, (and) every harmony, every treasure garnered through two milleniums, the small, the delicate, the defenseless -- all will be lost or wrecked or utterly destroyed."

If those things come to pass in other parts of the world, let no one imagine that America will escape, that America may expect mercy, that this Western Hemisphere will not be attacked and that it will continue tranquilly and peacefully to carry on the ethics and the arts of civilization.

No, if those days come "there will be no safety by arms, no help from authority, no answer in science. The storm will rage till every flower of culture is trampled and all human beings are leveled in a vast chaos."

If those days are not to come -- if we are to have a world in which we can breathe freely and live in smity without fear -- then the peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort to uphold laws and principles on which alone peace can rest secure. (Applause)

The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy, (and) international instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality.

Those who cherish their freedom and recognize and respect the equal rights of their neighbors to be free and live in peace, must work together for the triumph of law and moral principles in order that peace, justice and confidence may prevail (in) throughout the world. There must be a return to a belief in the pledged word, in the value of a signed treaty. There must be recognition of the fact that national morality is as vital as private morality. (Applause)

A bishop wrote to me the other day: "It seems to me that something greatly needs to be said in behalf of ordinary humanity against the present practice of carrying the horrors of war to helpless civilians, especially women and children. It may be that such a protest (might) may be regarded by many, who claim to be realists, as futile, but may it not be that the heart of mankind is so filled with horror at the present needless suffering that that force could be mobilized in sufficient volume to lessen such cruelty in the days ahead. Even though it may take twenty years, which God forbid, for civilization to make effective its corporate protest against this barbarism, surely strong voices may hasten the day."

There is a solidarity, (and) an interdependence about the modern world, both technically and morally, which makes it impossible for any nation completely to isolate itself from political and economic (and political) upheavals in the rest of the world, especially when such upheavals appear to be spreading and not declining. There can be no stability or peace either within nations or between nations except under laws and moral standards adhered to by all. International anarchy destroys every foundation for peace. It jeopardizes either the immediate or the future security of every nation, large or small.

And it is, therefore, a matter of vital interest and concern to the people of the United States that the sanctity of international treaties and the maintenance of international morality be restored.

The overwhelming majority of all the peoples and nations of the world today want to live in peace. They seek the removal of barriers against trade. They want to exert themselves in industry, in agriculture, (and) in business, that they may increase their wealth through the production of wealth-producing goods rather than striving to produce military planes and bombs and machine guns and cannon for the destruction of human lives and useful property.

In those nations of the world which seem to be piling armament on armament for purposes of aggression, and those other nations which fear acts of aggression against them and their security, a very high proportion of their national income is being spent directly for armaments. It runs from thirty to as high as fifty per cent in most of those cases.

We are fortunate. The proportion that we spend in the United States (spend) is far less -- eleven or twelve per cent.

How happy we are that the circumstances of the moment permit us to put our money into bridges and boulevards, dams and reforestation, the conservation of our soil and many other kinds of useful works rather than into huge standing armies and vast supplies of implements of war. {Applause}

Nevertheless, my friends, I am compelled and you are compelled (nevertheless) to look ahead. The peace, the freedom, (and) the security of ninety per cent of the population of the world is being jeopardized by the remaining ten per cent who are threatening

a breakdown of all international order and law. Surely the ninety per cent who want to live in peace under law and in accordance with moral standards that have received almost universal acceptance through the centuries, can and must find some way to make their will prevail.

Yes, the situation is definitely of universal concern. The questions involved relate not merely to violations of specific provisions of particular treaties; they are questions of war and (of) peace, of international law and especially of principles of humanity. It is true that they involve definite violations of agreements, and especially of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Briand-Kellogg Pact and the Nine Power Treaty. And we have signed both of the last two. But they (also) involve also problems of world economy, world security and world humanity.

It is true that the moral consciousness of the world must recognize the importance of removing injustices and well-founded grievances; but at the same time it must be aroused to the cardinal necessity of honoring sanctity of treaties, of respecting the rights and liberties of others and of putting an end to acts of international aggression.

It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading.

And mark this well! When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease. (Applause)

It is my determination to pursue a policy of peace. It is my determination to (and) adopt every practicable measure to avoid

involvement in war. (Applause) It ought to be inconceivable that in this modern era, and in the face of experience, any nation could be so foolish and ruthless as to run the risk of plunging the whole world into war by invading and violating in contravention of solemn treaties, the territory of other nations that have done them no real harm and which are too weak to protect themselves adequately. Yet the peace of the world and the welfare and security of every nation, including our own, is today being threatened by that very thing.

No nation which refuses to exercise forbearance and to respect the freedom and rights of others can long remain strong and retain the confidence and respect of other nations. No nation ever loses its dignity or its good standing by conciliating its differences, and by exercising great patience, patience with, and consideration for, the rights of other nations.

War is a contagion, whether it be declared or undeclared. It can engulf states and peoples remote from the original scene of hostilities. Yes, we are determined to keep out of war, yet we cannot insure ourselves against the disastrous effects of war and the dangers of involvement. We are adopting such measures as will minimize our risk of involvement but we cannot have complete protection in a world of disorder in which confidence and security have broken down.

If civilization is to survive the principles of the Prince of Peace must be restored. Shattered trust between nations must be revived.

Most important of all, the will for peace on the part of peace-loving nations must express itself to the end that nations

that may be tempted to violate their agreements and the rights of others will desist from such a cause. There must be positive endeavors to preserve peace.

America hates war. (Applause) America -- (applause)
America hopes for peace. Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace.

MBo

This telegram TELEGRAM SENT
must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (B-1)

September 28, 1937

10 p.m.

AMDELGAT,

GENEVA (Switzerland)

7.

FOR HARRISON.

Department's 2, September 24, 6 p.m., and 5, September 27, 9 p.m.

In my reply of September 24 to your 6, September 23, 10 a.m., the subject immediately under consideration was that of a step then in contemplation by the League, namely the setting up of a subcommittee of the Advisory Committee, together with the question whether the Chinese-Japanese situation should be considered as peculiarly a Far Eastern question or be considered as a question of general world interest and concern. I indicated to you our view and asked you discreetly to foster the view that the whole question should be dealt with on the broadest possible basis and from point of view of general world concern and interest.

In the same and in other telegrams, I have informed you that we feel that the League should chart its own course, that we will be prepared to consider concrete proposals which it may present to us, and that we do not repeat

not

MBo 2- No. 7, September 28, to Geneva.

not desire to suggest either the direction of or limits to action which it might consider and decide upon.

Inasmuch, however, as we associate ourselves with its deliberations through authorizing you to sit with the Advisory Committee and the subcommittee, it is desirable that our thought be known to and be understood by you in connection with the contributions which you may be able to make toward enabling your associates to arrive at decisions which may have some practical beneficial effect in regard to objectives which are common to the members of the League and to this country.

When, in July, Japan embarked upon military activities in China, this Government, taking full account of evidence presented then and in the past indicative of Japan's political objectives, made public on July 16 a statement of basic principles which in its opinion must underlie peaceful and normal international relationships.

On August 23, this Government more specifically, in a statement referring especially to the armed conflict between Japan and China, reiterated various of the principles comprised in its statement of July 16 and emphasized the view that they applied to the Pacific area as well as elsewhere. *Inter alia*, it called attention expressly to the

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Nine Power Treaty and the Kellogg-Briand Pact. By this we definitely took exception to the course which Japan was following.

In addition, in support of our general position, we have taken several definite steps: (1) we have directly appealed to Japan and China to refrain or desist from hostilities; (2) we have repeatedly stated to both parties that our good offices would be available to them in connection with any suggestions which they might make for resort to processes of conciliation; (3) we have repeatedly protested to the Japanese Government against bombing of non-combatants from the air and we have in one instance made public a note addressed by us to the Government of Japan objecting to and condemning such bombing and in another instance, today, made a public statement on that subject.

Certain other Governments have on several occasions approached us with suggestions for QUOTE joint action UNQUOTE. We have regularly indicated that, while we believe in and wish to practice cooperation, we are not repeat not prepared to engage in joint action but will consider the possibility of taking parallel action. In every case where we have regarded as intrinsically meritorious possible action also thought of by other governments we have taken action, several times in advance of and sometimes in the

absence

MBo 4- No. 7, September 28, to Geneva.

absence of parallel action by any other power. In general we feel that spontaneous separate action, if and where two or more powers feel moved thereto, on parallel lines, is more strongly indicative of serious feeling in regard to matters under consideration and more likely to serve effectively toward attainment of the objectives sought than would be inspired joint action.

As the situation unfolds, the military operations of Japan have increased in extent and in intensity. The Chinese Government has amplified its charges that Japan is violating international law and treaty provisions. The Chinese have affirmed their willingness to resort to processes of conciliation. The Japanese, however, have announced that they intend to destroy China's will and capacity to resist and even to overthrow the present Chinese Government. In refusing the invitation of the Advisory Committee they have declined even to confer with other powers with a view to composing the difficulties between Japan and China.

It is our feeling that this situation is definitely of universal world concern. The questions involved no longer relate merely to violations of specific provisions of particular treaties; they are questions of war and of peace, of international law and of principles of humanity. It is

of course,

MBo 5- No. 7, September 28, to Geneva.

of course true that they involve violations of agreements, and especially of the Covenant of the League, the Kellogg-Briand Pact and the Nine Power Treaty. But they also involve problems of world economy, world security, and world humanity. I do not believe it possible on a basis of realism to confine consideration of them to any one forum or to bring them within the focus exclusively of any one existing agreement. Nor do I think it expedient to attempt to say what might be the limit of action which might be taken by the nations which desire peace toward expressing themselves in opposition to the activities which are being engaged in, in connection with the situation under reference, in breach of the peace and with jeopardy to the rights and the security of all nations.

We feel that, in action thus far taken, this Government has gone further in the field of efforts calculated to support the general principles of world peace and security and toward indicating disapprobation and disapproval of disregard thereof than has any other nation or group of nations. We therefore feel that efforts of other nations might well be directed now toward going as far as or farther than we have thus far gone along those lines.

You should, while making it clear that we do not repeat
not

MBo 6- No. 7, September 28, to Geneva.

not desire to incite the League to action and that we decline to attempt to chart a course for the League members either individually or collectively, endeavor discreetly to cultivate within restricted circles where confidence will be respected thinking along these lines.

HULL

PA/H:SKH:ZMK:REK FE A-W

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The political situation in the world, which of late has been growing progressively worse, is such as to cause the gravest concern and anxiety to all the peoples and nations who wish to live in peace and amity with their neighbors. Some fifteen years ago the hopes of mankind for a continuing era of international peace were raised to great heights when sixty-one nations solemnly pledged themselves not to resort to arms in furtherance of their national aims and policies. The high aspirations expressed in the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact and the hopes for peace thus raised have of late given way to a haunting fear of calamity. The present reign of terror and international lawlessness began a few years ago. It began through unjustified interference in the internal affairs of other nations or the invasion of alien territory in violation of treaties, and has now reached a stage where the very foundations of civilization are seriously threatened. The landmarks and traditions which have marked the progress of civilization towards a ~~regime~~ ^{civilization} of law, order and justice are being wiped away.

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B 1093

5 Oct. 1937

NOTES FOR INTERNATIONAL SPEECH

To paraphrase a recent author "perhaps we foresee a time when men, exultant in the technique of homicide, will rage so hotly over the world that every precious thing will be in danger, every book and picture and harmony, every treasure garnered through two milleniums, the small, delicate, the defenseless -- all will be lost or wrecked or utterly destroyed."

If those things come to pass in other parts of the world, let no one imagine that America will escape, that it may expect mercy, that this Western Hemisphere will not be attacked and that it will continue tranquilly and peacefully to carry on the ethics and the arts of Christian civilization.

If those days come "there will be no safety by arms, no help from authority, no answer in science. The stream will rage till every flower of culture is trampled and all human beings are leveled in a vast chaos."

C

from the air. In times of so-called peace ships are being attacked and sunk by submarines without cause or notice. Nations are fermenting and taking sides in civil warfare in nations that have never done them any harm. ~~some~~ Nations claiming freedom for themselves deny it to others. Innocent peoples and nations are being cruelly sacrificed to a greed for power and supremacy which is devoid of all sense of justice and humane consideration. These violations of treaties, laws and humane instincts are creating a state of international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through isolation or neutrality. There must be a return to a belief in the pledged word, in the value of a signed treaty, and in the fact that national morality is as vital as private morality.

If we are to have a world in which it is possible to breathe freely and live in amity the peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort to uphold laws and principles on which alone peace can exist. Those who cherish their freedom and recognize and respect the equal right of their neighbors to be free and to live in peace must work together for the triumph of law and moral principles in order that peace, justice and confidence may prevail in the world.

It is a fallacy to assume that American security consists alone in the defense of our soil against invasion. Security is a much greater and broader problem than that. Security consists in defending our freedom and our right to live in peace under laws and principles which are applicable to all alike.

There is a solidarity and interdependence about the modern world, both technically and morally, which makes it impossible for any nation to isolate itself from what goes on in the rest of the world or to secure itself through indifference, isolation or neutrality from economic and political upheavals in the rest of the world. There can be no peace or stability within nations or between nations except under laws and moral standards which are adhered to by all. International anarchy destroys every foundation for peace and jeopardizes the security of every nation, large or small. It is therefore a matter of vital interest and concern to the United States that the sanctity of international treaties and laws be maintained.

An overwhelming majority of the peoples and nations of the world today want to be left alone to live in peace. Nevertheless, the peace, the freedom, and the

security

security of these peoples and nations are being jeopardized by the remaining ten percent, who are threatening a breakdown of all international order and law. Surely the ninety percent who want to live in peace under law and according to moral standards that have received almost universal acceptance can and must find some way to make their will prevail. The moral consciousness of the world must be aware of the importance of removing injustices and well-founded grievances; at the same time it must be aroused to the cardinal necessity of honoring the sanctity of treaties and of respecting the rights and liberties of others.

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,
OCTOBER 5, 1937.

Draft

#1093

I am glad to come once again to Chicago and especially to have the opportunity of taking part in the dedication of this important project of civic betterment.

On my trip across the continent and back I have been shown many evidences of the result of common sense cooperation between municipalities and the Federal Government, and I have been greeted by tens of thousands of Americans who have told me in every look and word that their material and spiritual well-being has made great strides forward in the past few years.

And yet, as I have seen with my own eyes, the prosperous farms, the thriving factories and the busy railroads -- as I have seen the happiness and security and peace which covers our wide land, I have almost

insensibly [redacted] inevitably been compelled to contrast our peace with very different scenes being enacted in other parts of the world.

It is because the people of the United States under modern conditions must, for the sake of their own future, give thought to the rest of the world; that I, as the responsible executive head of the Nation, have chosen this great inland city and this gala occasion to speak to you on a subject of definite national importance.

The political situation in the world, which of late has been growing progressively worse, is [redacted] as to cause grave concern and anxiety to all the peoples and nations who wish to live in peace and amity with their neighbors.

Some fifteen years ago the hopes of mankind for a continuing era of international peace were ^{raised} ~~exhorted~~ to great heights when more than sixty nations solemnly pledged themselves not to ~~resort~~ to arms in furtherance of their

national aims and policies. The high aspirations expressed in the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact and the hopes for peace thus raised have of late given way to a haunting fear of calamity. The present reign of terror and international lawlessness began a few years ago.

It began through unjustified interference in the internal affairs of other nations or the invasion of alien territory in violation of treaties, and has not reached a stage where the very foundations of civilization are seriously threatened. The landmarks and traditions which have marked the progress of civilization towards a condition of law, order and justice are being wiped away.

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Nations are fomenting and taking sides in civil warfare in nations that have never done them any harm. Nations claiming freedom for themselves deny it to others.

Innocent peoples and nations are being cruelly sacrificed to a greed for power and supremacy which is devoid of all sense of justice and humane consideration.

To paraphrase a recent author "perhaps we foresee a time when men, exultant in the technique of homicide, will rage so hotly over the world that every precious thing will be in danger, every book and picture and harmony, every treasure garnered through two milleniums, the small, delicate, the defenseless -- all will be lost or wrecked or utterly destroyed."

If those things come to pass in other parts of the world, let no one imagine that America will escape, that it may expect mercy, that this Western Hemisphere will not be attacked and that it will continue tranquilly and peacefully to carry on the ethics and the arts of Christian civilization.

If those days come "there will be no safety by arms, no help from authority, no answer in science. The stream will rage till every flower of culture is trampled and all human beings are leveled in a vast chaos."

If those days are not to come to pass — if we are to have a world in which we can breath freely and live in amity without fear — the peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort to uphold laws and principles on which alone peace can rest secure. The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through more isolation or neutrality. Those who cherish their freedom and recognize and respect the equal right of their neighbors to be free and live in peace, must work together for the triumph of law and moral principles in order that peace, justice and confidence may prevail in the world. There must be a return to a belief in the pledged word in the

value of a signed treaty. There must be recognition of the fact that national morality is as vital as private morality.

A Bishop wrote me the other day: "It seems to me that something greatly needs to be said in behalf of ordinary humanity against the present practice of carrying the horrors of war to helpless civilians, especially women and children. It may be that such a protest might be regarded by many who claim to be realists as futile, but may it not be that the heart of mankind is so filled with horror at the present needless suffering that that force could be mobilized in sufficient volume to lessen such cruelty in the days ahead. Even though it may take twenty years, which God forbid, for civilization to make effective its corporate protest against this barbarism, surely strong voices may hasten the day."

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economic and political upheavals in the rest of the world, especially when such upheavals appear to be spreading and not declining. There can be no stability or peace either within nations or between nations except under laws and moral standards ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ adhered to by all. International anarchy destroys every foundation for peace. It jeopardizes either the immediate or the future security of every nation, large or small. It is, therefore, a matter of vital interest and concern to the people of the United States that the sanctity of international treaties and the maintenance of international morality be restored.

The overwhelming majority of the peoples and nations of the world today want to live in peace. They seek the removal of barriers against trade. They want to exert themselves in industry, in agriculture and in business, that they may increase their wealth through the production of wealth-producing goods rather than striving to produce military planes and bombs and machine guns and cannon for the destruction of human lives and useful property.

In those nations of the world which seem to be piling armament on armament for purposes of aggression, and those other nations which fear acts of aggression against them and their security, a very high proportion of their national income is being spent directly for armaments. It runs from thirty to as high as fifty per cent.

The proportion we ~~are~~ spend is far less -- eleven or twelve per cent.

How happy we are that the circumstances of the moment permit us to put our money into bridges and boulevards, dams and reforestation, the conservation of our soil and many other kinds of useful works than into huge standing armies and vast supplies of implements of war.

I am compelled and you are compelled, nevertheless, to look ahead. The peace, the freedom and the security of ninety per cent of the population of the world is being jeopardized by the remaining ten per cent who are threatening

a breakdown of all international order and law. Surely the ninety per cent who want to live in peace under law and in accordance with moral standards that have received almost universal acceptance through the centuries, can and must find some way to make their will prevail.

The situation is definitely of universal concern. The questions involved relate not merely to violations of specific provisions of particular treaties; they are questions of war and of peace, of international law and especially of principles of humanity. It is true that they involve definite violations of agreements, and especially of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Kellogg-Briand Pact and the Nine Power Treaty. But they also involve problems of world economy, world security and world humanity.

It is true that the moral consciousness of the world must recognize the importance of removing injustices and well-founded grievances; but at the same time it must

be aroused to the cardinal necessity of honoring sanctity of treaties, of respecting the rights and liberties of others and of putting an end to acts of international aggression.

It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading.

When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease.

It is my determination to pursue a policy of peace and to adopt every practicable measure to avoid involvement in war. It ought to be inconceivable that in this modern era, and in the face of experience, any nation could be so foolish and ruthless as to run the risk of plunging the whole world into war by invading and violating, ~~any~~ in contravention of solemn treaties, the territory of other nations that have done them no real harm and which are too weak to protect themselves adequately. Yet the peace of

the world and the welfare and security of every nation is today being threatened by that very thing.

No nation which refuses to exercise forbearance and to respect the freedom and rights of others can long remain strong and retain the confidence and respect of other nations. No nation ever loses its dignity or good standing by conciliating its differences and by exercising great patience with and consideration for the rights of other nations.

War is a contagion, whether it be declared or undeclared. It can engulf states and peoples remote from the original scene of hostilities. We are determined to keep out of war, yet we cannot insure ourselves against the disastrous effects of war and the dangers of involvement. We are adopting such measures as will minimize our risk of involvement but we cannot have complete protection in a world of disorder in which confidence and security has broken down.

If civilization is to survive the principles of the Prince of Peace must be restored. Shattered trust between nations must be revived.

Most important of all, the will for peace on the part of peace-loving nations must express itself to the end that nations that may be tempted to violate their agreements and the rights of others will desist from such a cause. There must be positive endeavors to preserve peace.

America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore, America starts the search for peace.

Material used in
preparing Chicago
spuck —

THE WHITE HOUSE

From ~~Franklin D.~~ SEP 21 9 23 AM '37

RECEIVED

Hyde Park

Oronoque
Stockbridge
Mass.

Sept. 18/37.

Dear Mr. President:-

Inclosed you will find
two additional drafts for
possible use -

Faithfully
Norman H. Davis

War is a contagion. It can engulf states and peoples remote from the original scene of hostilities. However determined we may be to keep out of war and entrench ourselves behind barriers of the strictest neutrality, we can not insure ourselves against the disastrous effects of war and the dangers of involvement. We may, and will in so far as possible, adopt such measures as will minimize our risk of involvement in war but it is a fallacy to suppose that we can completely protect ourselves in a world of disorder, when the ordinary confidence between nations breaks down.

We must search for a wise and positive way in which peace may be established and cease to rely upon negative measures only. The positive way to peace lies in the re-assertion by all nations of those principles which are the basis of friendly and healthy intercourse between civilized states. There must be a restoration of trust between states, which has been shattered. There must be a more reasonable assurance that each state can live at peace with its neighbor and regulate its own life with the full expectation of peace. Most important of all, there must be the will for peace on the part of all states and the determination on their part that they will adopt such measures as will help to remove causes of conflict and persuade nations that may be tempted to violate their agreements and the rights of others, to desist from such a course. There must be positive endeavors to preserve peace.

Sept 17, 1937

In the welter of conflicting doctrines which battle for the modern world, there is a tendency to overlook one basic truth. This is that man, the human being, is the only tangible entity, the supreme end of society, the object for which the state was created by man, the being who determines the fate of the State. Man must not be treated as a thing. There can be no doctrine more false than that which relegates man to the status of a cell in the body politic and crushes him between the grinding stones of ^{and/or} abstract theories. Man was not made to be sacrificed to the theories of other men. He, the human being, is the only claimant to finality. Things involved in the term civilization exist only in so far as they are related to man.

*Man must not be subordinated to economics
(or sacrificed to power politics.)*

[Sept 16, 1937]
H.K.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
—
DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

For the President, from N. H. D.

Enclosed you will please find some suggested drafts for possible use by you, which I hope will serve the purpose you have in mind. I will send you one or two more suggestions ~~by Saturday~~ as they occur to me.

NHD

NHD:LF

It is my determination to pursue a policy of peace and to adopt every practicable measure to avoid involvement in war. It is accordingly a fixed policy of the United States not to intervene in the affairs of other nations and not to deny to others that same freedom and sovereign right which we demand for ourselves. We recognize, however, that if we are unable or unwilling to defend our rights and interests we will lose the respect of other nations and we will also lose our own self-respect.

This nation was dedicated to certain principles which our forebears considered to be of greater value than life itself and without which life would not be worth living. If the time ever comes when we are no longer willing or able to defend to the utmost of our ability the principles which are the foundation of freedom and progress we will sacrifice our great national heritage and will cease to have the vitality and stamina to keep this nation alive.

It is inconceivable that in this modern era and in the face of the experience that has been gained any nation could be so foolish and ruthless as to run the risk
of

of plunging the whole world into war by invading and violating, in contravention of solemn treaties, the territory of other nations that have done them no real harm and which are too weak to protect themselves adequately, and yet the peace of the world and the welfare and security of every nation is today being threatened by a breakdown of international law and moral standards which have marked the progress of civilization.

No nation, however powerful, which refuses to exercise forbearance and to respect the freedom and rights of others can long remain strong and retain the confidence and respect of other nations. No nation ever loses its dignity or prestige by conciliating its differences with other nations and by exercising great patience with and consideration for the rights of other nations. The complexity of modern life is such that the most vital interest of every nation can best be served through wide cooperation between all nations. Those interests will inevitably suffer through conflict.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
at the dedication of the Outerlink Bridge
over the mouth of the Chicago River
Chicago, Illinois
October 5, 1937, 11.15 A.M., C.T.

MAYOR KELLY, GOVERNOR HORNER, MY FRIENDS IN CHICAGO:

(copy 1 Dr. from mimi.)

*and Harry
Hornor*
(second p.) I congratulate Chicago and Cook County on the opening of
this splendid bridge and of these thirty miles of lake front boule-
vard.

(Copy mim. with changes.)

HOLD FOR RELEASE ✓ T 2 - T 2 68 HOLD FOR RELEASE

CAUTION: This address of the President, to be made at the ceremonies marking the dedication of the Outerlink Bridge over the mouth of the Chicago River, Chicago, Ill., October 5th, 1937, is to be held for release upon delivery, expected about 11:15 A.M., Central Time.
PLEASE GUARD AGAINST PREMATURE RELEASE.

M. E. McENTIRE
Secretary to the President.

I am glad to come once again to Chicago and especially to have the opportunity of taking part in the dedication of this important project of civic betterment.

On my trip across the continent and back I have been shown many evidences of the result of common-sense cooperation between municipalities and the Federal Government, and I have been greeted by tens of thousands of Americans who have told me in every look and word that their material and spiritual well-being has made great strides forward in the past few years.

And yet, as I have seen with my own eyes, the prosperous farms, the thriving factories and the busy railroads -- as I have seen the happiness and security and peace which covers our wide land, almost inevitably I have been compelled to contrast our peace with very different scenes being enacted in other parts of the world.

It is because the people of the United States ^(under modern conditions) under modern conditions must, for the sake of their own future, give thought to the rest of the world, that I, as the responsible executive head of the Nation, have chosen this great inland city and this gain occasion to speak to you on a subject of definite national importance.

The political situation in the world, which of late has been growing progressively worse, is such as to cause grave concern and anxiety to all the peoples and nations who wish to live in peace and amity with their neighbors.

Some fifteen years ago the hopes of mankind for a continuing era of international peace were raised to great heights when more than sixty nations solemnly pledged themselves not to resort to arms in furtherance of their national aims and policies. The high aspirations expressed in the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact and the hopes for peace thus raised have of late given way to a haunting fear of calamity. The present reign of terror and international lawlessness began a few years ago.

It began through unjustified interference in the internal affairs of other nations or the invasion of alien territory in violation of treaties, and has now reached a stage where the very foundations of civilization are seriously threatened. The landmarks and traditions which have marked the progress of civilization towards a condition of law, order and justice are being wiped away.

Without a declaration of war and without warning or justification of any kind civilians, including women and children, are being ruthlessly murdered with bombs from the air. In times of so-called peace ships are being attacked and sunk by submarines without cause or notice. Nations are fomenting and taking sides in civil warfare in nations that have never done them any harm. Nations claiming freedom for themselves deny it to others.

Innocent peoples, and nations are being cruelly sacrificed to a greed for power and supremacy which is devoid of all sense of justice and humane consideration.

STATEMENTS FILE
Shorthand By Kannee

To paraphrase a recent author "perhaps we foresee a time when men, exultant in the technique of homicide, will rage so hotly over the world that every precious thing will be in danger, every book and picture, and harmony, every treasure garnered through two milleniums, the small, the delicate, the defenseless -- all will be lost or wrecked or utterly destroyed."

If those things come to pass in other parts of the world, let no one imagine that America will escape, that ~~I~~ may expect mercy, that this Western Hemisphere will not be attacked and that it will continue tranquilly and peacefully to carry on the ethics and the arts of civilization.

If those days come "there will be no safety by arms, no help from authority, no answer in science. The storm will rage till every flower of culture is trampled and all human beings are leveled in a vast chaos."

If those days are not to come to pass -- if we are to have a world in which we can breathe freely and live in amity without fear --(the peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort to uphold laws and principles on which alone peace can rest secure.)

The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy, and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality.

Those who cherish their freedom and recognize and respect the equal rights of their neighbors to be free and live in peace, must work together for the triumph of law and moral principles in order that peace, justice and confidence may prevail ~~in~~ throughout the world. There must be a return to a belief in the pledged word, in the value of a signed treaty. There must be recognition of the fact that national morality is as vital as private morality.

A bishop wrote me the other day: "It seems to me that something greatly needs to be said in behalf of ordinary humanity against the present practice of carrying the horrors of war to helpless civilians, especially women and children. It may be that such a protest ~~might~~ be regarded by many, who claim to be realists, as futile, but may it not be that the heart of mankind is so filled with horror at the present needless suffering that that force could be mobilized in sufficient volume to lessen such cruelty in the days ahead. Even though it may take twenty years, which God forbid, for civilization to make effective its corporate protest against this barbarism, surely strong voices may hasten the day."

There is a solidarity and interdependence about the modern world, both technically and morally, which makes it impossible for any nation completely to isolate itself from economic and political upheavals in the rest of the world, especially when such upheavals appear to be spreading and not declining. There ~~is~~ the possibility of peace either within nations or between nations except under laws and moral standards adhered to by all. International anarchy destroys every foundation for peace. It jeopardizes either the immediate or the future security ~~and~~ of every nation, large or small. It is, therefore, a matter of vital interest and concern to the people of the United States that the sanctity of international treaties and the maintenance of international morality be restored.

The overwhelming majority of the peoples and nations of the world today want to live in peace. They seek the removal of barriers against trade. They want to exert themselves in industry, in agriculture and in business, that they may increase their wealth through the production of wealth-producing

goods rather than striving to produce military planes and bombs and machine guns and cannon for the destruction of human lives and useful property.

In those nations of the world which seem to be piling armament on armament for purposes of aggression, and those other nations which fear acts of aggression against them and their security, a very high proportion of their national income is being spent directly for armaments. It runs from thirty to as high as fifty per cent. ~~in most of these cases~~

To the unfortunate The proportion that we in the United States spend is far less — eleven or twelve per cent.

How happy we are that the circumstances of the moment permit us to put our money into bridges and boulevards, dams and reforestation, the conservation of our soil and many other kinds of useful works rather than into huge standing armies and vast supplies of implements of war. *(Nevertheless)*

Nevertheless, my friends I am compelled and you are compelled, ~~and~~ *nevertheless*, to look ahead. The peace, the freedom, ~~and~~ the security of ninety per cent of the population of the world is being jeopardized by the remaining ten per cent who are threatening a breakdown of all international order and law. Surely the ninety per cent who want to live in peace under law and in accordance with moral standards that have received almost universal acceptance through the centuries, can and must find some way to make their will prevail.

Yes, The situation is definitely of universal concern. The questions involved relate not merely to violations of specific provisions of particular treaties; they are questions of war and peace, of international law and especially of principles of humanity. It is true that they involve definite violations of agreements, and especially of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Briand-Kellogg Pact and the Nine Power Treaty. But they also involve problems of world economy, world security and world humanity. *also*

*And we bring to this
agreed with the
last time.* It is true that the moral consciousness of the world must recognize the importance of removing injustices and well-founded grievances; but at the same time it must be aroused to the cardinal necessity of honoring sanctity of treaties, of respecting the rights and liberties of others and of putting an end to acts of international aggression.

It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading.

And many that will! When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease.

It is my determination to pursue a policy of peace ~~and~~ *and* to adopt every practicable measure to avoid involvement in war. *It* ought to be inconceivable that in this modern era, and in the face of experience, any nation could be so foolish and ruthless as to run the risk of plunging the whole world into war by invading and violating in contravention of solemn treaties, the territory of other nations that have done them no real harm and which are too weak to protect themselves adequately. Yet the peace of the world and the welfare and security of every nation is today being threatened by that very thing.

No nation which refuses to exercise forbearance and to respect the freedom and rights of others can long remain strong

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and retain the confidence and respect of other nations. No nation ever loses its dignity or good standing by conciliating its differences, and by exercising great patience with, and consideration for, the rights of other nations.

War is a contagion, whether it be declared or undeclared. It can engulf states and peoples remote from the original scene of hostilities. We are determined to keep out of war, yet we cannot insure ourselves against the disastrous effects of war and the dangers of involvement. We are adopting such measures as will minimize our risk of involvement but we cannot have complete protection in a world of disorder in which confidence and security have broken down.

If civilization is to survive the principles of the Prince of Peace must be restored. Shattered trust between nations must be revived.

Most important of all, the will for peace on the part of peace-loving nations must express itself to the end that nations that may be tempted to violate their agreements and the rights of others will desist from such a cause. There must be positive endeavors to preserve peace.

It is America's
America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace.

* * * * *

מִזְבֵּחַ תְּבִיבָה

בְּשָׂרֶבֶת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ

מִזְבֵּחַ תְּבִיבָה

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SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,
OCTOBER 5, 1937.

I am glad to come once again to Chicago and especially to have the opportunity of taking part in the dedication of this important project of civic betterment.

On my trip across the continent and back I have been shown many evidences of the result of common sense cooperation between municipalities and the Federal Government, and I have been greeted by tens of thousands of Americans who have told me in every look and word that their material and spiritual well-being has made great strides forward in the past few years.

And yet, as I have seen with my own eyes, the prosperous farms, the thriving factories and the busy railroads -- as I have seen the happiness and security and peace which covers our wide land, almost inevitably I have been compelled to contrast our peace with very

different scenes being enacted in other parts of the world.

It is because the people of the United States under modern conditions must, for the sake of their own future, give thought to the rest of the world, that I, as the responsible executive head of the Nation, have chosen this great inland city and this gala occasion to speak to you on a subject of definite national importance.

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Nations are fomenting and taking sides in civil warfare in nations that have never done them any harm. Nations claiming freedom for themselves deny it to others.

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To paraphrase a recent author "perhaps we foresee a time when men, exultant in the technique of homicide, will rage so hotly over the world that every precious thing will be in danger, every book and picture and harmony, every treasure garnered through two milleniums, the small, the delicate, the defenseless -- all will be lost or wrecked or utterly destroyed."

If those things come to pass in other parts of the world, let no one imagine that America will escape, that it may expect mercy, that this Western Hemisphere will not be attacked and that it will continue tranquilly and peacefully to carry on the ethics and the arts of civilization.

If those days come "there will be no safety by arms, no help from authority, no answer in science. The storm will rage till every flower of culture is trampled and all human beings are leveled in a vast chaos."

If those days are not to come to pass -- if we are to have a world in which we can breathe freely and live in amity without fear -- the peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort to uphold laws and principles on which alone peace can rest secure.

The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality.

Those who cherish their freedom and recognize and respect the equal right of their neighbors to be free and live in peace, must work together for the triumph of law and moral principles in order that peace, justice and

confidence may prevail in the world. There must be a return to a belief in the pledged word in the value of a signed treaty. There must be recognition of the fact that national morality is as vital as private morality.

A Bishop wrote me the other day: "It seems to me that something greatly needs to be said in behalf of ordinary humanity against the present practice of carrying the horrors of war to helpless civilians, especially women and children. It may be that such a protest might be regarded by many, who claim to be realists, as futile, but may it not be that the heart of mankind is so filled with horror at the present needless suffering that that force could be mobilized in sufficient volume to lessen such cruelty in the days ahead. Even though it may take twenty years, which God forbid, for civilization to make effective its corporate protest against this barbarism, surely strong voices may hasten the day."

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The overwhelming majority of the peoples and nations of the world today want to live in peace. They seek the removal of barriers against trade. They want to exert themselves in industry, in agriculture and in business,

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The situation is definitely of universal concern. The questions involved relate not merely to violations of specific provisions of particular treaties: they are questions of war and of peace, of international law and especially of principles of humanity. It is true that they involve definite violations of agreements, and especially of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Briand-Kellogg Pact and the Nine Power Treaty. But they also involve problems of world economy, world security and world humanity.

It is true that the moral consciousness of the world must recognize the importance of removing injustices and well-founded grievances; but at the same time it must be aroused to the cardinal necessity of honoring sanctity of treaties, of respecting the rights and liberties of others and of putting an end to acts of international aggression.

It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading.

When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease.

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center original

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It is true that the moral consciousness of the world must recognize the importance of removing injustices and well-founded grievances; but at the same time it must be aroused to the cardinal necessity of honoring sanctity of treaties, of respecting the rights and liberties of others and of putting an end to acts of international aggression.

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No nation which refuses to exercise forbearance and to respect the freedom and rights of others can long remain strong and retain the confidence and respect of other nations. No nation ever loses its dignity or good standing by conciliating its differences, and by exercising great patience with, and consideration for, the rights of other nations.

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Most important of all, the will for peace on the part of peace-loving nations must express itself to the end that nations that may be tempted to violate their agreements and the rights of others will desist from such a cause. There must be positive endeavors to preserve peace.

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