

May 10, 1940

[8thth Pan American Scientific Congress] (Constitution Hall, Washington, D.C.)

FDR Speech File

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
PAN AMERICAN SCIENTIFIC CONGRESS
MAY 10, 1940

FELLOW SERVANTS OF THE AMERICAS:

All of the men and women of this Pan American Scientific Congress have come here tonight with heavy hearts. During the past few years we have seen event follow event, each and every one of them a shock to our hopes for the peaceful development of modern

civilization. *This very day three more independent nations have been cruelly invaded by force of arms.*

In some human affairs the mind of man grows accustomed to unusual actions if they are oft repeated.

That is not so in the world happenings of today -- and

I am proud that it is not so. *I am glad that we are shocked and angered by the tragic news from Belgium and the*

The overwhelmingly greater part of the population *Netherlands and Luxemburg* of the world abhors conquest and war and bloodshed --

prays that the hand of neighbor shall not be lifted

against neighbor. The whole world has seen attack follow

threat on ~~so~~ ^{Very} many occasions and in ~~so~~ ^{Very} many places during

these later years, ~~when~~ ^{therefore} we have come to the reluctant conclusion that a continuance of these processes of arms ~~and~~ ^{is} presenting a definite challenge to the continuation of the type of civilization to which all of us in the three Americas have been accustomed ^{for generations.}

I use this Pan American Scientific Congress as one of many similar illustrations. It is no accident that this meeting takes place in the ~~New~~ World. In fact, this Hemisphere is now almost the only part of the earth in which such a gathering can take place. Elsewhere, war or politics has compelled teachers and scholars to leave their great calling and to become agents of destruction.

We, and most people in the world, believe in a civilization of construction and not of destruction. We, and most people in the world, believe that men and women have an inherent right to hew out the ~~pattern~~ ^{patterns} of their own individual lives, just so long as they as individuals do not harm their fellow beings. We call this by many synonymous terms -- individual liberty,

civil liberty, democracy.

Until now we ~~have been~~ ^{persuaded} permitted [^] by common consent to search for truth, to teach the truth as we see it -- and by learning a little here and a little there, and teaching a little here and a little there to allow the normal processes of truth to ^{Kiss} ^{is} ^g grow [^] for the well-being of our fellow men. In our search and in our teaching we are a part of a great adventure -- an exciting adventure -- which gives to us a larger satisfaction even than did the adventure of settling the Americas give to our Founding Fathers. We feel that we are building human progress by conquering disease and poverty and discomfort, and by improving science and culture, removing one by one the cruelty^{is}, the crudity^{is} and the barbarism^{is} of less civilized eras.

In contrast, in other parts of the world, teachers and scholars are not permitted to search for truth lest the truth when made known might not suit the designs of their masters. Too often they are not allowed to teach

the truth as they see it, for truth might make men free.

They become objects of suspicion if they speak ~~freely~~ *openly*,
if they show an interest in new truth, for their very
tongues and minds are supposed to be mobilized for other
ends.

This has not happened in the New World. God
willing, it shall not happen in the New World.

At the Pan American Conference at Buenos Aires,
and again at Lima, we discussed a dim and unpleasant
possibility. We feared that other Continents might
become so involved in wars brought on by the school of
destruction that the Americas might have to become the
guardian of Western culture, the protector of Christian
civilization.

In those days it was merely a fear. Today the
fear has become a fact.

The inheritance which we had hoped to share with every nation in the world is, for the moment, left largely in our keeping: and it is our compelling duty to guard and enrich that legacy, to preserve it for a world which must be reborn from the ashes of the present disaster.

Today we ~~have admitted~~ ^{to now} that until recent weeks too many citizens of the American Republic believed themselves wholly safe - physically, and ~~mentally and morally~~ ^{economically and socially} -- ₁ ~~safe~~ from the impact of the attacks on civilization which are in progress elsewhere. Perhaps this mistaken idea was based on the false teaching of geography -- the thought that a distance of several thousand miles from a war-torn Europe gave to us some form of mystic immunity which could never be violated.

Yet, speaking in terms of time-tables, in terms of the moving of men and guns and planes and bombs, every ~~part~~ ^{part} of the Americas from the Arctic to the Antarctic ^{is - every factor -} is closer to the homes of modern conquerors and the scenes of attacks in Europe than was the case in

historic efforts to dominate the world in by-gone centuries. From the point of view of conquests, it is a shorter distance from the center of Europe to Santiago de Chile than it was for the chariots of Alexander ^{to sell} from Macedonia to Persia. In modern terms it is a shorter distance from Europe to San Francisco than it was for the ships and legions of Caesar ^{to move} from Rome to Spain or Britain. Today it is four or five hours from the Continent of Africa to the Continent of South America, where it was four or five weeks for the armies of Napoleon to move from Paris to Rome or Paris to Poland.

You who are scientists may be told that you are responsible because of the processes of invention for the annihilation of time and space, but I assure you that it is not the scientists of the world who are responsible, because the objectives which you have had have looked toward closer and more peaceful relations between all nations through the spirit of cooperation and the interchange of knowledge. What has come about has been caused

solely by those who would use, and are using, your inventions of peace in a wholly different cause -- those who seek to dominate hundreds of millions of people in vast ~~land~~ ^{continental} areas -- ~~those~~ ^{those} who, if successful in that aim, will, we must now admit, enlarge their ~~own~~ ^{wild} dream to encompass every human being and every mile of the earth's surface.

The great achievements of science and even of art can be used to destroy as well as create; they are only instruments by which men try to do the things they most want to do. If death is desired, science can do that. If a full life is sought, science can do that also. Happily for us that question is solved -- for in the New World we live for each other and in the service of a Christian faith.

Is this ^{our solution} ~~the solution of the application of science~~ permanent or safe if it is solved for us alone? That it seems to me is the most immediate ~~danger~~ ^{issue} that the Americas face. Can we continue our peaceful construction if all the other Continents ~~are to be~~ ^{embrace by preference or by compulsion} under a wholly

different principle of life?

Surely it is time for our Republics to spread that problem before us in the cold light of day, to analyze it, to ask questions, to demand answers, to use every knowledge, every science we possess, to apply common sense, and especially to act with unanimity and singleness of purpose.

I am a pacifist. You, my fellow citizens of twenty-one American Republics, are pacifists.

But I believe that by overwhelming majorities you and I, in the long run and if it be necessary, will act together to protect and defend by every means our science, our culture, our freedom and our civilization.

*at our command -
protect
with force*

.....
Hamilton W. Johnson

Original reading copy .

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RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
In connection with the Eighth American Scientific Congress
Delivered from Constitution Hall, Washington, D. C.
May 10, 1940, 9.30 P. M., E. S. T.

MY FELLOW SERVANTS OF THE AMERICAS:

All (of) the men and women of this Pan American Scientific Congress have come here tonight, I think, with heavy hearts. During the past few years (we) you and I have seen event follow event, each and every one of them a shock, a shock to our hopes for the peaceful development of modern civilization as we know it. And this very day, the tenth of May 1940, this very day three more independent nations have been cruelly invaded by force of arms.

In some kinds of human affairs the mind of man (grows) becomes accustomed to unusual actions if (they are oft) those actions are often repeated. But that is not so in the world happenings of today -- and I am proud that it is not so. I am glad that we Americans of the three Americas are shocked (and), that we are angered by the tragic news that has come to us from Belgium and The Netherlands and Luxemburg. (Applause)

The overwhelmingly greater part of the population of the world abhors conquest and war and bloodshed -- it prays that the hand of neighbor shall not be lifted against neighbor. The whole world has seen attack follow threat on (so) very many occasions and in (so) very many places during these later years. We have come, therefore, to the reluctant

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 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.

All (of) the men and women of this land... Scientific Congress have come here tonight. I think, with every heart. During the past few years (we) you and I have seen events follow each and every one of them a shock, a shock to our hopes for the peaceful development of modern civilization as we know it. And this very day, the day of May 1940, this very day, five more independent nations have been cruelly invaded by force of arms.

In some kind of human estimate the mind of man (grows) because enculturated to universal actions it (they are) (the) these actions are often repeated. But that is not so in the world happening of today -- and I am proud that it is not so. I am glad that we Americans are shocked (and). That we are angered by the treachery that has come to us from Belgium and the Netherlands and

(Amazons). (Amazons) The overwhelmingly greater part of the population of the world abhors conquest and war and disdains -- it prays that the hand of neighbor shall not be lifted against neighbor. The whole world has seen attack follow threat on (so) very many occasions and in (so) very many places during these latter years. We have come, therefore, to the reluctant

conclusion that a continuance of these processes of arms presents a definite challenge to the (continuation) continuance of the type of civilization to which all of us (in the three Americas) have been accustomed for so many generations.

I use this American -- Pan American Scientific Congress as (one of) an illustration, and I could use many similar illustrations. It is no accident that this meeting takes place in the New World. In fact, this Hemisphere is now almost the only part of the earth in which such a gathering can take place. Elsewhere war or politics in its worst sense has compelled teachers and scholars to leave their great callings and to become the agents of destruction.

We, and most of the people in the world, believe still in a civilization of construction and not of destruction. (Applause) We, and most of the people in the world, still believe that men and women have an inherent right to hew out the patterns of their own individual lives, just so long as they as individuals do not harm their fellow beings. We call this thought, this ideal, by many terms which are synonymous (terms) -- we call it individual liberty, we call it civil liberty and, I think, best of all, we call it democracy.

Until now, up til these days, we permit ourselves by common consent to search for truth, to teach the truth as we see it -- and by learning a little here and a little there, and by teaching a little here and a little there to allow the

normal processes of truth to keep growing, keep growing for the well-being of our fellow men. In our search and in our teachings we are a part of a great adventure -- an exciting adventure -- an adventure (which) that gives to us a larger satisfaction, I think even a larger satisfaction than (did) our forefathers had when they were in the midst of the adventure of settling the Americas (give to our Founding Fathers) from the Old World. We feel that we are building human progress by conquering disease and poverty and discomfort, and by improving science and culture, removing one by one the many (cruelty) cruelties, (the crudity) and crudities and (the barbarism) barbarities of less civilized eras.

In contrast to that, to that rather simple, rather fine picture of our ideals -- in contrast, in other parts of the world, teachers and scholars are not permitted to search for truth lest the truth when made known might not suit the designs of their masters. Too often they are not allowed to teach the truth as they see it, (for) because truth might make men free. (Applause) Yes, they become objects of suspicion if they speak openly, if they show an interest in new truth, for their (very) tongues and minds are supposed to be mobilized for other ends.

This has not happened in the New World. God willing, it shall not happen in the New World. (Applause)

At the Pan American Conference at Buenos Aires, and again at Lima, we discussed a dim and unpleasant possi-

bility. We feared that other Continents might become so involved in war(s), wars brought on by the school of destruction -- not construction -- that the Americas might have to become the guardians of Western culture, the protector of Christian civilization.

And in those days, not so long ago, it was merely a fear. Today the fear has become a fact.

The inheritance which we had hoped to share with every nation (in) of the world is, for the moment, left largely in our keeping: and it is our compelling duty to guard and enrich that legacy, to preserve it for a world which must be born, reborn from the ashes of the present disaster.

Today we know, we admit, that until recent weeks too many citizens of (the) our American Republics believed themselves wholly safe -- physically, and economically and socially safe -- safe from the impact of the attacks on civilization which are in progress elsewhere. And perhaps this mistaken idea was based on (the) a false teaching of geography -- the thought that a distance of several thousand miles from a war-torn Europe to a peaceful America, that that distance in itself gave to us some form of mystic immunity (which) that could never be violated.

And yet, in speaking in terms of -- what shall I say? -- time-tables, speaking in terms of the moving of men and guns and planes and bombs, every single acre -- every hectare -- (of) in all the Americas from the Arctic to the

Antarctic, every one of them, is closer to the home(s) of modern conquerors, closer to (and) the scenes of the attacks in Europe than was ever the case in (historic) those episodes of history that we read about, the efforts to dominate the whole world by conquest in (by-gone) centuries gone by. From the point of view of conquest(s), it is a shorter distance from the center of Europe to Santiago de Chile than it was for the chariots of Alexander the Great to roll from Macedonia to Persia. In modern terms it is a shorter distance from Europe to San Francisco, California than it was for the ships and the legions of Julius Caesar to move from Rome to Spain or Rome to Britain. And today it is four or five hours of travel from the Continent of Africa to the Continent of (South) America, where it was four or five weeks for the armies of Napoleon to (move) march from Paris to Rome or Paris to Poland.

You who are scientists may (be) have been told that you are in part responsible for the debacle of today because of the processes of invention, invention for the annihilation of time and of space, but I assure you that it is not the scientists of the world who are responsible, because the objectives which you have (had have) looked to, all of those objectives have been headed toward closer and more peaceful relations between all nations through the spirit of cooperation and the interchange of knowledge. What has come about has been caused solely by those who would use, and are using,

your inventions (of peace in a wholly), the progress that you have made along lines of peace but using them in an entirely different cause -- those people who seek to dominate hundreds of millions of people in vast continental areas -- those who, if they are successful in that aim will, we (must now admit) know down in our hearts, enlarge their wild dream to encompass every human being and every mile of the earth's surface.

The great achievements of science, yes and (even) of art, can be used in one way or another to destroy as well as to create; they are only instruments by which men try to do the things that they most want to do. If death is desired, science can do that. If a full, a rich, a useful life is sought, science can do that also. Happily for us that question (is) has been solved -- for in the New World we live for each other and in the service of a Christian faith.

Is this solution -- our solution -- is it permanent or safe if it is solved just for us alone? That (it) seems to me (is) to be the most immediate issue that the Americas face. Can we continue our peaceful construction if all the other Continents in all the world embrace by preference or by compulsion a wholly different principle of life? No, I think not.

Surely it is time for our Republics to spread that problem before us in the cold light of day, to analyze it, to ask questions, to (demand) call for answers, to use every knowledge, every science that we possess, to apply common sense,

and (especially) above all to act with unanimity and single-ness of purpose. (Prolonged applause)

I am a pacifist. You, my fellow citizens of twenty-one American Republics, you are pacifists too.

But I believe that by overwhelming majorities in all the Americas you and I, in the long run and if it be necessary, you and I will act together to protect (and), to defend by every means at our command -- to protect and to defend our science, our culture, our American freedom and our civilization. (Applause)

May 10, 1940

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be delivered from Constitution Hall in connection with the Eighth American Scientific Congress, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until release.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 9:30 P. M., E. S. T., May 10, 1940. The same release applies to radio.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

FELLOW SERVANTS OF THE AMERICAS:

All of the men and women of this Pan American Scientific Congress have come here tonight with heavy hearts. During the past few years we have seen event follow event, each and every one of them a shock to our hopes for the peaceful development of modern civilization. This very day three more independent nations have been cruelly invaded by force of arms.

In some human affairs the mind of man grows accustomed to unusual actions if they are oft repeated. That is not so in the world happenings of today -- and I am proud that it is not so. I am glad that we are shocked and angered by the tragic news from Belgium and the Netherlands and Luxemburg.

The overwhelmingly greater part of the population of the world abhors conquest and war and bloodshed -- prays that the head of neighbor shall not be lifted against neighbor. The whole world has seen attack follow threat on so many occasions and in so many places during these later years. We have come, therefore, to the reluctant conclusion that a continuance of these processes of arms presents a definite challenge to the continuation of the type of civilization to which all of us in the three Americas have been accustomed.

I use this Pan American Scientific Congress as one of many similar illustrations. It is no accident that this meeting takes place in the New World. In fact, this Hemisphere is now almost the only part of the earth in which such a gathering can take place. Elsewhere war or politics has compelled teachers and scholars to leave their great calling and to become agents of destruction.

We, and most people in the world, believe in a civilization of construction and not of destruction. We, and most people in the world, believe that men and women have an inherent right to bow out the patterns of their own individual lives, just so long as they as individuals do not harm their fellow beings. We call this by many synonymous terms -- individual liberty, civil liberty, democracy.

Until now we permit ourselves by common consent to search for truth, to teach the truth as we see it -- and by learning a little here and a little there, and teaching a little here and a little there to allow the normal processes of truth to keep growing for the well-being of our fellow men. In our search and in our teaching we are a part of a great adventure -- an exciting adventure -- which gives to us a larger satisfaction even than did the adventure of settling the Americas give to our Founding Fathers. We feel that we are building human progress by conquering disease and poverty and discomfort, and by improving science and culture, removing one by one the cruelty, the crudity and the barbarism of less civilized eras.

In contrast, in other parts of the world, teachers and scholars are not permitted to search for truth lest the truth when made known might not suit the designs of their masters. Too often they are not allowed to teach the truth as they see it, for truth might make men free. They become objects of suspicion if they speak openly, if they show an interest in new truth, for their very tongues and minds are supposed to be mobilized for other ends.

This has not happened in the New World. God willing, it shall not happen in the New World.

At the Pan American Conference at Buenos Aires, and again at Lima, we discussed a dim and unpleasant possibility. We feared that other Continents might become so involved in wars brought on by the school of destruction that the Americas might have to become the guardian of Western culture, the protector of Christian civilization.

In these days it was merely a fear. Today the fear has become a fact.

The inheritance which we had hoped to share with every nation in the world is, for the moment, left largely in our keeping; and it is our compelling duty to guard and enrich that legacy, to preserve it for a world which must be reborn from the ashes of the present disaster.

Today we know that until recent weeks too many citizens of the American Republics believed themselves wholly safe -- physically, and economically and socially -- from the impact of the attacks on civilization which are in progress elsewhere. Perhaps this mistaken idea was based on the false teaching of geography -- the thought that a distance of several thousand miles from a war-torn Europe gave to us some form of mystic immunity which could never be violated.

Yet, speaking in terms of time-tables, in terms of the moving of men and guns and planes and bombs, every acre -- every hectare -- of the Americas from the Arctic to the Antarctic is closer to the home of modern conquerors and the scenes of attacks in Europe than was the case in historic efforts to dominate the world in by-gone centuries. From the point of view of conquests, it is a shorter distance from the center of Europe to Santiago de Chile than it was for the chariots of Alexander to roll from Macedonia to Persia. In modern terms it is a shorter distance from Europe to San Francisco than it was for the ships and legions of Caesar to move from Rome to Spain or Britain. Today it is four or five hours from the Continent of Africa to the Continent of South America, where it was four or five weeks for the armies of Napoleon to move from Paris to Rome or Paris to Poland.

You who are scientists may be told that you are responsible because of the processes of invention for the annihilation of time and space, but I assure you that it is not the scientists of the world who are responsible, because the objectives which you have had have looked toward closer and more peaceful relations between all nations through the spirit of cooperation and the interchange of knowledge. What has come about has been caused solely by those who would use, and are using, your inventions of peace in a wholly different cause - those who seek to dominate hundreds of millions of people in vast continental areas - those who, if successful in that aim will, we must now admit, enlarge their wild dream to encompass every human being and every mile of the earth's surface.

The great achievements of science and even of art can be used to destroy as well as create; they are only instruments by which men try to do the things they most want to do. If death is desired, science can do that. If a full life is sought, science can do that also. Happily for us that question is solved - for in the New World we live for each other and in the service of a Christian faith.

Is this solution - our solution - permanent or safe if it is solved for us alone? That it seems to me is the most immediate issue that the Americas face. Can we continue our peaceful construction if all the other Continents embrace by preference or by compulsion a wholly different principle of life?

Surely it is time for our Republics to spread that problem before us in the cold light of day, to analyze it, to ask questions, to demand answers, to use every knowledge, every science we possess, to apply common sense, and especially to act with unanimity and singleness of purpose.

I am a pacifist. You, my fellow citizens of twenty-one American Republics, are pacifists.

But I believe that by overwhelming majorities you and I, in the long run and if it be necessary, will act together to protect and defend by every means our science, our culture, our freedom and our civilization.

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In some human affairs the mind of man grows accustomed to unusual actions if they are oft repeated.

That is not so in the world happenings of today -- and

I am proud that it is not so. I am glad ^{that} we are shocked and angered by the tragic news from Belgium, ~~and~~ the Netherlands and Luxemburg.

The overwhelmingly greater part of the population of the world abhors conquest and war and bloodshed -- prays that the hand of neighbor shall not be lifted against neighbor. The whole world has seen attack follow threat on so many occasions and in so many places during

these later years when ⁷ they have come ^{therefore} to the reluctant conclusion that a continuance of these processes of arms ~~has reached the point of~~ ³ presenting a definite challenge to the continuation of the type of civilization to which all of us in the three Americas have been accustomed.

I use this Pan American Scientific Congress as one of many similar illustrations. It is no accident that this meeting takes place in the ~~New~~ ^{New} World. In fact, this Hemisphere is now almost the only part of the earth in which such a gathering can take place. Elsewhere war or politics has compelled teachers and scholars to leave their great calling and to become agents of destruction.

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Today we ~~must admit~~ ^{know} that until recent weeks too many citizens of the American Republics believed themselves wholly safe - physically, and ~~morally and mentally~~ ^{economically and socially} -- from the impact of the attacks on civilization which are in progress elsewhere. Perhaps this mistaken idea was based on the false teaching of geography -- the thought that a distance of several thousand miles from a war-torn Europe gave to us some form of mystic immunity which could never be violated.

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solely by those who would use, and are using, your inventions of peace in a wholly different cause -- those who seek to dominate hundreds of millions of people in vast ^{continental} local areas -- ~~those~~ ^{those} people who, if successful in that aim, will, we must now admit, enlarge their ~~own~~ ^{wild} dream to encompass every human being and every mile of the earth's surface.

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^{this} -- our solution --
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But I believe that by overwhelming majorities you and I, ~~will~~ in the long run and if it be necessary, ~~will~~ *will act* together *to protect and defend by every means* ~~if that be the only way we can~~ save our science, our culture, our freedom and our civilisation.

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I am proud that it is not so. I am glad that we are shocked and angered by the tragic news from Belgium and The Netherlands and LUXEMBOURG.

The overwhelmingly greater part of the population of the world abhors conquest and war and bloodshed -- prays that the hand of neighbor shall not be lifted against neighbor. The whole world has seen attack follow threat on ^{very} so many occasions and in ^{very} so many places during

these later years, ~~where~~ ^{therefore} We have come to the reluctant conclusion that a continuance of these processes of arms ~~has reached its maximum~~ ^{is} presenting a definite challenge to the continuation of the type of civilization to which all of us in the three Americas have been accustomed for generations.

I use this Pan American Scientific Congress as one of many similar illustrations. It is no accident that this meeting takes place in the New World. In fact, this Hemisphere is now almost the only part of the earth in which such a gathering can take place. Elsewhere, war or politics has compelled teachers and scholars to leave their great calling and to become agents of destruction.

We, and most people in the world, believe in a civilization of construction and not of destruction. We, and most people in the world, believe that men and women have an inherent right to hew out the ^{patterns} ~~shape~~ of their own individual lives, just so long as they as individuals do not harm their fellow beings. We call this by many synonymous terms -- individual liberty,

civil liberty, democracy.

Until now we ~~have~~ permitted ^{ourselves} ~~us~~ by common consent to search for truth, to teach the truth as we see it -- and by learning a little here and a little there, and teaching a little here and a little there to allow the normal processes of truth to grow ^{keep ing} For the well-being of our fellow men. In our search and in our teaching we are a part of a great adventure -- an exciting adventure -- which gives to us a larger satisfaction even than did the adventure of settling the Americas give to our Founding Fathers. We feel that we are building human progress by conquering disease and poverty and discomfort, and by improving science and culture, removing one by one the ^{ies} cruelty, the ^{ies} crudity and the ^{ties} barbarism of less civilized eras.

In contrast, in other parts of the world, teachers and scholars are not permitted to search for truth lest the truth when made known might not suit the designs of their masters. Too often they are not allowed to teach

the truth as they see it, for truth might make men free. They become objects of suspicion if they speak ^{openly} ~~freely~~, if they show an interest in new truth, for their very tongues and minds are supposed to be mobilised for other ends.

This has not happened in the New World. God willing, it shall not happen in the New World.

At the Pan American Conference at Buenos Aires, and again at Lima, we discussed a dim and unpleasant possibility. We feared that other Continents might become so involved in wars brought on by the school of destruction that the Americas might have to become the guardian of Western culture, the protector of Christian civilisation.

In those days it was merely a fear. Today the fear has become a fact.

The inheritance which we had hoped to share with every nation in the world is, for the moment, left largely in our keeping: and it is our compelling duty to guard and enrich that legacy, to preserve it for a world which must be reborn from the ashes of the present disaster.

Today we ~~was~~^{know} that until recent weeks too many citizens of the American Republics believed themselves wholly safe - physically, and ~~materially~~ ^{economically} and ~~maximally~~ ^{socially} -- safe from the impact of the attacks on civilization which are in progress elsewhere. Perhaps this mistaken idea was based on the false teaching of geography -- the thought that a distance of several thousand miles from a war-torn Europe gave to us some form of mystic immunity which could never be violated.

Yet speaking in terms of time-tables, in terms of the moving of men and guns and planes and bombs, every ~~acre~~ ^{--every hectare --} of the Americas from the Arctic to the Antarctic is closer to the homes of modern conquerors and the scenes of attacks in Europe than was the case in

historic efforts to dominate the world in by-gone centuries. From the point of view of conquests, it is a shorter distance from the center of Europe to Santiago de Chile than it was for the chariots of Alexander ^{to roll} from Macedonia to Persia. In modern terms it is a shorter distance from Europe to San Francisco than it was for the ships and legions of Caesar to move from Rome to Spain or Britain. Today it is four or five hours from the Continent of Africa to the Continent of South America, where it was four or five weeks for the armies of Napoleon to move from Paris to Rome or Paris to Poland.

You who are scientists may be told that you are responsible because of the processes of invention for the annihilation of time and space, but I assure you that it is not the scientists of the world who are responsible, because the objectives which you have had have leaked toward closer and more peaceful relations between all nations through the spirit of cooperation and the interchange of knowledge. What has come about has been caused

solely by those who would use, and are using, your inventions of peace in a wholly different cause -- those who seek to dominate hundreds of millions of people in vast ^{continental} ~~land~~ areas -- those ~~people~~ who, if successful in that aim, will, we must now admit, enlarge their ^{wild} ~~wild~~ dream to encompass every human being and every mile of the earth's surface.

The great achievements of science and even of art can be used to destroy as well as create; they are only instruments by which men try to do the things they most want to do. If death is desired, science can do that. If a full life is sought, science can do that also. Happily for us that question is solved -- for in the New World we live for each other and in the service of a Christian faith.

^{this} -- our solution --
Is the solution ~~of the application of science~~
permanent or safe if it is solved for us alone? That
it seems to me is the most immediate ^{issue} ~~danger~~ that the
Americas face. Can we continue our peaceful construction
if all the other Continents ~~embrace by preference or by compulsion~~
^{embrace by preference or by compulsion} ~~embrace by preference or by compulsion~~ under a wholly

different principle of life?

Surely it is time for our Republics to spread that problem before us in the cold light of day, to analyse it, to ask questions, to demand answers, to use every knowledge, every science we possess, to apply common sense, and especially to act with unanimity and singleness of purpose.

I am a pacifist. You, my fellow citizens of twenty-one American Republics, are pacifists.

But I believe that by overwhelming majorities you and I, in the long run and if it be necessary, will act together to protect and defend by every means, ^{at our command --} our science, ^{protect} our culture, our freedom and our civilization. ^{& defend}
