
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. 1168

1938 August 18

**Kingston, Ontario, Canada –
Address at Queens University**

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
QUEENS UNIVERSITY
KINGSTON, ONTARIO, CANADA
AUGUST 18, 1938

MISTER CHANCELLOR, MISTER PRIME MINISTER, MY NEW FOUND
ASSOCIATES OF QUEENS UNIVERSITY:

To the pleasure of being once more on Canadian soil;
where I have passed so many of the happy hours of my life,
there is added today a very warm sense of gratitude for
being admitted to the fellowship of this ancient and famous
university. I am glad to join the brotherhood which ~~this~~ *Queens*
university has contributed and is contributing not only to
the spiritual leadership for which the college was established,
but also to the social and public leadership in the civilized
life of Canada.

An American President is precluded by our Constitution
from accepting any title from a foreign Prince ^{potentate} or power.
Queens University is not a Prince ^{or potentate} but it is a power. Yet I
can say, without constitutional reserve, that the acceptance
of the title which you confer on me today would raise no
qualms in the august breast of ^{the} ~~my~~ own Supreme Court.

Civilization is not national -- it is international -- even though that observation -- trite to most of us, is today challenged in some parts of the world. Ideas are not limited by territorial borders; they are the common inheritance of all free people. Thought is not anchored in any land; and the profit of education redounds to the equal benefit of the whole world. That is one form of free trade to which the leaders of every opposing political party can subscribe.

In a large sense we in the Americas stand charged today with the maintaining of that tradition. When, speaking recently in similar vein in the Republic of Brazil, I included the Dominion of Canada in the fellowship of the Americas, our South American neighbors gave hearty acclaim. We in the Americas know the sorrow and the wreckage which may follow if the ability of men to understand each other is rooted out from among the nations.

Many of us here today know from experience that of all the devastations of war none is more tragic than the destruction which it brings to the processes of men's minds. Truth is denied

because emotion pushes it aside. Forebearance is succeeded by bitterness. In that atmosphere human thought cannot advance.

It is impossible not to remember that for years when Canadians and Americans have met they have light-heartedly saluted as North American friends, with ~~some~~^{little} thought of dangers from overseas. Yet ~~today~~ we are awake to the knowledge that the casual assumption of our greetings in earlier times ^{today} must become a matter for serious thought.

A few days ago a whisper, fortunately untrue, raced round the world that armies standing over against each other in unhappy array were to be set in motion. In a few short hours the effect of that whisper had been registered in Montreal and New York, in Ottawa and in Washington, in Toronto and in Chicago, in Vancouver and in San Francisco. Your business men and ours felt it alike; your farmers and ours heard it alike; your young men and ours wondered what effect this might have on their lives.

We in the Americas are no longer a far away continent, to which the eddies of controversies beyond the seas could bring no interest or no harm. Instead, we in the Americas have become a consideration to every propaganda office and to every general staff beyond the seas. The vast amount of our resources, the vigor of our commerce and the strength of our men have made us vital factors in world peace whether we choose or not.

Happily, you and we, in friendship and in entire understanding, can look clear-eyed at these possibilities, resolving to leave no pathway unexplored and no technique undeveloped which may, if our hopes are realized, contribute to the peace of the world. Even if those hopes are disappointed, we can assure each other that this hemisphere at least shall remain a strong citadel wherein civilization can flourish unimpaired.

The Dominion of Canada is ^{part of} ~~an asset~~ in the sisterhood of the British Empire. ~~That is as it should be.~~ I give to you

assurance that the people of the United States will ^{not stand} ~~never~~ ^{idly by if} ~~Canadian~~ ^{Canadian} is threatened ~~domination of your soil by any other Empire.~~

We as good neighbors are true friends because we maintain our own rights with frankness, because we refuse to accept the twists of secret diplomacy, because we settle our disputes by consultation and because we discuss our common problems in the spirit of the common good. We seek to be scrupulously fair and helpful not only in our relations with each other but each of us at home in our relations with our own people.

But there is one process which we certainly cannot change and probably ought not to change. This is the feeling which ordinary men and women have about events which they can understand. We cannot prevent our people from having an opinion in regard to wanton brutality, in regard to undemocratic regimentation, in regard to misery inflicted on helpless peoples, or in regard to violations of accepted individual rights. All that any government, constituted as is yours and mine, can possibly undertake is to help make sure that the facts are known and fairly stated. No country where thought is free can prevent every fireside and home within its borders from considering the evidence for itself

Speech File #1168

5-18-58

Queen's Univ. Speech

Reading Copy

and rendering its own verdict; and the sum total of these conclusions of educated men and women will, in the long run, become the national verdict.

That is what we mean when we say that public opinion ultimately governs policy. It is right and just that this should be the case.

Many of our ancestors came to Canada and the United States because they wished to break away from systems which forbade them to think freely and their descendants have insisted on the right to know the truth -- to argue their problems to a majority decision, and, if they remained unconvinced, to disagree in peace. As a tribute to our likeness in that respect, I note that the Bill of Rights in your country and in mine is substantially the same.

Mr. Chancellor, you of Canada who respect the educational tradition of our democratic continent will ever maintain good neighborship in ideas as we in the public service hope and propose to maintain it in the field of government and of foreign relations. My good

friend, the Governor General, in receiving an honorary degree in June at that university at Cambridge, Massachusetts, to which Mackenzie King and I both belong, suggested that we cultivate three qualities to keep our foothold in the shifting sands of the present -- humility, humanity and humor. All three of them, imbedded in education, build new spans to reestablish free intercourse throughout the world and bring forth an order in which free nations can live in peace.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Orig. reading copy

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada
August 18, 1938, 11.15 A.M.

MISTER CHANCELLOR, MISTER PRINCIPAL, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, MR. PRIME
MINISTER, MY NEW FOUND ASSOCIATES OF QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY:

To the pleasure of being once more on Canadian soil where I
have passed so many (of the) happy hours of my life, there is added
today a very warm sense of gratitude for being admitted to the fellow-
ship of this ancient and famous University. I am glad to join the
brotherhood which Queen's has contributed and is contributing not only
to the spiritual leadership for which the college was established, but
also to the social and public leadership in the civilized life of Canada.

An American President, as many of you are aware, is precluded
by our Constitution from accepting any title from a foreign Prince,
potentate or power. Queen's University is not a Prince or a potentate
but, assuredly, it is a power. (Applause) Yet, in spite of that, I
can say, without constitutional reserve, that the acceptance of the
title which you confer on me today would raise no qualms in the august
breast of our own Supreme Court. (Laughter)

Civilization, after all, is not national -- it is internation-
al -- even though that observation -- trite as it is to most of us, (is
today) seems to be challenged in some parts of the world today. Ideas
are not limited by territorial borders; they are the common inheritance
of all free people. Thought is not anchored in any land; and the profit
of education redounds to the equal benefit of the whole world. That is
one form of free trade to which the leaders of every opposing political
party can subscribe. (Applause)

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

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

In a large sense we in the Americas stand charged today with the maintaining of that tradition. When, speaking (recently) a little over a year ago in a similar vein in the Republic of Brazil, I included the Dominion of Canada in the fellowship of the Americas, our South American neighbors gave hearty acclaim. (Applause) And we in all the Americas know the sorrow and the wreckage which may follow if the ability of men to understand each other is rooted out from among the nations.

Many of us here today know from experience that of all the devastations of war none is more tragic than the destruction which it brings to the processes of men's minds. Truth is denied because emotion pushes it aside. Forbearance is succeeded by bitterness. In that atmosphere human thought cannot advance.

It is impossible not to remember that for years when Canadians and Americans have met they have lightheartedly saluted as North American friends, (without) with little thought of dangers from overseas. Yet we are awake to the knowledge that the casual assumption of our greetings in earlier times today must become a matter for serious thought.

A few days ago a whisper, fortunately untrue, raced round the world that armies standing over against each other in unhappy array were about to be set in motion. In a few short hours the effect of that whisper had been registered in Montreal and New York, in Ottawa and in Washington, in Toronto and in Chicago, in Vancouver and in San Francisco. Your businessmen and ours felt it alike; your farmers and ours heard it alike; your young men and ours wondered what effect this might have on their lives.

We in the Americas are no longer a far away continent, to which the eddies of controversies beyond the seas could bring no interest

or no harm. Instead, we in the Americas have become a consideration to every propoganda office and to every general staff beyond the seas. The vast amount of our resources, the vigor of our commerce and the strength of our men have made us vital factors in world peace whether we choose it or not.

Happily, you and we, in friendship and in entire understanding, can look clear-eyed at these possibilities, resolving to leave no pathway unexplored, (and) no technique undeveloped which may, if our hopes are realized, contribute to the peace of the world. Even if those hopes are disappointed, we can assure each other that this hemisphere at least shall remain a strong citadel wherein civilization can flourish unimpaired. (Applause)

The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other Empire. (Prolonged applause)

We as good neighbors are true friends because we maintain our own rights with frankness, because we refuse to accept the twists of secret diplomacy, because we settle our disputes by consultation and because we discuss our common problems in the spirit of the common good. We seek to be scrupulously fair, (and) to be helpful not only in our relations with each other but each of us at home in our relations with our own people.

But there is one process which we certainly cannot change and probably ought not to change. This is the feeling which ordinary men and women have about events which they can understand. We cannot prevent our people on either side of the border from having an opinion

in regard to wanton brutality, in regard to undemocratic regimentation, in regard to misery inflicted on helpless peoples, or in regard to violations of accepted individual rights. All that any government constituted as is yours and mine, can possibly undertake is to help make sure that the facts are known and fairly stated. No country where thought is free can prevent every fireside and every home within its borders from considering the evidence for itself and rendering its own verdict; and the sum total of these conclusions of educated men and women will, in the long run, rightly become the national verdict.

(Applause)

So, that is what we mean when we say that public opinion ultimately governs policy. It is right and just that this should be the case.

Many of our ancestors, your ancestors and mine and, by the way, I have loyalist blood in my veins too (applause) -- our ancestors came to Canada and the United States because they wished to break away from systems which forbade them to think freely and their descendants have insisted on the right to know the truth -- to argue their problems to a majority decision, and, if they remained unconvinced, to disagree in peace. As a tribute to our likeness in that respect, I note that the Bill of Rights in your country and in mine is substantially the same. (Applause)

Mr. Chancellor, you of Canada who respect the educational tradition of our democratic continent will ever maintain good neighborhood in ideas as we in the public service hope and propose to maintain it in the field of government and of foreign relations. My good friend, the Governor General of Canada, in receiving an honorary degree in June

at that University at Cambridge, Massachusetts, to which Mackenzie King and I both belong, (laughter and applause) suggested that we cultivate three qualities to keep our foothold in the shifting sands of the present -- the three qualities of humility, humanity and humor. (Applause) (All three of them) I have been thinking in terms of a bridge which is to be dedicated this afternoon and so I could not help coming to the conclusion that all of these three qualities, humility, humanity and humor, imbedded in education, build new spans to reestablish free intercourse throughout the world and bring forth an order in which free nations can live in peace. (Prolonged applause)

STATEMENTS FILE

Shorthand By Kannee

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CAUTION: This address of the President, to be delivered at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, is to be held for release upon delivery, expected about 11.15 A.M. Eastern Daylight Saving Time, Thursday, August 18, 1938.

PLEASE GUARD AGAINST PREMATURE RELEASE.

M. H. MCINTYRE,
Secretary to the President.

MISTER CHANCELLOR, MISTER ~~PRIME MINISTER~~ *of Canada*
MY NEW FOUND ASSOCIATES OF QUEENS UNIVERSITY:

To the pleasure of being once more on Canadian soil where I have passed so many ~~of my~~ happy hours of my life, there is added today a very warm sense of gratitude for being admitted to the fellowship of this ancient and famous university. I am glad to join the brotherhood which Queens has contributed and is contributing not only to the spiritual leadership for which the college was established, but also to the social and public leadership in the civilized life of Canada.

An American President is precluded by our Constitution from accepting any title from a foreign Prince, or power. Queens University is not a Prince, ^{or power} but it is a power. Yet I can say, without constitutional reserve, that the acceptance of the title which you confer on me today would raise no qualms in the august breast of our own Supreme Court.

Civilization is not national -- it is international -- even though that observation -- trite to most of us, is today challenged in some parts of the world. Ideas are not limited by territorial borders; they are the common inheritance of all free people. Thought is not anchored in any land; and the profit of education redounds to the equal benefit of the whole world. That is one form of free trade to which the leaders of every opposing political party can subscribe.

In a large sense we in the Americas stand charged today with the maintaining of that tradition. When, speaking recently in a similar vein in the Republic of Brazil, I included the Dominion of Canada in the fellowship of the Americas, our South American neighbors gave hearty acclaim. We in the Americas know the sorrow and the wreckage which may follow if the ability of men to understand each other is rooted out from among the nations.

Many of us here today know from experience that of all the devastations of war none is more tragic than the destruction which it brings to the processes of men's minds. Truth is denied because emotion pushes it aside. Forebearance is succeeded by bitterness. In that atmosphere human thought cannot advance.

It is impossible not to remember that for years when Canadians and Americans have met they have light-heartedly saluted as North American friends, without thought of dangers from overseas. Yet

we are awake to the knowledge that the casual assumption of our greetings in earlier times today must become a matter for serious thought.

A few days ago a whisper, fortunately untrue, raced round the world that armies standing over against each other in unhappy array were to be set in motion. In a few short hours the effect of that whisper had been registered in Montreal and New York, in Ottawa and in Washington, in Toronto and in Chicago, in Vancouver and in San Francisco. Your business men and ours felt it alike; your farmers and ours heard it alike; your young men and ours wondered what effect this might have on their lives.

We in the Americas are no longer a far away continent, to which the eddies of controversies beyond the seas could bring no interest or no harm. Instead, we in the Americas have become a consideration to every propaganda office and to every general staff beyond the seas. The vast amount of our resources, the vigor of our commerce and the strength of our men have made us vital factors in world peace whether we choose or not.

Happily, you and we, in friendship and in entire understanding, can look clear-eyed at these possibilities, resolving to leave no pathway unexplored ~~and~~ no technique undeveloped which may, if our hopes are realized, contribute to the peace of the world. Even if those hopes are disappointed, we can assure each other that this Hemisphere at least shall remain a strong citadel wherein civilization can flourish unimpaired. (L)

The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other Empire. (L) (V)

We as good neighbors are true friends because we maintain our own rights with frankness, because we refuse to accept the twists of secret diplomacy, because we settle our disputes by consultation and because we discuss our common problems in the spirit of the common good. We seek to be scrupulously fair ~~and~~ helpful not only in our relations with each other but each of us at home in our relations with our own people.

But there is one process which we certainly cannot change and probably ought not to change. This is the feeling which ordinary men and women have about events which they can understand. We cannot prevent our people from having an opinion in regard to wanton brutality, in regard to undemocratic regimentation, in regard to misery inflicted on helpless peoples, or in regard to violations of accepted individual rights. All that any government, constituted as is yours and mine, can possibly undertake is to help make sure that the facts are known and fairly stated. No country where thought is free can prevent every fireside and home within its borders from considering the evidence for itself and rendering its own verdict; and the sum total of these conclusions of educated men and women will, in the long run, become the national verdict. (C)

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Many of our ancestors came to Canada and the United States because they wished to break away from systems which forbade them to think freely and their descendants have insisted on the right to know the truth -- to argue their problems to a majority decision, and, if they remained unconvinced, to disagree in peace. As a tribute to our likeness in that respect, I note that the Bill of Rights in your country and in mine is substantially the same. (C)

Mr. Chancellor, you of Canada who respect the educational tradition of our democratic continent will ever maintain good neighborship in ideas as we in the public service hope and propose to maintain it in the field of government and of foreign relations. My good friend, the Governor General, in receiving an honorary degree in June at that university at Cambridge, Massachusetts, to which Mackenzie King and I both belong, suggested that we cultivate three qualities to keep our foothold in the shifting sands of the present -- humility, humanity and humor. ~~All three of them~~, imbedded in education, build new spans to reestablish free intercourse throughout the world and bring forth an order in which free nations can live in peace. (C) (V)

Handwritten notes and signatures at the bottom of the page, including a large scribble and the date "July 1, 1946".

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Mr. Chancellor, Principal and graduates of Queen's University,
and friends:

I am deeply sensitive of the honor that Queen's University has bestowed upon me. But I find it fitting to remember that the significance of an honorary degree lies not in the personal distinction which it confers upon the recipient but in the impersonal recognition which it symbolizes of human and cultural values. It represents not simply a personal tie between the giver and recipient of the degree but a bond of moral and intellectual fellowship.

It symbolizes in my case not my private virtues but the public virtues and high ideals to which you men and women of Queen's University are devoted and in which you find a precious bond of fellowship between your country and mine.

The bond of fellowship which unites our neighboring countries is not the bond of any one religion or of any one race. It is rather a magnet which draws the finest qualities of a common humanity from men and women gathered together from many different countries and differing widely among themselves in religious belief.

The magnet which has drawn these finest qualities from the descendents of men and women who felt themselves restricted or neglected or unwanted in their former homelands was the prospect of liberty. The men and women who built your dominions and the men and women who built the American Republic did not aspire to rule over the destinies of other men and women. They wanted to live their own lives and they recognized the rights of their neighbors to do likewise. Their philosophy of life, which is our philosophy of life, has been nobly expressed by one of the greatest prophets of the western world, Mr. Justice Holmes, in these words: "When men have realized that time has upset many fighting faiths, they may come to believe even more than they believe the very foundations of their own character that the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas - that the best test of truth is the power of thought to get itself accepted in the completion of the market, and that truth is the only ground upon which their wishes can be safely carried out.

It is that view of life that has made it possible for the people of the United States without regard to their racial origins or

religious beliefs to find peace among themselves. It is that view of life that has made it possible for the people of Canada without regard to their racial origins or religious beliefs to find peace among themselves.

The internal peace which we have found and which you have found, has not been meaningless or empty. It has come not from the strong overpowering the weak or the good yielding to the evil. On the contrary it has been a peace which has given constructive scope to the diversified talents and skills of all elements in our population.

We have learned that a nation may be enriched by the diversity of its human as well as its material resources. We rejoice that in the solution of our internal problems we have had to take ^{account} into the thinking and feeling of men and women with different historical associations and backgrounds. That experience has not only taught us the wisdom of tolerance but has given us a much broader understanding of human values. We have learned that differences among peoples do not denote inferiority or superiority and that the fabric of civilized

living may be strengthened and enriched by their presence.

It is a distinguishing characteristic of the development of our two nations that each nation has drawn strength and vitality from the diverse origins of its peoples. In both countries, different racial and religious groups pride themselves not upon what they have wrested from the nation but what they have given to the nation.

This Queen's University, for example, was founded by the Synod of the Presbyterian Church a little over a hundred years ago. But the Presbyterian Church has always taken pride in the University as a national rather than sectarian institution, and in 1912 the Church willingly gave up the last vestige of its control ^{over the University} to the nation.

Neighboring peoples, nurtured in our traditions, trained to value rather than disparage one another's ideas and accomplishments, naturally have no fear or hatred of each other. We regard the strength and wellbeing of one as complementary ^{and} not antagonistic to the strength and wellbeing of the other.

We vie with one another not in fortifying our boundaries but in cultivating goodwill and understanding. We know that goodwill and understanding cannot be acquired by force of arms. We know that goodwill and understanding abroad like goodwill and understanding at home can be acquired only by a people who know what it is to be a good neighbor ^{at home} those who are not good neighbors at home, who do not respect the fundamental human rights of all who dwell within their own gates cannot expect to be trusted to respect the rights of those who dwell beyond their borders.

Let us continue to dedicate ourselves as good neighbors at home and abroad. If we do this, democracy and liberty will be safe at home. If we do this, we will at least by our example point the way to achieve peace and understanding abroad.

MEMORANDUM FOR SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT AT QUEENS UNIVERSITY,
KINGSTON, ONTARIO, CANADA.

Mr. Chancellor, Mr. Prime Minister, my friends in all countries.

To the pleasure of being once more on Canadian soil, where I have passed some of the happiest hours of my life, there is added today a very warm sense of gratitude at being admitted to the company of those who can claim the fellowship of a Canadian university. The tradition of Queens University is one which may fairly be said to be peculiarly North American. Here at Queens, as in the case of most of our own older universities, the motive which in large measure dominated its education was a desire to assure an educated group from which leadership, material and spiritual, could be expected. Preachers bearing the title "pastor and teacher" went out from these colleges to give to our continent that splendid and inclusive quality of education which is peculiarly the tradition of our continent. In time a like training was asked of our leaders in material and political matters as well. This university has contributed, and today

contributes

contributes its alumni, not only to the great cure of souls for which it was established, but also to the public life and to the government of Canada. Due to their efforts, democratic civilization was carried from coast to coast and the frame of our countries is built upon it. I am glad to join that brotherhood.

It may be said without reserve that this is one comradeship which the head of any government may always accept freely in a country not his own. Civilization is not national. It is international. Ideas are not limited by territorial borders. They are the common inheritance of all free people. Thought is not anchored to any land; and the profit of education redounds to the equal benefit of the whole world.

If nothing else in a troubled world is to remain international, at least let us guard forever the tradition that there is a fellowship of educated men, a common currency of ideas and a common recognition of spiritual values which transcend all lines. It is especially fitting at this juncture of world affairs that we remember this.

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In a large sense we in the Americas stand charged today with maintaining that tradition. You know, as I do, that elsewhere it is threatened as misunderstandings, differences and diverse agonies, political and economic, tear at the structure of the world. You know, as I do, the sorrow and the wreckage which may follow if the ability of men to understand each other is rooted out from among the nations.

Yet I think I can claim to speak from experience. Of all the devastations of war, none is more tragic or more far-reaching than the destruction which it brings to the processes of men's minds. Truth is denied, because emotion will have it so. There is an end to that forbearance which precludes bitterness; the intellectual inheritance of the world is first partitioned, then corroded, and at length destroyed. It becomes necessary to believe falsehood; the men who seek the truth may even be pilloried as enemies. In that atmosphere human thought cannot advance. We must steadfastly resolve, therefore, that, in any event, on this continent at least, where

happily

happily good-neighborship rules, no tremor shall be allowed to shake the bases of our common civilization.

It is impossible not to remember that for years, when Canadians and Americans have met, they have light-heartedly saluted as North American friends, without thought of overseas danger. It is difficult to realize that the belief that we on this continent were immune from the major impact of forces on the other hemisphere is no longer true. Today we have to awake to the knowledge that the trite and casual assumption of our greetings in earlier times has now become a matter for anxious thought.

At this moment in several countries armies stand over against each other in unhappy array. A few days ago, the whisper, fortunately untrue, raced round the world that they were to be set in motion. In a few short hours the effect of that whisper had been registered in Montreal and in New York, in Ottawa and in Washington, in Toronto and in Chicago. Your businessmen and ours felt it alike,

your

your farmers and ours found that their standing crops had somehow changed in importance. Your young men and ours wondered what effect this might have on their lives.

Today the maintenance of our civilization has to be defended by something more than the mere existence of miles of ocean. It must be guarded beyond all else by our balance of mind and our strength of will. We are no longer a far away continent, to which the eddies of controversies beyond the seas may at long last bring some part of an international struggle. Instead, we have become a major consideration to every propaganda office and to every general staff. The vast amount of our resources, the vigor of our commerce and the strength of our men have made us vital factors whether we choose or not. A frontier incident, an outbreak of fear, or a rash decision taken in any of the continents of the eastern hemisphere may involve the western world in a train of circumstances whose result cannot be foreseen.

Happily you and we, in friendship and in entire understanding, can look clear-eyed at these possibilities,

resolving

resolving to leave no pathway unexplored and no technique undeveloped which may, if all hopes are realized, contribute to the peace of the world. Even if those hopes are disappointed, we can assure each other that this hemisphere at least shall remain a strong citadel wherein civilization can flourish unimpaired.

We here have our own homely ways of adjusting matters. Sometimes it is insisted that we lack international subtlety and finesse. For my part, I hope we do. All the world knows that our policy has been that of the good neighbor; that its good fellowship is open to everyone who desires to enter it; and that this good neighborship of itself implies a friendly straight-forwardness, an absence of double meaning, a refusal to accept the twists and turns of secret diplomacy or of secret understandings. We can make treaties with no suspicion that they are accompanied by unpublished articles; or that, by private understandings, additional obligations have been undertaken or promises made.

A treaty of trade is a treaty of trade; and nothing else. When we say we are glad that neighbors have settled a

difficult

difficult dispute, we mean exactly what we say. An agreement to consult means just that. If we condemn the bombing of open cities, we are only stating what our people think.

This is the way by which good neighbors get along. It allows them to maintain their own rights with frankness, to observe the rights of others with loyalty, and to offer cooperation, friendliness and help, without raising any suspicion of minding the other fellow's business. On this hemisphere we talk the same language. This frees us, perhaps, from some of the difficulties raised by balance of power diplomacy. It will, should occasion offer, permit us to discuss our common problems, no matter how great the crisis, so that neighbor may stand with neighbor. It may, perhaps, make it possible for us one day to set in motion a combined and powerful force for search for peace, no matter how troubled the world.

With you, as well as with us, -- as indeed, is the case in all countries where opinion is free -- foreign relations are largely determined by tides of public opinion.

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There is nothing complicated about it. As governments we can be scrupulously correct in our relations with all peoples. We can lean over backward in endeavoring to be tolerant, to be fair and to be helpful. But there is one process which we certainly cannot change and probably ought not to change. This is the feeling which ordinary men and women have about events which they can understand. We cannot prevent our people from having an opinion of wanton brutality where the facts are reasonably demonstrated. We cannot and you cannot stop individuals from passing their own moral judgments on barbarous methods of war, on misery inflicted on helpless peoples, on the builders of unnecessary armament, or on violations of accepted individual rights. All that any government, constituted as is yours and mine, can possibly undertake is to help make sure that the facts are known and fairly stated. No country where thought is free can prevent every fireside and home within its borders from considering the evidence for itself and rendering its own verdict; and the sum total of these conclusions will, in the long run, become the national verdict.

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This is what is meant when we say that public opinion ultimately governs policy. It is right and just that this should be the case. The pooled judgments of individuals which eventually determine action constitute the court of last resort and decisions so reached alone can bring independent nations into a common system of civilization. The best of neighbors cannot avoid having some opinion about his contemporaries; and a healthy respect for that opinion alone can keep a community from becoming a chaos. In that respect the community of nations does not differ greatly from the smaller communities in whose life we all take part.

I have sometimes wondered why that idea, which to you and to us seems so simple, is not always understood elsewhere. The answer undoubtedly is that neither of us has ever submitted to any dictation in our thought. When this continent was settled some three centuries ago, most of our ancestors came here precisely because they wished to break away from systems which forbade them to think freely and to make up their own minds. You and we are, in fact, the first great nations to come to maturity without ever having had the
experience

experience of authoritarianism.

It is true that efforts were made in earlier years, and in local areas to set up small regimes whose governing heads tried to tell people what they ought to think. They never lasted long, for the upstanding quality which our soil has produced invariably brought forth a considerable number of people who insisted on the right to argue it out, and to disagree, if they remained unconvinced. As an evidence of the fact that our people join in that common agreement and as a tribute to our likeness in that regard, I note the fact that the Bill of Rights in your country and in mine are substantially the same. In terms of foreign affairs, the result is that the government obeys the will of its people.

In consequence, my Government, in formulating foreign relations, must let the facts speak for themselves. Once the people have the evidence, they are apt to insist on their verdict. To governments who are interested in the results of that verdict, I can only say that the soundest appeal to democracies is the appeal to their justice, their reason,

their

their essential kindness and their common sense.

Mr. Chancellor, let me say that I hope that you, who represent the educational tradition of our democratic continent, will maintain that forthright good neighborhood in ideas, as we hope and propose to maintain it in the field of government and foreign relations. As long as our thought is free, and while the truth is known, our governments will be well guided, and the democratic ideal, which our two nations have so proudly upheld, will remain safe. From that freedom and truth, there flows a continuous regenerating force which can correct any mistakes we may make, and can lighten any darkness into which we may be led. Should we become affected by disturbances from overseas, or by influences seeking to bend the will of this continent to ideas and habits of thought not raised from North American soil, it will be for you and your colleagues in the United States to keep alive the current of ideas, which will eventually restore the self-reliant, democratic balance which is the foundation of our strength. Even should we, for a time, find that the foundations of the earth are out

of

of course, you must remind us that there is a common heritage, a common language, a common body of thought; and that these make up piers from which new spans can be built to reestablish free intercourse throughout the world, and to reset an order in which free nations can live in peace.