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

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

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**File No. 1215**

**1939 April 14**

**Pan American Day Address**

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT  
PAN AMERICAN DAY  
APRIL 14, 1939.

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The American family of nations pays honor today to the oldest and most successful association of sovereign governments which exists in the world.

Few of us realize that the Pan American organization as we know it has now attained a longer history and a greater catalogue of achievements than any similar group known to modern history. Justly we can be proud of it. With even more right we can look to it as a symbol of great hope at a time when much of the world finds hope dim and difficult. Never was it more fitting to salute Pan American Day than in the stormy present.

For upwards of half a century the Republics of the Western World have been working together to promote their common civilization under a system of peace. That venture, launched so hopefully fifty years ago, has succeeded; the

American family is today a great cooperative group facing a troubled world in serenity and calm.

This success of the Western Hemisphere is sometimes attributed to good fortune. I do not share that view. There are not wanting here all of the usual rivalries, all of the normal human desires for power and expansion, all of the commercial problems. The Americas are sufficiently rich to have been themselves the object of desire on the part of overseas governments; our traditions in history are as deeply rooted in the Old World as are those of Europe.

It was not accident that prevented South America, and our own West, from sharing the fate of other great areas of the world in the nineteenth century. We have here diversities of race, of language, of custom, of natural resources, and of intellectual forces at least as great as those which prevailed in Europe.

What was it that has protected us from the tragic involvements which are today making the Old World a new cockpit of old struggles? The answer is easily found. A new, and powerful ideal -- that of the community of nations -- sprang up at the same time that the Americas became free and independent. It was nurtured by statesmen, thinkers and plain people for decades. Gradually it brought together the Pan American group of governments; today it has fused the thinking of the peoples, and the desires of their responsible representatives toward a common objective.

The result of this thinking has been to shape a typically American institution. This is the Pan American group, which works in open conference, by open agreement. We hold our conferences not as a result of wars, but as the result of our will to peace.

Elsewhere in the world, to hold conferences such as ours, which meet every five years, it is necessary to fight a major war, until exhaustion or defeat at length brings governments together to reconstruct their shattered fabrics.

Greeting a conference at Buenos Aires in 1936, I took occasion to say:

"The madness of a great war in another part of the world would affect us and threaten our good in a hundred ways. And the economic collapse of any nation or nations must of necessity harm our own prosperity. Can we, the republics of the New World, help the Old World to avert the catastrophe which impends? Yes, I am confident that we can."

I still have that confidence. There is no fatality which forces the Old World towards new catastrophe. Men are not prisoners of fate, but only prisoners of their own minds. They have within themselves the power to become free at any moment.

Only a few days ago the head of a great nation referred to his country as a "prisoner" of the Mediterranean. A little later, another chief of state, on learning that a neighbor country had agreed to defend the independence of another neighbor, characterized that agreement as a "threat", and an "encirclement." Yet there is no such thing as encircling,

or threatening, or imprisoning any peaceful nation by other peaceful nations. We have reason to know this in our own experience.

For instance, on the occasion of a visit to the neighboring Dominion of Canada last summer, I stated that the United States would join in defending Canada were she ever attacked from overseas. Again at Lima, in December, the twenty-one American nations joined in a declaration that they would coordinate their common efforts to defend the integrity of their institutions from any attack direct or indirect.

At Buenos Aires, in 1936, all of us agreed that in the event of any war or threat of war on this continent we would consult together to remove or obviate that threat. Yet in no case did any American nation regard any of these understandings as making any one of them a "prisoner", or as "encircling" any American country, or as a threat of any sort or kind.

Measures of this kind taken in this hemisphere are taken as guarantees, not of war but of peace, for the simple reason that no nation on this hemisphere has any will to aggression, or any desire to establish dominance or mastery. Equally, because we are interdependent, and because we know it, no American nation seeks to deny any neighbor access to the economic and other resources which it must have to live in prosperity.

In these circumstances dreams of conquest appear to us as ridiculous as they are criminal. Pledges designed to prevent aggression, accompanied by the open doors of trade and intercourse, and bound together by common will to cooperate peacefully, make warfare between us as outworn and useless as the weapons of the Stone Age. We may proudly boast that we have begun to realize in Pan American relations what civilization in intercourse between countries really means.

If that process can be successful here, is it too much to hope that a similar intellectual and spiritual process may succeed elsewhere? Do we really have to assume that nations can find no better methods of realizing their destinies than those which were used by the Huns and Vandals fifteen hundred years ago?

The American peace which we celebrate today has no quality of weakness in it. We are prepared to maintain it, and to defend it to the fullest extent of our strength, matching force to force if any attempt is made to subvert our institutions, or to impair the independence of any one of our group.

Should the method of attack be that of economic pressure, I pledge that my own country will also give economic support, so that no American nation need surrender any fraction of its sovereign freedom to maintain its economic welfare. This is the spirit and intent of the Declaration of Lima: the solidarity of the continent.

The American family of nations may also rightfully claim, now, to speak to the rest of the world. We have an interest, wider than that of the mere defense of our sea-ringed continent. We know now that the development of the next generation will so narrow the oceans separating us from the Old World, that our customs and our actions are necessarily involved with hers.

Beyond question, within a scant few years air fleets will cross the ocean as easily as today they cross the closed European seas. Economic functioning of the world becomes increasingly a unit; no interruption of it anywhere can fail, in the future, to disrupt economic life everywhere.

The past generation in Pan American matters was concerned with constructing the principles and the mechanisms through which this hemisphere would work together. But the next generation will be concerned with the methods by which the New World can live together with the Old.

The issue is really whether our civilization is to be dragged into the tragic vortex of unending militarism punctuated by periodic wars, or whether we shall be able to maintain the ideal of peace, individuality and civilization as the fabric of our lives. We have the right to say that there shall not be an organization of world affairs which permits us no choice but to turn our countries into barracks, unless we are to be vassals of some conquering empire.

The truest defense of the peace of our hemisphere must always lie in the hope that our sister nations beyond the seas will break the bonds of the ideas which constrain them toward perpetual warfare. By example we can at least show them the possibility. We, too, have a stake in world affairs.

Our will to peace can be as powerful as our will to mutual defense; it can command greater loyalty, devotion and discipline than that enlisted elsewhere for temporary conquest or equally futile glory. It will have its voice in determining the order of world affairs.

This is the living message which the New World can  
send to the Old. It can be light opening on dark waters.  
It shows the path of peace.

Franklin Roosevelt

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Original reading copy

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
Before the Governing Board of the Pan American Union  
Pan American Building, Washington, D. C.  
Pan American Day, April 14, 1939, 11:00 A. M.

GENTLEMEN OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION:

I am glad to come here today on our Pan American forty-ninth birthday.

The American family of nations pays honor today to the oldest and most successful association of sovereign governments (which) that exists in all the world.

Few of us realize that the Pan American organization as we know it has now attained a longer history and a greater catalogue of achievements than any similar group known to modern history. Justly we can be proud of it. With even more right we can look to it as a symbol of great hope at a time when much of the world finds hope dim and difficult. Never was it more fitting to salute Pan American Day than in the stormy present.

For upwards of half a century the Republics of the Western World have been working together to promote their common civilization under a system of peace. That venture, launched so successfully and hopefully fifty years ago, has succeeded; the American family is today a great cooperative group facing a troubled world in serenity and calm.

This success of the Western Hemisphere is sometimes attributed to good fortune. I do not share that view. There are not wanting here all of the usual rivalries, all

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.

~~MAINTAIN THE INTEGRITY OF THE GOVERNMENT~~

values toward every American to reflect ourselves and  
ourselves to ourselves. Differences from the people all of  
which are like us in some way (which) we have  
ourselves reflected not yet reflect on to us  
as one would expect a sensible man and if you will go back  
you will find that many Americans do expect  
it to succeed and we discuss (which) comes at about  
last; so today's is as it is now and no doubt with new men  
but still equal merit there and to some men and a few equal  
men and others of yourself whom at one level (which)  
comes before all else and now  
and to ourselves and you're a man to whom not  
the economy or budget which need stand behind us now  
and now to make a better life for all  
and the great will (which) has differences on balance  
economics being a value of which we have our  
men for whom it is the budget a great duty  
and a great responsibility to the economy and  
we must stand for all the great body of Americans and  
the welfare laws out to the great majority for the stand

of the normal human desires for power and expansion, all of the commercial problems. The Americas are sufficiently rich to have been themselves the object of desire on the part of overseas governments; our traditions in history are as deeply rooted in the Old World as are those of Europe.

It was not accident that prevented South America, and our own West, from sharing the fate of other great areas of the world in the nineteenth century. We have here diversities of race, of language, of custom, of natural resources, and of intellectual forces at least as great as those which prevailed in Europe.

What was it then that has protected us from the tragic involvements which are today making the Old World a new cockpit of old struggles? The answer is easily found. A new, and powerful ideal -- that of the community of nations -- sprang up at the same time that the Americas became free and independent. It was nurtured by statesmen and thinkers and plain people for (decades) many generations. Gradually it brought together the Pan American group of governments; today it has fused the thinking of the peoples, and the desires of their responsible representatives toward a common objective.

The result of this thinking through all these years has been to shape a typically American institution. This is the Pan American group, which works in open conference,

by open agreement. And we hold our conferences not as a result of wars, but as the result of our will to peace.

Elsewhere in the world, to hold conferences such as ours, which meet every five years, it is necessary to fight a major war, until exhaustion or defeat at length brings governments together to reconstruct their shattered fabrics.

Greeting a conference at Buenos Aires in 1936, I took occasion to say this:

"The madness of a great war in another part of the world would affect us and threaten our good in a hundred ways. And the economic collapse of any nation or nations must of necessity harm our own prosperity. Can we, the republics of the New World, help the Old World to avert the catastrophe which impends? Yes, I am confident that we can."

And now, two and a half years later, I still have that confidence. There is no fatality which forces the Old World towards new catastrophes. Men are not prisoners of fate, but only prisoners (of) in their own minds. They have within themselves the power to become free at any moment.

Only a few days ago the head of a great nation referred to his country as a "prisoner" (of) in the Mediterranean. A little later, another chief of state, on learning that a neighbor country had agreed to defend the independence of another neighbor, characterized that agreement as a "threat", (and) as an "encirclement." Yet there is no such thing as (encircling) encirclement, or threatening, or

imprisoning any peaceful nation by other peaceful nations. We have reason to know (this) that in our own experience.

For instance, on the occasion of a visit to the neighboring Dominion of Canada last summer, I stated that the United States would join in defending Canada were she ever attacked from overseas. And again at Lima, in December last, the twenty-one American nations joined in a declaration that they would coordinate their common efforts to defend the integrity of their institutions from any attack, direct or indirect.

At Buenos Aires, in 1936, all of us agreed that in the event of any war or threat of war on this continent we would consult together to remove or to obviate that threat. Yet in no case did any American nation regard any of these understandings as making any one of them a "prisoner", or as "encircling" any American country, or as a threat of any sort or kind.

Measures of this kind taken in this hemisphere are taken as guarantees, not of war but of peace, for the simple reason that no nation on this hemisphere has any will to aggression, or any desire to establish dominance or mastery. Equally, because we are interdependent, and because we know it, no American nation seeks to deny any neighbor access to the economic and other resources which it must have to live in prosperity.

In these circumstances, my friends, dreams of con-

quest appear to us as ridiculous as they are criminal. Pledges designed to prevent aggression, accompanied by the open doors of trade and intercourse, and bound together by common will to cooperate peacefully, make warfare between us as outworn and useless as the weapons of the Stone Age. We may proudly boast that we have begun to realize in Pan American relations what civilization in intercourse between countries really means.

If that process can be successful here, is it too much to hope that a similar intellectual and spiritual process may succeed elsewhere? Do we really have to assume that nations can find no better methods of realizing their destinies than those which were used by the Huns and the Vandals fifteen hundred years ago?

The American peace which we celebrate today has no quality of weakness in it! We are prepared to maintain it, and to defend it to the fullest extent of our strength, matching force to force if any attempt is made to subvert our institutions, or to impair the independence of any one of our group.

Should the method of attack be that of economic pressure, I pledge that my (own) country will also give economic support, so that no American nation need surrender any fraction of its sovereign freedom to maintain its economic welfare. (This) That is the spirit and intent of the Declaration of Lima: the solidarity of the continent.

The American family of nations may also rightfully claim, now, to speak to the rest of the world. We have an interest, wider than that of the mere defense of our sea-ringed continent. We know now that the development of the next generation will so narrow the oceans separating us from the Old World, that our customs and our actions are necessarily involved with hers, whether we like it or not.

Beyond question, within a few scant (few) years air fleets will cross the ocean as easily as today they cross the closed European seas. Economic functioning of the world becomes (increasingly) therefore necessarily a unit; no interruption of it anywhere can fail, in the future, to disrupt economic life everywhere.

The past generation in Pan American matters was concerned with constructing the principles and the mechanisms through which this hemisphere would work together. But the next generation will be concerned with the methods by which the New World can live together in peace with the Old.

The issue is really whether our civilization is to be dragged into the tragic vortex of unending militarism punctuated by periodic wars, or whether we shall be able to maintain the ideal of peace, individuality and civilization as the fabric of our lives. We have the right to say that there shall not be an organization of world affairs which permits us no choice but to turn our countries into barracks, unless we are to be the vassals of some conquering empire.

Yes, the truest defense of the peace of our hemisphere must always lie in the hope that our sister nations beyond the seas will break the bonds of the ideas (which) that constrain them towards perpetual warfare. By example we can at least show them the possibility. We, too, have a stake in world affairs.

And our will to peace can be as powerful as our will to mutual defense; it can command greater loyalty, greater devotion, (and) greater discipline than that enlisted elsewhere for temporary conquest or equally futile glory. It will have its voice in determining the order of world affairs in the days to come.

This, gentlemen, is the living message which the New World can and does send to the Old. It can be light opening on dark waters. And it shows the path of peace.

*Enter*

STATEMENTS FILE

#10

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

Before the Governing Board of the Pan American Union  
Pan American Building, Washington, D. C.  
Pan American Day, April 14, 1939, 11.00 A.M.

GENTLEMEN OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION:

I am glad to come here today on our Pan American forty-ninth birthday.

## STATEMENTS FILE

HOLD FOR RELEASEHOLD FOR RELEASEHOLD FOR RELEASE

April 14, 1939

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**CAUTION:** This address of the President, to be broadcast on Pan American Day, before the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, MUST BE HELD IN CONFERENCE UNTIL BROADCAST.

**NOTE:** Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER than 11:00 A.M., E.S.T., April 14, 1939.

**CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.**

STEPHEN EARLY  
Secretary to the President

*(double space)*  
*carefully read*

The American family of nations pays honor today to the oldest and most successful association of sovereign governments ~~which exists in the world~~.

Few of us realize that the Pan American organization as we know it has now attained a longer history and a greater catalogue of achievements than any similar group known to modern history. Justly we can be proud of it. With even more right we can look to it as a symbol of great hope at a time when much of the world finds hope dim and difficult. Never was it more fitting to salute Pan American Day than in the stormy present.

*~21~*  
*carefully read*

For upwards of half a century the Republics of the Western World have been working together to promote their common civilization under a system of peace. That venture, launched ~~so~~ hopefully fifty years ago, has succeeded; the American family is today a great cooperative group facing a troubled world in serenity and calm.

This success of the Western Hemisphere is sometimes attributed to good fortune. I do not share that view. There are not wanting here all of the usual rivalries, all of the normal human desires for power and expansion, all of the commercial problems. The Americas are sufficiently rich to have been themselves the object of desire on the part of overseas governments; our traditions in history are as deeply rooted in the Old World as are those of Europe.

It was not accident that prevented South America, and our own West, from sharing the fate of other great areas of the world in the nineteenth century. We have here diversities of race, of language, of custom, of natural resources, and of intellectual forces at least as great as those which prevailed in Europe.

*(double) (most important)*  
*~22~*

What was it that has protected us from the tragic involvements which are today making the Old World a new cockpit of old struggles? The answer is easily found. A new, and powerful ideal -- that of the community of nations -- sprang up at the same time that the Americas became free and independent. It was nurtured by statesmen, thinkers and plain people ~~for decades~~. Gradually it brought together the Pan-American group of governments; today it has fused the thinking of the peoples, and the desires of their responsible representatives toward a common objective.

*through all these years*  
*~23~*

*Anch*

The result of this thinking has been to shape a typically American institution. This is the Pan American group, which works in open conference, by open agreement. We hold our conferences not as a result of wars, but as the result of our will to peace.

elsewhere in the world, to hold conferences such as ours, which meet every five years, it is necessary to fight a major war, until exhaustion or defeat at length brings governments together to reconstruct their shattered fabrics.

Greeting a conference at Buenos Aires in 1936, I took occasion to say, *[unclear]*:

"The madness of a great war in another part of the world would affect us and threaten our good in a hundred ways. And the economic collapse of any nation or nations must of necessity harm our own prosperity. Can we, the republics of the New World, help the Old World to avert the catastrophe which impends? Yes, I am confident that we can."

*Handwritten note:* "I still have that confidence. There is no fatality which forces the Old World towards new catastrophe. Men are not prisoners of fate, but only prisoners of their own minds. They have within themselves the power to become free at any moment." *(107) 1st*

Only a few days ago the head of a great nation referred to his country as a "prisoner" ~~of~~ the Mediterranean. A little later, another chief of state, on learning that a neighbor country had agreed to defend the independence of another neighbor, characterized that agreement as a "threat", ~~and an~~ "encirclement." Yet there is no such thing as encircling, or threatening, or imprisoning any peaceful nation by other peaceful nations. We have reason to know ~~this~~ *in our own experience.* *(This) that*

For instance, on the occasion of a visit to the neighboring Dominion of Canada last summer, I stated that the United States would join in defending Canada were she ever attacked from overseas. *With* At Lima, in December *last*, the twenty-one American nations joined in a declaration that they would coordinate their common efforts to defend the integrity of their institutions from any attack, direct or indirect.

At Buenos Aires, in 1936, all of us agreed that in the event of any war or threat of war on this continent we would consult together to remove or obviate that threat. Yet in no case did any American nation regard any of these understandings as making any one of them a "prisoner", or as "encircling" any American country, or as a threat of any sort or kind.

Measures of this kind taken in this hemisphere are taken as guarantees, not of war but of peace, for the simple reason that no nation on this hemisphere has any will to aggression, or any desire to establish dominance or mastery. Equally, because we are interdependent, and because we *know* it, no American nation seeks to deny any neighbor access to the economic and other resources which it must have to live in prosperity. *With friends,*

In these circumstances dreams of conquest appear to us as ridiculous as they are criminal. Pledges designed to prevent aggression, accompanied by the open doors of trade and intercourse, and bound together by common will to cooperate peacefully, make warfare between us as outworn and useless as the weapons of the Stone Age. We may proudly boast that we have begun to realize in Pan American relations what civilization in intercourse between countries really means.

If that process can be successful here, is it too much to hope that a similar intellectual and spiritual process may succeed elsewhere? Do we really have to assume that nations can find no better methods of realizing their destinies than those which were used by the Huns and Vandals fifteen hundred years ago?

The American peace which we celebrate today has no quality of weakness in it. We are prepared to maintain it, and to defend it to the fullest extent of our strength, matching force to force if any attempt is made to subvert our institutions, or to impair the independence of any one of our group.

Should the method of attack be that of economic pressure, I pledge that my country will also give economic support, so that no American nation need surrender any fraction of its sovereign freedom to maintain its economic welfare. This is the spirit and intent of the Declaration of Lima: the solidarity of the continent.

*(K) (L)* The American family of nations may also rightfully claim, now, to speak to the rest of the world. We have an interest, wider than that of the mere defense of our sea-ringed continent. We know now that the development of the next generation will so narrow the oceans separating us from the Old World, that our customs and our actions are necessarily involved with hers.

*(K) (L)* Beyond question, within a scant few years air fleets will cross the ocean as easily as today they cross the closed European seas. Economic functioning of the world becomes *increasingly* a unit; no interruption of it anywhere can fail in the future, to disrupt economic life everywhere.

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*(yes)* The truest defense of the peace of our hemisphere must always lie in the hope that our sister nations beyond the seas will break the bonds of the ideas *(which)* constrain them toward perpetual warfare. By example we can at least show them the possibility. We, too, have a stake in world affairs.

*(And)* Our will to peace can be as powerful as our will to mutual defense; it can command greater loyalty, *(and)* devotion, discipline than that enlisted elsewhere for temporary conquest or equally futile glory. It will have its voice in determining the order of world affairs.

*(And)* This is the living message which the New World can send to the Old. It can be light opening on dark waters. It shows the path of peace.

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ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

April 5, 1939.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Enclosed is a memorandum which might be used in preparing the Pan American Day speech. C.H. and S.W. concur.

The reference to European encirclement on page 3 of this draft might have to be reconsidered if on April 14 the European situation has changed for the worse -- as it looks now probably it will.

*ASly*

A-B AAB:LJL

Memorandum: Pan American Day Speech.

The American family of nations pays honor today to the oldest and most successful association of sovereign governments which exists in the world. ~~F~~ew of us realize that the Pan American organization as we know it has now attained a longer history and a greater catalogue of achievements than any similar group known to modern history. Justly we can be proud of it. With even more right we can look to it as a symbol of great hope at a time when much of the world finds hope dim and difficult. Never was it more fitting to salute Pan American Day than in the stormy present.

For more than half a century twenty-one governments established their intent to work together for the strength of their common civilization under a system of peace. That venture has succeeded; the American family is today a great cooperative group facing a troubled world in serenity and calm.

~~F~~ This success of the Western Hemisphere is sometimes attributed to good fortune. I do not share that view. There are not wanting here all of the usual rivalries, all of the normal human desires for power and expansion, all of the commercial problems. The Americas are sufficiently rich to have been themselves the object of desire on the part of overseas governments;

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our traditions in history are as deeply rooted in the Old World as are those of Europe.<sup>F</sup> It was not accident that prevented South America, and our own West, from sharing the fate of other great areas of the world in the nineteenth century. We have here diversities of race, of language, of custom, of natural resources, and of intellectual forces at least as great as those which prevailed in Europe.

<sup>F</sup> What was it that has protected us ~~in the main~~ from the tragic involvements which are today making the Old World a new cockpit of old struggles? The answer is easily found. A new, and powerful ideal -- that of the community of nations -- sprang up at the same time that the Americas became free and independent. It was nurtured by statesmen, thinkers and plain people for decades. Gradually it brought together the Pan American group of governments; today it has fused the thinking of the peoples, and the desires of their responsible representatives toward a common objective.

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to hold conferences such as ours, which meet every five years, it is necessary to fight a major war, until exhaustion or defeat at length brings governments together to reconstruct their shattered fabrics.

*P* Greeting ~~the~~ a conference at Buenos Aires in 1936, I took occasion to say:

*P* "The madness of a great war in another part of the world would affect us and threaten our good in a hundred ways. And the economic collapse of any nation or nations must of necessity harm our own prosperity. Can we, the republics of the New World, help the Old World to avert the catastrophe which impends? Yes, I am confident that we can."

*P* I still have that confidence. There is no fatality which forces the Old World towards new catastrophe. Men are not prisoners of fate, but only prisoners of their own minds. They have within themselves the power to become free at any moment.

*P* Only a few days ago the head of a great nation referred to his country as a "prisoner" of the Mediterranean. A little later, another chief of state, on learning that a neighbor country had agreed to defend the independence of another neighbor, characterized that agreement as a "threat", and an "encirclement". Yet there is no such thing as encircling, or threatening, or imprisoning any peaceful nation by other peaceful nations. We have reason to know this in our own experience.

For instance, on the occasion of a visit to the neighboring Dominion of Canada last summer, I stated that the United States would join in defending Canada were she ever attacked<sup>from outside</sup>. Again at Lima, in December, the twenty-one American nations joined in a declaration that they would coordinate their common efforts to defend the integrity of their institutions from any attack direct or indirect. At Buenos Aires, in 1936, all of us had agreed that in the event of any war or threat of war on this continent we would consult together to remove or obviate that threat. Yet in no case did any American nation regard any of these understandings as making any one of them a "prisoner", or as "encircling" any American country, or as a threat of any sort or kind. Measures of this kind taken in this hemisphere are taken as guarantees, not of war but of peace, for the simple reason that no nation on this hemisphere has any will to aggression, or any desire to establish dominance or mastery. Equally, because we are interdependent, and because we know it, no American nation seeks to deny any neighbor access to the economic and other resources which it must have to live in prosperity. In these circumstances dreams of conquest appear to us as ridiculous as they are criminal. Pledges designed to prevent aggression, accompanied by

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*between us*  
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*P*If that process can be successful here, is it too much to hope that a similar intellectual and spiritual process may succeed elsewhere? Do we really have to assume that nations can find no better methods of realizing their destinies than those which were used  
*Here and abroad*  
by the ~~Goths~~ 1,500 years ago?

*P*The American peace which we celebrate today has no quality of weakness in it. We are prepared to maintain it, and to defend it to the fullest extent of our strength, matching force to force if any attempt is made to subvert our institutions, or to impair the independence of any one of our group.*P* Should the method of attack be that of economic pressure, I pledge that my own country will also give economic support, so that no American nation need surrender any fraction of its sovereign freedom to maintain its economic welfare. This is the spirit and intent of the Declaration of Lima: the solidarity of the continent.

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The American family of nations may also rightfully claim, now, to speak to the rest of the world. We have an interest, wider than that of the mere defense of our sea-ringed continent. We know now that the development of the next generation will so narrow the oceans separating us from the Old World, that our customs and our actions are necessarily involved with hers. Beyond question, within a scant few years air fleets will cross the ocean as easily as today they cross the closed European seas. Economic functioning of the world becomes increasingly a unit; no interruption of it anywhere can fail, in the future, to disrupt economic life everywhere. The past generation in Pan American matters was concerned with constructing the principles and the mechanisms through which this hemisphere should work together. But the next generation will be concerned with the methods by which the New World can live together with the Old. The issue is really whether our civilization is to be dragged into the tragic vortex of unending militarism punctuated by periodic wars, or whether we shall be able to maintain the ideal of peace, individuality and civilization as the fabric of our lives. We have the right to say that there shall not be an organization of world affairs which permits us no choice but to turn our countries

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*Just & only draft.*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*Ed*  
April 14, 1939

PLS:

Mr. Early says to take up with the broadcasting companies an extention of the request for the President's time on the radio Monday, April 17th, beginning at 6:00 to 6:15 to 6:00 to 6:30 o'clock.

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April 14, 1959

CAUTION: This address of the President, to be broadcast  
on Pan American Day, before the Governing Board of the  
Pan American Union, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE UNTIL RELEASED.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on  
the streets NOT EARLIER than 11:00 A. M., E.S.T., April 14, 1959.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY  
Secretary to the President

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SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

PAN AMERICAN DAY

APRIL 14, 1939.

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The American family of nations pays honor today to the oldest and most successful association of sovereign governments which exists in the world.

Few of us realize that the Pan American organization as we know it has now attained a longer history and a greater catalogue of achievements than any similar group known to modern history. Justly we can be proud of it. With even more right we can look to it as a symbol of great hope at a time when much of the world finds hope dim and difficult. Never was it more fitting to salute Pan American Day than in the stormy present.

For upwards of half a century the Republics of the Western World have been working together to promote their common civilization under a system of peace. That venture, launched so hopefully fifty years ago, has succeeded; the

American family is today a great cooperative group facing a troubled world in serenity and calm.

This success of the Western Hemisphere is sometimes attributed to good fortune. I do not share that view. There are not wanting here all of the usual rivalries, all of the normal human desires for power and expansion, all of the commercial problems. The Americans are sufficiently rich to have been themselves the object of desire on the part of overseas governments; our traditions in history are as deeply rooted in the Old World as are those of Europe.

It was not accident that prevented South America, and our own West, from sharing the fate of other great areas of the world in the nineteenth century. We have here diversities of race, of language, of custom, of natural resources, and of intellectual forces at least as great as those which prevailed in Europe.

What was it that has protected us from the tragic involvements which are today making the Old World a new cockpit of old struggles? The answer is easily found. A new, and powerful ideal -- that of the community of nations -- sprang up at the same time that the Americas became free and independent. It was nurtured by statesmen, thinkers and plain people for decades. Gradually it brought together the Pan American group of governments; today it has fused the thinking of the peoples, and the desires of their responsible representatives toward a common objective.

The result of this thinking has been to shape a typically American institution. This is the Pan American group, which works in open conference, by open agreement. We hold our conferences not as a result of wars, but as the result of our will to peace.

Elsewhere in the world, to hold conferences such as ours, which meet every five years, it is necessary to fight a major war, until exhaustion or defeat at length brings governments together to reconstruct their shattered fabrics.

Greeting a conference at Buenos Aires in 1936, I took occasion to say:

"The madness of a great war in another part of the world would affect us and threaten our good in a hundred ways. And the economic collapse of any nation or nations must of necessity harm our own prosperity. Can we, the republics of the New World, help the Old World to avert the catastrophe which impends? Yes, I am confident that we can."

I still have that confidence. There is no fatality which forces the Old World towards new catastrophes. Men are not prisoners of fate, but only prisoners of their own minds. They have within themselves the power to become free at any moment.

Only a few days ago the head of a great nation referred to his country as a "prisoner" of the Mediterranean. A little later, another chief of state, on learning that a neighbor country had agreed to defend the independence of another neighbor, characterized that agreement as a "threat", and an "encirclement." Yet there is no such thing as encircling,

or threatening, or imprisoning any peaceful nation by other peaceful nations. We have reason to know this in our own experience.

For instance, on the occasion of a visit to the neighboring Dominion of Canada last summer, I stated that the United States would join in defending Canada were she ever attacked from overseas. Again at Lima, in December, the twenty-one American nations joined in a declaration that they would coordinate their common efforts to defend the integrity of their institutions from any attack direct or indirect.

At Buenos Aires, in 1936, all of us agreed that in the event of any war or threat of war on this continent we would consult together to remove or obviate that threat. Yet in no case did any American nation regard any of these understandings as making any one of them a "prisoner", or as "encircling" any American country, or as a threat of any sort or kind.

Measures of this kind taken in this hemisphere are taken as guarantees, not of war but of peace, for the simple reason that no nation on this hemisphere has any will to aggression, or any desire to establish dominance or mastery. Equally, because we are interdependent, and because we know it, no American nation seeks to deny any neighbor access to the economic and other resources which it must have to live in prosperity.

In these circumstances dreams of conquest appear to us as ridiculous as they are criminal. Pledges designed to prevent aggression, accompanied by the open doors of trade and intercourse, and bound together by common will to cooperate peacefully, make warfare between us as outworn and useless as the weapons of the Stone Age. We may proudly boast that we have begun to realize in Pan American relations what civilization in intercourse between countries really means.

If that process can be successful here, is it too much to hope that a similar intellectual and spiritual process may succeed elsewhere? Do we really have to assume that nations can find no better methods of realizing their destinies than those which were used by the Huns and Vandals fifteen hundred years ago?

The American peace which we celebrate today has no quality of weakness in it. We are prepared to maintain it, and to defend it to the fullest extent of our strength, matching force to force if any attempt is made to subvert our institutions, or to impair the independence of any one of our group.

Should the method of attack be that of economic pressure, I pledge that my own country will also give economic support, so that no American nation need surrender any fraction of its sovereign freedom to maintain its economic welfare. This is the spirit and intent of the Declaration of Lima: the solidarity of the continent.

The American family of nations may also rightfully claim, now, to speak to the rest of the world. We have an interest, wider than that of the mere defense of our sea-ringed continent. We know now that the development of the next generation will so narrow the oceans separating us from the Old World, that our customs and our actions are necessarily involved with hers.

Beyond question, within a scant few years air fleets will cross the ocean as easily as today they cross the closed European seas. Economic functioning of the world becomes increasingly a unit; no interruption of it anywhere can fail, in the future, to disrupt economic life everywhere.

The past generation in Pan American matters was concerned with constructing the principles and the mechanisms through which this hemisphere would work together. But the next generation will be concerned with the methods by which the New World can live together with the Old.

The issue is really whether our civilization is to be dragged into the tragic vortex of unending militarism punctuated by periodic wars, or whether we shall be able to maintain the ideal of peace, individuality and civilization as the fabric of our lives. We have the right to say that there shall not be an organization of world affairs which permits us no choice but to turn our countries into barracks, unless we are to be vassals of some conquering empire.

The truest defense of the peace of our hemisphere must always lie in the hope that our sister nations beyond the seas will break the bonds of the ideas which constrain them toward perpetual warfare. By example we can at least show them the possibility. We, too, have a stake in world affairs.

Our will to peace can be as powerful as our will to mutual defense; it can command greater loyalty, devotion and discipline than that enlisted elsewhere for temporary conquest or equally futile glory. It will have its voice in determining the order of world affairs.

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It shows the path of peace.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TODAY PLEDGED THE UNITED STATES' ECONOMIC SUPPORT AND TO MATCH "FORCE TO FORCE" IF NECESSARY IN DEFENDING WESTERN HEMISPHERE NATIONS AGAINST FOREIGN AGGRESSION.

4/14--R1101A

ADD ROOSEVELT SPEECH

HE SPOKE BEFORE THE GOVERNING BOARD OF THE PAN-AMERICAN UNION IN PARTICIPATION IN PAN-AMERICAN DAY. FOR THIS OCCASION THE PRESIDENT TOOK THE ROLE OF SPOKESMAN FOR THE WEST IN A BOLD VETO AGAINST DICTATORIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE WORLD.

MR. ROOSEVELT INDIRECTLY DEFENDED THE EUROPEAN FRONT DEVELOPING UNDER FRENCH AND BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MANEUVERS TO ERECT BARRIERS AGAINST FURTHER GERMAN OR ITALIAN EXPANSION ON THE CONTINENT. HIS ADDRESS BRISTLED WITH DETERMINATION TO DEFEND THIS COUNTRY'S INSTITUTIONS AND TO HELP WESTERN NEIGHBORS DEFEND THEMSELVES.

BUT THE PRESIDENT SAID HE STILL WAS CONFIDENT THE NEW WORLD COULD HELP THE OLD AVERT DISASTER.

"THERE IS NO FATALITY," HE SAID, "WHICH FORCES THE OLD WORLD TOWARDS NEW CATASTROPHE. MEN ARE NOT PRISONERS OF FATE, BUT ONLY PRISONERS OF THEIR OWN MINDS."

HIS WORDS, APPARENTLY INVITING THE PLAIN PEOPLE OF TOTALITARIAN STATES TO "BREAK THEIR BONDS," WERE BROADCAST AS HE UTTERED THEM AND ARE BEING TRANSLATED FOR SHORT WAVE DELIVERY IN SIX LANGUAGES.

MR. ROOSEVELT REMINDED ALL MEN THAT "THEY HAVE WITHIN THEMSELVES THE POWER TO BECOME FREE AT ANY TIME."

CARRYING THAT THOUGHT FURTHER, HE SAID:

"THE TRUEST DEFENSE OF THE PEACE OF OUR HEMISPHERE MUST ALWAYS LIE IN THE HOPE THAT OUR SISTER NATIONS BEYOND THE SEAS WILL BREAK THE BONDS OF THE IDEAS WHICH CONSTRAIN THEM TOWARD PERPETUAL WARFARE. BY EXAMPLE, WE CAN AT LEAST SHOW THEM THE POSSIBILITY. WE, TOO, HAVE A STAKE IN WORLD AFFAIRS."

HE IGNORED THE RISING GUMULT OF CONGRESSIONAL PROTEST AGAINST HIS EARLIER FORBODINGS OF WAR AND PRONOUNCEMENTS OF POLICY, SHARPLY REMINDING AMERICANS AND THE WORLD AT LARGE THAT ANOTHER GENERATION WILL SEE AIR FLEETS SPAN THE OCEANS "AS EASILY AS TODAY THEY CROSS THE CLOSED EUROPEAN SEA."

HE RECALLED HIS PROMISE OF LAST SUMMER THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD DEFEND THE DOMINION OF CANADA AGAINST ATTACK FROM OVERSEAS AND MADE HIS COMMITMENT IN DEFENSE OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE MORE EMPHATIC IN THIS LANGUAGE:

"THE AMERICAN PEACE WHICH WE CELEBRATE TODAY HAS NO QUALITY OF WEAKNESS IN IT. WE ARE PREPARED TO MAINTAIN AND TO DEFEND IT TO THE FULLEST EXTENT OF OUR STRENGTH, MATCHING FORCE TO FORCE IF ANY ATTEMPT IS MADE TO SUBVERT OUR INSTITUTIONS OR TO IMPAIR THE INDEPENDENCE OF ANY ONE OF OUR GROUP."

"SHOULD THE METHOD OF ATTACK BE THAT OF ECONOMIC PRESSURE, I PLEDGE THAT MY OWN COUNTRY WILL ALSO GIVE ECONOMIC SUPPORT, SO THAT NO AMERICAN NATION NEED SURRENDER ANY FRACTION OF ITS SOVEREIGN FREEDOM TO MAINTAIN ITS ECONOMIC WELFARE. THIS IS THE SPIRIT AND INTENT OF THE DECLARATION OF LIMA: THE SOLIDARITY OF A CONTINENT."

4/14--R1108A

REP. HAMILTON FISH SAID OF THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH: "IT WOULD BE WELL FOR THE EUROPEAN NATIONS BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE TO UNDERSTAND THAT PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT NOT ONLY HAS NO POWER TO DECLARE WAR BUT HAS NO POWER TO DETERMINE AGGRESSOR NATIONS OR TO QUARANTINE THEM BY ECONOMIC SANCTIONS OR ARMED FORCE. CONGRESS STILL IS THE FINAL ARBITER OF WAR AND PEACE IN SPITE OF ALL THE WAR MONSERING FROM THE WHITE HOUSE. I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT ONE THIRD OF CONGRESS HAS ANY SYMPATHY FROM THE PROVOCATIVE AND INFLAMMATORY PROPAGANDA THAT HAS BEEN EMANATING DAILY FROM THE WHITE HOUSE. IT IS THE DUTY OF ALL AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO WANT TO STAY OUT OF FOREIGN WARS TO WRITE THEIR REPRESENTATIVES AND SENATORS AND EXPRESS THEIR SENTIMENTS IN NO UNCERTAIN LANGUAGE. PRESIDENT WILSON TRIED TO KEEP US OUT OF WAR WHEREAS PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT IS AN INTERVENTIONIST AND BELIEVES THAT HE HAS BEEN ANOINTED BY PROVIDENCE TO QUARANTINE AND POLICE THE WORLD WITH AMERICAN BLOOD AND TREASURE."

4/14 0N1235P

SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER ENDORSED PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S PAN AMERICAN SPEECH.

"WHAT THE PRESIDENT IS TRYING TO DO," SAID PEPPER, "IS TO FEEL OUR WAY ALONG TO SOME METHOD FOR COOPERATION IN THE MAINTENANCE OF WORLD ORDER AND WORLD PEACE, SO AS NOT TO INVOLVE THIS NATION AND THIS GENERATION IN THE TRAGIC CONSEQUENCES OF ANOTHER WAR.

HE HAS MADE CLEAR THAT THE AMERICAN DREAM OF DOMESTIC LIBERTY, FREEDOM AND PEACE WHICH WAS BORN AT ONE TIME IN OUR HISTORY MAY FURNISH THE WORLD AN INSPIRATION THAT WE MAY ATTAIN LIBERTY, FREEDOM AND PEACE IN WORLD AFFAIRS AND AS NATIONS.

"WE ARE TRYING TO FIND THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO AVOID WAR AND PRESERVE THE PEACE."

REP. JAMES P. RICHARDS SAID: "I AGREE WITH EVERY WORD HE SAID ABOUT OUR POSITION AS TO THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE. WE SHOULD DEFEND THIS HEMISPHERE AGAINST ANYONE AND ANY NATION ANYWHERE. BUT WHEN IT COMES TO TELLING ANY EUROPEAN NATION OR PEOPLE WHAT THEY SHOULD DO OR HOW THEY SHOULD BE GOVERNED, I THINK HE MADE A MISTAKE AND I DON'T AGREE WITH THAT PART OF HIS SPEECH. THE LESS ANY PRESIDENT OR ANY AMERICAN SAYS ABOUT THE POLICIES OR GOVERNMENTS IN EUROPE, THE BETTER IT IS FOR THE UNITED STATES."

4/14 ON1257P

ADD ROOSEVELT SPEECH COMMENT

REP. JOHN M. VORYS: THE TWING THAT SHOCKED ME WAS THE APPARENT INVITATION TO PEOPLE ABROAD TO REVOLUTION--THROW OFF YOUR MASTERS--AND AN IMPLICATION THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD HELP. INSO FAR AS THAT IMPLICATION IS CONCERNED, I THINK THE WORLD OUGHT TO KNOW THAT THE PRESIDENT IS BLUFFING."

REP. JAMES A. SHANLEY: "THE DECLARATION OF LIMA INDICATED A SOLID FRONT OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE. I THINK EVERYONE HERE AGREES THERE IS A SOLID FRONT ON THE PART OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONS OF THIS CONTINENT."

4/14--R122P