
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. 1314

1940 October 12

**Dayton, OH –
Columbus Day Address to the Hemisphere**

DRAFT NO. 1 OF DAYTON SPEECH

(A)

p.2 ~~1~~

But in every single one of the American Republics the first and final allegiance and loyalty of citizens of Italian descent or German or Spanish or Portuguese or African descent or English, Scotch or Irish descent - or for that matter any other descent - is to the Republic in which they live & move and have their being.

First (B)
P. 8

Choke with those
dull-guns

It is seldom remembered fact that as far back as 1798 the United States which was the first of the great colonial empires to achieve its independence found that its peaceful trade ^{and intercourse} with other parts of the Americas were grossly disturbed by armed pirates sent to the West Indies by nations ~~there~~ which were conducting wars in Europe. Because of this threat to peace in this Hemisphere that the American Navy was founded as a department of the American government. The United States ship Constitution ^{and many others} fitted out in course of 2 or 3 years they patrolled the waters south of the U.S., drove the armed ships of Europe out of the waters to the south.

of us and made commerce
between the Americas more
peaceable & possible.

It is no mere coincidence that the dedication of
this new short wave radio station to the ~~other~~ American
Republics should take place on the anniversary of Christopher
^{Discovery of the New World}
Columbus.^{Americo} This new miracle of science will serve to draw the
bonds more tightly which bind the ~~Latin-American~~ Republics
of the western world in common union. No day could be more
appropriate for that enterprise than this day on which we
celebrate the bold exploits of the discoverer of ~~the Americas~~.

The very make-up of the first expedition of Columbus
foreshadowed the destiny of the nations of this hemisphere.
The leader himself was an Italian. He sailed in the service
of Spain. His crew were Spaniards: but there were among them ^{at}
~~first three of the ¹⁴⁹² expedition:~~
~~one Irishman, one Englishman, and one Jew.~~ In a real sense
therefore, in its very discovery, the new world was an
adventure of ~~different races,~~ different people ^{and} working
together.

Continent and

Today, all of us Americans, North and South Americans,
join with our fellow citizens of Italian descent to do honor
to the name of Columbus.

Many and numerous have been the groups of Italians
who have come in welcome waves of immigration to this hemisphere.
They have been an essential element in the civilization and
make-up of all of the twenty-one Republics. During these
centuries Italian names have been high in the list of statesmen
in the United States and in other Republics. Also in the fore-
front of those who have created the scientific, commercial,
professional and artistic life of the New World have been the
names of other Italians. And millions of Americans of Italian
birth or ancestry have spent their lives contributing to the
service of American industry, American defense and American peace.

~~discovery, the new world was an adventure of different races, different peoples, working together.~~

The role of the Americas ever since that day has been to continue that adventure. In the wake of the discoverers came the first settlers, the first refugees from Europe. They came to plough new fields, build new homes, establish a new society in a new world. They fought for liberty. Men and women of courage, of enterprise, of vision, they knew what they were fighting for, and they gained it --- and thereby they "gave hope to all the world for all future time."

They formed, here in the western hemisphere, a new human reservoir, and into it has poured the blood, the culture, the traditions of all the races and peoples of the earth: To the Americas they came --- the "masses yearning to be free" --- speaking many tongues but cherishing common aspirations, not for economic betterment alone, but for the personal freedoms and liberties which had been denied them in the old world.

They came to make a new order of things --- not in the sense of physical conquest but in the only true sense in which a new order can ever be made: a spiritual and moral change. They proudly carried with them their inheritance of culture, but they cheerfully left behind the burden of prejudice and hatred.

~~It is natural that all of these new citizens -- English, Scotch, Irish, German, Italian, Scandinavian -- should feel sentimentally attached to the lands from which their forefathers came. We even go so far as to expect all of these groups to be proud of their heritage of blood and culture, and to strive to be worthy of that heritage. The Americas are all proud of this untold and untapped wealth of human resources.~~

But when our forefathers --- ~~for we are all descended from immigrants~~ --- came to these shores, they came with a determination to stay and to become citizens of the new world.

shorter

They themselves clearly understood that their first allegiance would always be to the new land. They wanted to become citizens of America — not an Anglo-Saxon America, or an Italian, or German, or Spanish, or Portuguese America. The pattern of many European countries had been fashioned on the theory that each group among its citizens should be treated as a group apart, with separate representatives to watch out for what they considered their own separate interest and welfare. In the Americas these minority races and peoples are all treated as ingredients thrown into the melting pot with the others, to make a virile determined nation.

When they settled here, no group considered itself as separate from the other groups; and the mass of all the citizens, in turn, considered each new group as a part of themselves rather than as a separate entity.

No one group or race in the new world has any ~~hope~~ desire to subjugate the others. The nations of South America and of North America are agreed that no one nation in this hemisphere will undertake to dominate the others.

Of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence, eighteen were of non-English stock. ~~WHEN THE~~ Continental Congress selected John Adams, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson as a committee to devise a new national emblem, their recommendation was that it be a seal which should contain the national emblems of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Germany and Holland — because these were "the countries from which these states have been peopled."

It is not easy for some who have been trained in European politics to understand how, in the United States, all of these various races and peoples can live side by side in harmony and cooperation; how they actually gain common strength from each other — new vitality, new hope, new life, ^{The} and new devotion to the common effort and common goal.

And it is even more difficult for some who have been trained in European politics to understand how twenty-one Republics, some of ~~which~~ ^{which} are thousands of miles apart, made up of different groups and ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~, can live in peace with each other; how they can stand together in united opposition to threats of aggression from abroad, and be ready to defend the integrity and the welfare of each other.

We know that attempts have been made -- we know that they will continue to be made -- to divide these groups within a nation and to divide these nations among themselves.

"Divide and conquer!" That has been the battle-cry of the totalitarian powers in their war against the democracies. It has succeeded on the continent of Europe. On these continents it will fail.

Their propaganda repeats and repeats that democracy is a decadent form of government -- that the legions of the free are doomed to be conquered by regimented hordes.

They tell us that the present world struggle is a conflict between the old and the new -- the past and the future. They tell us that our old democratic ideal, our old traditions of civil liberty, are things of the past -- and that their new principles of totalitarianism represent the inexorable law of the future.

We reject this doctrine. We say that we are the future. We say that the direction in which they would lead us is backward, not forward -- backward to the bondage of the Pharaohs, backward to the law of the jungle.

The command of the democratic faith has been ever Forward! Never have free men been satisfied with the mere maintenance of any status quo, however comfortable or secure it may have seemed at the moment. The story of our faith is the story of men for whom the status quo was never good enough.

They knew there was something better: and they thought for it, and worked for it, and fought for it; and they won it.

There has always been a peculiar fire in the eye of every true lover of freedom -- and that fire has burned with the hope, the belief, the conviction that there is a better life, a better world, beyond the horizon.

That fire was in the eye of Columbus, when he took his little caravels out of a safe haven and steered them over uncharted waters.

That fire was in the eyes of Washington, and Bolivar, and San Martin, and Artigas, and Juarez, and all the brave, rugged, ragged men who followed them in the wars of independence.

That fire burns now in the eyes of those who are fighting for freedom in lands across the sea, ^{Aburne} in the eyes of ~~these~~ ^{the} man who is ready ^{to} ~~are~~ preparing to fight whenever their freedom ^{is challenged} shall be challenged. That fire will never be extinguished as long as there remain men of daring, men of imagination, men who are strong of faith in their own individual will to progress -- forward.

Americans as individuals, American Republics as nations, ~~will continue to~~ remain on guard against those who seek to break up ~~the~~ unity by preaching ancient race hatreds, by working on old fears, or by holding out glittering promises which they know to be false.

There are those in the old world who persist in believing that here in this new hemisphere the Americas can be torn by the hatreds and fears which have drenched the battle grounds of Europe for so many centuries. ^{But} The descendants of the very same races who had always been forced to hate each other in lands across the ocean, have learned to live here in peace and in friendship, to ~~educate their children together~~, and to ~~have their young people intermarry and create happy~~ ^{namesake}.

On this side of the ocean there is no desire, there will be no effort, on the part of any one race, or people, or nation, to encircle any other. The only encirclement sought is the encircling bond of friendship. So bound together, we will be able to withstand any attack from the east or from the west. We will be able to ward off any penetration of subversive economic interest, any infiltration of alien political and economic ideas which would destroy our freedom and democracy.

Take in Amb. B.

Step by step, individually and together, we are building, and will complete, a machine of defense greater than any the old world has yet known. The United States of America is arming not only to defend itself, but, in cooperation with the other American Republics, to defend the whole hemisphere. We are constructing this defense in a time of peace. Peace -- continued peace -- is our objective, a real and a lasting peace -- not merely an armistice which only covers new preparations for new attacks.

We ~~should~~ keep ^{the} nations of this hemisphere fully advised of our defense preparations. We have welcomed the military missions from neighboring republics; and in turn our own military ^{experts} ~~observers~~ have been welcomed by them. We intend to encourage this frank interchange of information and plans. We shall be all for one and one for all.

are actually
~~We have only begun to muster the men and resources of~~
these United States for the defense of ourselves and our neighbors.

Our plans call for total defense on land and sea and in the air, sufficient to repel total attack from any part of the world. Unprecedented dangers have caused the United States, for the first time in our history, to undertake the ~~muster~~ ^{mobilizing} of men in peace time. Unprecedented dangers have caused the United States to undertake the building of a

navy and an air force sufficient to defend all the coasts of the Americas. Our manufacturing facilities for aircraft, ships, tanks, guns, munitions and supplies of all sorts are being expanded with the utmost speed. This program is being carried forward with the fullest cooperation and assistance of our leaders of industry and labor. We are determined that there shall be no delay in mustering our men or our material.

And let this be clearly understood: this program for defense was not created merely by executive order, nor by act of Congress. It is the expression of the ~~free~~ will of 150,000,000 people, the free ~~Citizens~~ of the United States of America.

This idea of a defense strong enough and wide enough to cover this half of the world had its beginnings in 1933 when the government of the United States announced its policy with respect to South America. It was the policy of the good neighbor, the neighbor who knew how to mind his own business but was always willing to lend a friendly hand to a friendly nation which sought it, the neighbor who was willing to discuss in all friendship the problems which will always arise between neighbors.

From the day on which that policy was announced, the American Republics have consulted with each other, have peacefully settled their old problems and disputes, have grown closer and closer to each other, until at last in 1937 at Lima, their unity and friendship were sealed in a pact of mutual defense against attack upon this hemisphere from overseas. ⁴⁷ That was a declaration that the new world proposed to maintain collectively the freedom upon which its strength had been built. That was the culmination of the good neighbor policy, the proof of what was said by a famous Argentinian of Italian birth, Alberdin — "The Americas are a great political

system: the parts draw their life from the whole; and the whole draws life from its parts."

A
Mind

When we speak of defending this Western Hemisphere, we are speaking not only of the territory of North and South America and the immediately adjacent islands. ~~This hemisphere~~ ^{Our} ~~right to the peaceful use~~ ^{of} Those oceans must ~~be kept free from armed strife~~ ^{try to keep} ~~hostile~~ ^{from} ~~lawful trade and civilised intercourse between nations.~~ That has been our traditional policy. *B* We reaffirm that policy, lest there be any doubt of our intention to maintain it. We of the Americas consider that the defense of these oceans of the Western Hemisphere against acts of aggression is the first factor in the defense and protection of our own territorial integrity.

Just as we have used and will use our energies and resources to build up the armed defenses of America, so we are determined to use our energies and our resources to counteract and repel the foreign propaganda, intrigue, plotting and moral undermining -- the whole technique of underground warfare originating in Europe and directed against all the Republics on this side of the ocean. We are not deceived by the blandishments of propagandists for foreign countries. We see clearly what the real plan of their masters is -- to seize domination of any part of the new world which can not ~~be~~ ^{force} defend itself ~~by offering force against force.~~

C. → In military measures, the United States will contribute most heavily to the common defense. In protection against propaganda it will contribute most heavily to the common defense. No one nation among us could have done what has been done for the defense of this hemisphere if any one of us were afraid of the others. For the future too, we must have that effective cooperation which requires complete confidence by each of us in the intentions of the others. That mutual

confidence we [redacted] now have; and we shall continue to have.

Through the acquisition of eight naval bases in territories of the British Empire lying within the sphere of the New World, from New Foundland to [redacted], we have increased the immediate effectiveness of the ^{great} navy which we now have and of the greater navy we ~~now~~ have under construction. These bases were acquired by the United States but not for the protection of the United States alone. They were acquired for the protection of the whole western hemisphere. The unity of the efforts of the American Republics was proven to the world when these naval bases were promptly opened by the United States to the other Republics for cooperative use. In that act was typified the good neighbor conception of hemispheric defense through the cooperation of all of us.

~~Entertainment~~ ^{radio stations} will play ^{their} part in the new unity between the American nations which has been built so solidly during the past eight years. ~~They~~ ^{will} be an effective instrument for the exchange and communication of honest ideas. ~~They~~ ^{will} never be used as stations in other lands, to send out one story to one country, and a different story to another.

There are stations abroad that broadcast to South America that the Yankees have never given up ~~the~~ dollar diplomacy, and that all the Yankee talk about the good neighbor is only talk, and that the ties that bind Latin America to the countries of the old world are all that count. What a different story these same stations send out to North America on the same day. They tell us up here that if we will only recognize the domination of certain dictators in Europe and their right to establish there a new order, those dictators will recognize our right and our destiny to control our neighbors south of us in the same manner that they control

their European neighbors. This attempt by the dictators to divide us by deception will be doomed to failure.

~~We are determined that the time will never come when our country will forbid its own citizens to listen to what their own radio stations have to say to the people of other lands. That is the way of totalitarian life. We reject it.~~

The core of our defense is the faith we have in the institutions we defend. The American descendants of the Schurz people of Columbus and of the people of Carl Schurz share with ~~Austin - Czech - Polish - Danish - Norwegian - Dutch - Belgian - Americans of Scandinavian and French and Polish and Dutch and French - Baltic - Greek and English blood, abhorrence of the forces of enslavement that have placed the yoke of the new despotism on so many of the people of Europe, and America. We ~~hate~~ and~~ ^{today} reject the forces which would place this yoke upon our own necks. That is the heart of our unity and strength -- the foundation upon which we muster our defense.

~~We shall build,~~ ^{today} we are building, a navy and an air force and an army and a vast array of armament to match any on earth. But more important than all that is this vital unifying force which comes from the courage of free men.

~~This unifying force will not succumb to propaganda of fear. Dictators will never be able to use their strategy of terror on us in this hemisphere. The Americas will not be scared or threatened into the ways ~~they~~ ^{the dictators} want us to follow.~~

No combination of dictator countries of Europe and Asia will halt us in the path we see ahead for ourselves and for the democracy of the world.

No combination of dictator countries of Europe and Asia will stop the help, all the help we can give ~~share of~~ ^{the} to the last free peoples, fighting to hold them at bay.

I speak bluntly. I speak for the American people, and I speak the love they have for freedom and liberty and decency and humanity.

Our course is clear. Our decision is made. ~~We will not appease; we will oppose.~~ We will continue to pile up our defense and our armaments. We will continue to help those who resist aggression, and who now hold the aggressors far from our shores, ~~on~~ the east and ~~on~~ the west.

Those forces of evil ~~who~~^{which} are bent on conquest of the world will destroy whomever and whenever they can destroy. We have learned the lessons of recent years; and now we know that if we seek to appease them by withholding aid from those who stand in their way, we only hasten the day of their attack upon us.

The people of the United States, the people of all the Americas, reject the doctrine of appeasement. They recognize it for what it is -- one of the chief weapons of the aggressor nations. ~~We will not appease; we will oppose.~~

The people of the United States, the people of all the Americas are not shaken by the new strategy of terror which dictators use. The men of Great Britain have shown how free men defend what they know to be right. Their heroic defense will be recorded for all time, not only for its stamnia, its superhuman courage. It will be perpetual proof that the human spirit when challenged, can always rise to throw off its shackles; that democracy, when put to the test, ~~will~~^{always} show the stuff it ~~can~~^{is} made of. It bespeaks the determination by free men that tyranny will not dominate mankind. It gives not merely a hope -- it gives renewed assurance that in the end democracy will win, will survive.

I recall so well, during my recent visit to ~~four~~^{three} ~~countries~~^{capital cities} in South America, the vast throngs who ~~came~~^{were} to express ~~to~~ by their cheers their friendship for the United States. I shall always remember that above all the cheers I heard one constant cry again and again: "Viva la Democracia!" -- "Long Live Democracy!"

Those three stirring words cry out the abiding conviction of people in all the democracies that freedom shall rule in the land. They make brothers of all of us, ~~buddies~~
~~western world~~

~~and so tonight, As I~~ ^{salute} ~~saw~~ the peoples of all the
Republics in the western ^{world} ~~hemisphere~~, I echo that greeting
which comes up to us from our good neighbors of the Americas:
"Viva la Democracia!"

DRAFT NO. 2 OF DAYTON SPEECH

(A)

It is no mere coincidence that
this first ~~short~~^{radio} broadcast to the entire
Western Hemisphere — North America, —
Central America and South America —

DRAFT #2

(A) It is no mere coincidence that the dedication of this new [] radio station to the other American Republics should take place on the anniversary of Christopher Columbus' discovery of the New World. This new miracle of ^{radio} science will [serve to] draw the bonds more tightly which bind the Republics of the western world in common union. No day could be more appropriate for that enterprise than this day on which we celebrate the ^{bold} exploits of the ^{bold} discoverer.

The very make-up of the first expedition of Columbus foreshadowed the destiny of the nations of this hemisphere. The leader himself was an Italian. He sailed in the service of Spain. His crew were Spaniards; but there were among them at least three of other nationalities. In a real sense, therefore, in its very discovery, the new world was an ^{international} adventure of different peoples working together.

Today, all of us Americans, North and Central and South Americans, join with our fellow citizens of Italian descent to do honor to the name of Columbus.

Many and numerous have been the groups of Italians who have come in welcome waves of immigration to this hemisphere. They have been an essential element in the

civilization and make-up of all of the twenty-one Republics.

During these centuries Italian names have been high in the list of statesmen in the United States and in other Republics.

~~also~~ In the forefront of those who have created the scientific, commercial, professional and artistic life of the ~~New~~ ^{the} World have been the names of other Italians. And millions of Americans of Italian birth or ancestry have spent their lives contributing to the service of American industry, American defense and American peace.

 The role of the Americas ever since that day has been to continue that adventure of many races living in harmony and cooperative effort. In the wake of the discoverers came the first settlers, the first refugees from Europe. They came to plough new fields, build new homes, establish a new society in a new world. They fought for liberty. Men and women of courage, of enterprise, of vision, they knew what ^{they} were fighting for, and they gained it -- and thereby they "gave hope to all the world for all future time".

They formed, ^{like} ~~there~~ in the western hemisphere, a new human reservoir, and into it has poured the blood, the culture, the traditions of all the races and peoples of the earth. To the Americas they came -- the "masses yearning

To the sea



~~This is a small abomination~~

In this new world was transplanted
the great cultures of Spain and Portugal.
The long history of Spanish civilization - its
art, music, literature, - was continued
and perpetuated in the new soil to the south
of us. ~~Here~~ In our own day the fact is that
the greatest part of the Spanish culture of the
entire world now ~~now~~ comes from
Central and South America. From Portugal
too, came a civilization which flourished
on this side of the Atlantic so well that it
now is a fountainhead for Portuguese
culture throughout the world.

"the multitudes brought hither out of many hundreds and
to be free" — [speaking many tongues] but cherishing common tongue;

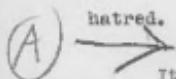
aspirations, not for economic betterment alone, but for the
personal freedom and liberties which had been denied them in

the old world. They came not to conquer one another but
to live with one another.

They came to make a new order of things — not in the
sense of physical conquest, but in the only true sense in which
a new order can ever be made: a spiritual and moral change.

They proudly carried with them their inheritance of culture,
but they cheerfully left behind the burden of prejudice and

hatred.



America
It is natural that all citizens from the many nations
of the Old World should feel sentiment for the lands ~~from~~
~~the~~ ⁱⁿ ~~which~~ ^{for} their ancestors ~~came~~ ^{were} ~~and~~ ^{the} fine attributes of the
old civilization in those lands. But in every single one of
the American Republics, the first and final allegiance and
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loyalty of citizens of Italian descent or German or Spanish
or Portuguese, or African descent or English, Scotch or Irish
descent -- or for that matter any other descent -- is to the
Republic in which they live and move and have their being.

For
But when our forefathers came to these shores, they
came with a determination to stay and to become citizens of
the new world. *They* themselves clearly understood that their

majority races and peoples and

first allegiance would always be to the new land.] They wanted to become citizens of America -- not an Anglo-Saxon America, or an Italian, or German, or Spanish, or Portuguese America. [The pattern of many European countries had been fashioned on the theory that each group among its citizens should be treated as a group apart, with separate representatives to watch out for what they considered their own separate interest and welfare.]

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When they settled here, no group considered itself as separate from the other groups; and the mass of all the citizens, in turn, considered each new group as a part of themselves rather than as a separate entity.

No one group or race in the new world has any desire to subjugate the others. [The nations of South and Central America

and of North America are agreed that] ^{No} one nation in this

hemisphere ^{has any desire} [will undertake] to dominate the others. ^{In} The Western

Hemisphere ^{consisted} formation is a second class nation.

[Of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence,

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[It is not easy for some who have been trained in European politics to understand how, in the United States, all of these various races and peoples can live side by side in harmony and cooperation; how they actually gain common strength from each other -- new vitality, new hope, new life, and new devotion to the common effort and the common goal.]

And it is [even more difficult] ^{not easy} for some who have been trained in European politics to understand how twenty-one Republics, some of which are thousands of miles apart, made up of different groups and stocks, can live in peace with each other; how they can stand together in united opposition to threats of aggression from abroad, and be ready to defend the integrity and the welfare of each other.

We know that attempts have been made -- we know that they will continue to be made -- to divide these groups within a nation, and to divide these nations among themselves.

(A) *from p. 7* "Divide and conquer"! That has been the battle-cry of the totalitarian powers in their war against the democracies. It has succeeded on the continent of Europe. On ~~thisse deux~~ continents it will fail.

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are doomed to be conquered by regimented hordes.

[They tell us that the present world struggle is a conflict between the old and the new -- the past and the future.]

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We say that the direction in which they would lead us is backward, not forward -- backward to the bondage of the Pharaohs, backward to the law of the jungle.

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(A) to go on p5

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On this side of the ocean there is no desire, there will be no effort, on the part of any one race, or people, or nation, to encircle any other. The only encirclement sought is the encircling bond of friendship. So bound together, we will be able to withstand any attack from the east or from the west. We will be able to ward off any penetration of subversive economic interest, any infiltration of alien political and economic ideas which would destroy our freedom and democracy.

When we speak of defending this Western Hemisphere, we are speaking not only of the territory of North, Central and South America and the immediately adjacent islands. We include the right to the peaceful use of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

[Those oceans we must try to keep free from armed strife between nations.] That has been our traditional policy.

It is a [seldom remembered fact] ^{for example,} that as far back as 1798 the United States, which was the first of the great colonial empires to achieve its independence, found that its peaceful trade and [intercourse] ^{commerce} with other parts of the Americas were [threatened] gravely disturbed by armed privateers sent to the West Indies by nations [which were conducting] ^{for at} war in Europe. Because of this threat to peace in this Hemisphere, [the American Navy was founded as a department of the American Government.] ^{the}

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between the Americas once more peaceable and possible.

We reaffirm that policy, lest there be any doubt of our
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the defense of these oceans of the Western Hemisphere against
acts of aggression is the first factor in the defense and
protection of our own territorial integrity.

Step by step, individually and together, we are building,
and will complete, a machine of defense greater than any the ~~whole~~
~~and~~ world has yet known. The United States of America is ~~monitoring~~
increasing and ~~responsible~~, arming not only to defend itself, but, in cooperation with
the other American Republics, to defend the whole hemisphere.

Insert A.
Our plans call for total defense on land and sea and in
the air, sufficient to repel total attack from any part of the
world. ^{forewarned by the deliberate attacks of the dictators upon free peoples,} Unprecedented dangers have caused the United States,
, for the first time in our history, ^{to} undertake the mustering
of men in peace time. Unprecedented dangers have caused the
United States to undertake the building of a navy and an air
force sufficient to defend all the coasts of the Americas ^{from any}
combination of hostile powers.

Insert A pg 9

Between Jan 1, 1940 and Oct
12, 1940 the American Congress has
appropriated ~~for~~ ^{\$} for defense purposes. In
addition ~~an~~ ^{\$} ~~has been authorized~~
~~during the same period in contract authorizations~~
~~to meet the following immediate contracts.~~
Thus a total of — dollars has been
made available for the building of ships -
airplanes - artillery - and ~~other~~ ^{the}
of quantities of munitions. Most of these
funds are already under ~~and~~ contract.
And all of these contracts are in addition
to the hundreds of millions of dollars worth
of munitions contracted for by Great
Britain and the dominions.

We are bending every effort
to speed up deliveries and to
construct vast additional plant
facilities.

[Our manufacturing facilities for aircraft, ships, tanks, guns, munitions and supplies of all sorts are being expanded with the utmost speed.] This program is being carried forward with the fullest cooperation and assistance of [our leaders of] industry and labor. [We are determined that] There shall be no delay in mustering our men or our material.

And let this be clearly understood: this program for defense was not created merely by executive order, nor by act ^{of} ~~of~~ Congress. It is the expression of the will of 130,000,000 people, the free citizens of the United States of America.

P We are constructing this defense in a time of peace. Peace -- continued peace -- is our objective, a real and a lasting peace -- not merely an armistice which only covers new preparations for new attacks.

We are keeping the nations of this hemisphere fully advised of our defense preparations. We have welcomed the military missions from neighboring republics; and in turn our

own military experts have been welcomed by them. We intend to encourage this frank interchange of information and plans. P We shall be all for one and one for all.

[Just as we have used and will use our energies and resources to build up the armed defenses of America, so] We are determined also to use our energies and our resources to counteract and repel the foreign propaganda, intrigues, plotting and moral undermining — the whole technique of underground warfare originating in Europe and directed against all the Republics on this side of the ocean. We are not deceived by the blandishments of propagandists for foreign countries. We see clearly what the real plan of their masters is — to seize domination of any part of the new world which cannot defend itself by opposing force against force. *Insert A because of our resources,*

It is clear, that [in view of existing industrial facilities, the United States ought to, and will, contribute] most heavily to the common defense. Each one of the other Republics can and will do its own share within its own means. [No one nation among us could have done what has been done for the defense of this hemisphere if any one of us were afraid of the others.] *Continue to*

For the future too, [We must have that effective cooperation which requires complete confidence by each of us in the intentions of the others.] That mutual confidence we now have; and we shall continue to have.

INSERT A - PAGE 12

It is ~~as~~ timely now to recall parts of the [redacted]
message of President ^WMonroe as it was for him to promulgate
it. He said: "With the Governments who have declared their
independence and maintained it, and whose independence we
¹⁵⁻⁸⁻¹⁸⁷⁰ have, **** acknowledged, we could not view any inter-
position for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling
in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in
any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly
disposition toward the United States". The important words
for our time, words which ^{now} seem so prophetic, as uttered
more than a hundred years ^{ago}
over a century ago are: "controlling in any other manner
their destiny". Those words we reaffirm today in their
new significance.

The statement of American policy made
clear over a century ago ^{now} as timely as it was
when made. It said:

Through the acquisition of eight naval bases in territories of the British Empire lying within the sphere of the New World, from New Foundland to Guiana, we have increased the immediate effectiveness of the great navy which we now have and of the greater navy we have under construction. These bases were acquired by the United States; but not for the protection of the United States alone. They were acquired for the protection of the whole western hemisphere. The unity of the [efforts of the] American Republics was proven to the world, when these naval bases were promptly opened by the United States to the other Republics for cooperative use. In that act was typified the good neighbor conception of hemispheric defense through the cooperation of all of us.

Inter-American radio stations will play their part in the new unity between the American nations which has been built so solidly during the past eight years. They must be effective instruments for the ^{freest} exchange and communication of [honest] ideas. They must never be used as stations in other lands, to send out one story to one country, and a different ^{false} story to another.

for example,

There are stations abroad that broadcast to South America, that what they call the "Yankees" have never given up dollar diplomacy, and that all the "Yankee" talk about the good neighbor is only talk, [and that the ties that bind Latin America to the countries of the old world are all that count. What a different story these same stations send out to North America on the same day.] On the same day, however, they tell us up here that if we will only recognize the domination of certain dictators in Europe and their right to establish there a new order, those dictators will [~~recognize our~~ ^{desire} right and our destiny to control our neighbors south of us -- a right and destiny which we do not claim.] [the same manner that they control their European neighbors.] This attempt by the dictators to divide us by deception will be doomed to failure.

The core of our defense is the faith we have in the institutions we defend. The American descendants of the people of Columbus and of the people of Carl Schurz share with Americans of Austrian, Czech, Polish, Danish, Norwegian, Dutch, Belgian, French, Baltic blood, abhorrence of the forces of enslavement that have placed the yoke of the new despotism on so many of the people of Europe. [We reject the forces which would place this yoke upon our own necks. That is the heart of our unity and strength -- the foundation upon which we muster our defenses.]

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INSERT III

The indispensable defenses -- those without which tanks and planes and ships are of no avail -- are the defenses of the mind, the clear realization of spiritual ends and of the ideals of life. [For those alone give inner dignity to man and a passionate determination to maintain them. They are the possessions for which men will fight longest and hardest.] The moral forces of a democracy -- the allegiance to democratic purposes and the resolution to defend them at all costs -- those are ~~irreplaceable~~ essential to stand off the dictator attacks.

We are today building, a navy and an air force and an army and a vast array of armament to match any on earth.

P M More important than all ^{over} ~~the vast array of armament we are building is our~~ ~~that is the vital unifying force which~~ comes from the courage of free men.

This unifying force will not succumb to propaganda of fear. The Americas will not be scared or threatened into the ways the dictators want us to follow.

No combination of dictator countries of Europe and Asia will halt us in the path we see ahead for ourselves and for the democracy of the world.

No combination of dictator countries of Europe and Asia will stop the help ^{we are giving} [all the help we can give] to the last free peoples, fighting to hold them at bay.

I speak bluntly. I speak for the American people, and
I speak the love ^{they} have for freedom and liberty and decency and humanity.

Our course is clear. Our decision is made. We will continue to pile up our defense and our armaments. We will continue to help those who resist aggression, and who now hold the aggressors far from our shores, east and west.

Those forces of evil which are bent on conquest of the world will destroy whomever and whenever they can destroy. We have learned the lessons of recent years; and now we know that if we seek to appease them by withholding aid from those who stand in their way, we only hasten the day of their attack upon us.

The people of the United States, the people of all the Americas, reject the doctrine of appeasement. They recognize it for what it is -- one of the chief [a major] weapons of the aggressor nations. We will not appease; we will oppose.

A → [The people of the United States, the people of all the Americas are not shaken by the new strategy of terror which dictators use.] P The men of Great Britain have shown how free men defend what they know to be right. Their heroic defense will be recorded for all time, not only for its stamina, its superhuman courage. It will be perpetual proof that the human spirit when challenged, can [always] rise to throw off its shackles; that democracy, when put to the test, [will always] can show the stuff it is made of. It bespeaks the determination by free men that tyranny will not dominate mankind. It gives not merely a hope -- it gives renewed assurance that in the end democracy will win, will survive. Triumph

I recall so well, during my recent visit to three great capitals in South America, the vast throngs ~~who~~ came to express by their cheers their friendship for the United States. I shall always remember that above all the cheers I heard one constant cry again and again: "Viva la Democracia"! -- "Long Live Democracy"!

Those three stirring words cry out the abiding conviction of people in all the democracies that freedom shall rule in the land. [They make brothers of all of us.]

As I salute the peoples of all the Republics in the western world, I echo that greeting from our good neighbors of the Americas: "Viva la Democracia"!

DRAFT NO. 3 OF DAYTON SPEECH

DRAFT #3

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

TO THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

DAYTON, OHIO

OCTOBER 12, 1940

It is no mere coincidence that this [first] radio broadcast to the entire Western Hemisphere -- North America, Central America and South America -- should take place on the anniversary of Christopher Columbus' discovery of the New World. This new miracle of radio science will draw the bonds more tightly which bind the Republics of the western world in common union. No day could be more appropriate for that enterprise than this day on which we celebrate the exploits of the bold discoverer.

The very make-up of the first expedition of Columbus foreshadowed the destiny of the nations of this hemisphere. The leader himself was an Italian. He sailed in the service of Spain. His crew were Spaniards: but there were among them at least three of other nationalities. In a real sense, therefore, in its very discovery, the new world was an adventure of different races, different peoples working together.

Today, all of us Americans, North and Central and South Americans, join with our fellow citizens of Italian descent to do honor to the name of Columbus.

Many and numerous have been the groups of Italians who have come in welcome waves of immigration to this hemisphere. They have been an essential element in the civilization and make-up of all of the twenty-one Republics. During these centuries Italian names have been high in the list of statesmen in the United States and in the other Republics. In the forefront of those who have created the scientific, commercial, professional and artistic life of the new world have been the names of other Italians. And millions of Americans of Italian birth or ancestry have spent their lives contributing to the service of American industry, American defense and American peace.

The role of the Americas ever since that day has been to continue that adventure of many races living in harmony and cooperative effort. In the wake of the discoverers came the first settlers, the first refugees from Europe. They came to plough new fields, build new homes, establish a new society in a new world. They fought for liberty. Men and women of courage, of enterprise, of vision, they knew what

they were fighting for, and they gained it -- and thereby they "gave hope to all the world for all future time".

They formed, here in the Western Hemisphere, a new human reservoir, and into it has poured the blood, the culture, the traditions of all the races and peoples of the earth. To the Americas they came -- the "masses yearning to be free" -- "the multitudes brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues", [but] cherishing common aspirations, not for economic betterment alone, but for the personal freedoms and liberties which had been denied them in the Old World.

They came not to conquer one another but to live with one another. They came to make a new order of things -- not in the sense of physical conquest, but in the only true sense in which a new order can ever be made: a spiritual and moral change. They proudly carried with them their inheritance of culture, but they cheerfully left behind the burden of prejudice and hatred.

In this new world ~~was~~ transplanted the great cultures of Spain and Portugal. The long history of Spanish civilization -- its art, music, literature, ^{engineering} ~~medicine~~ -- was continued and perpetuated in the new soil to the south of us.

In our own day the fact is that ~~the greater~~ part of the
Spanish culture of the entire world now comes from Central
and South America. From Portugal too, came a civilization
which flourished on this side of the Atlantic so well that
source of much of the
it now is a ~~fountain-head~~ for Portuguese culture throughout
the world.

It is natural that all American citizens from the many
nations of the Old World should [feel sentiment for] the lands
where their ancestors lived, and for the [fine] *kindly remember* ^{best} attributes of
the old civilization in those lands. But in every single
one of the American Republics, the first and final allegiance
and loyalty of [every one of] *almost without exception*,
these citizens is to the Republic
in which they live and move and have their being.

For when our forefathers came to these shores, they
came with a determination to stay and to become citizens
as it established its independence,
of the new world. *They wanted to become citizens of America --*
not an anglo-Saxon America, or an Italian, or German, or
Spanish, or Portuguese America.

When they settled here, no group considered itself as
separate from the other groups; and the mass of all the
citizens, in turn, considered each new group as a part of
themselves rather than as a separate entity.

[In the Americas, majority races and peoples and minority races and peoples are all treated as ingredients thrown into the melting pot with the others, to make a virile determined nation.] Here, group loyalties have been merged into one larger loyalty. Here, we do not have any second class citizenship. Here, the descendants of the very same races who had always been forced to hate each other in lands across the ocean, have learned to live in peace and in friendship.

No one group or race in the new world has any desire to subjugate the others. No one nation in this hemisphere has any desire to dominate the others. In the Western Hemisphere no nation is considered a second class nation.

[It is not easy for some who have been trained in European politics to understand how twenty-one Republics, some of which are thousands of miles apart, made up of different groups and stocks, can live in peace with each other; how they can stand together in united opposition to threats of aggression from abroad, and be ready to defend the integrity and the welfare of each other.]

We know that attempts have been made -- we know that they will continue to be made -- to divide these groups within a nation, and to divide these nations among themselves.

There are those in the Old World who persist in believing that here in this new hemisphere the Americas can be torn by the hatreds and fears which have drenched the battle grounds of Europe for so many centuries. Americans as individuals, American Republics as nations, remain on guard against those who seek to break up our unity by preaching ancient race hatreds, by working on old fears, or by holding out glittering promises which they know to be false.

"Divide and conquer"! That has been the battle-cry of the totalitarian powers in their war against the democracies. It has succeeded on the continent of Europe. On our continents it will fail. *Here take in A on page 12*

^{That} Their propaganda repeats and repeats that democracy is a decadent form of government -- that the legions of the free are doomed to be conquered by regimented hordes. They tell us that our old democratic ideal, our old traditions of civil liberty, are things of the past -- and that their new principles of totalitarianism represent the inexorable law of the future.

We reject this doctrine. We say that we are the future. We say that the direction in which they would lead us is backward, not forward -- backward to the bondage of the

Pharaohs, backward to the [law of the jungle], ways of the wolf pack.

The command of the democratic faith has been ever:
Forward! Never have free men been satisfied with the mere
maintenance of any status quo, however comfortable or secure
it may have seemed at the moment. The story of our faith is
the story of men for whom the ~~status quo~~ was never ^{quite} good
enough. They knew there was something better: and they
thought for it, and worked for it, and fought for it; and
they won it.

There has always been a peculiar fire in the eye of
every true lover of freedom, always the hope, the belief,
the conviction that there is a better life, a better world,
beyond the horizon.

That fire was in the eyes of Washington, and Bolivar,
^{and Bernardo O'Higgins}
and San Martin, and Artigas, and Juarez, and all the brave,
rugged, ragged men who followed them in the wars of
independence.

That fire burns now in the eyes of those who are fighting
for freedom in lands across the sea. It burns in the eyes
of every man who is ready to fight, whenever his freedom is
challenged. [] That fire will never be extinguished as long as
there remain men of daring, men of imagination, men who are

strong of faith in their own individual will to progress -- forward!

On this side of the ocean there is no desire, there will be no effort, on the part of any one race, or people, or nation, to encircle any other. The only encirclement sought is the encircling bond of friendship. So bound together, we [will be] able to withstand any attack from the east or from the west. Together, we are [We will be] able to ward off any penetration of subversive economic interest, any infiltration of alien political and economic ideas which would destroy our freedom and democracy.

When we speak of defending this Western Hemisphere, we are speaking not only of the territory of North, Central and South America and the immediately adjacent islands. We include the right to the peaceful use of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. That has been our traditional policy.

It is a fact, for example, that as far back as 1798 the United States found that its peaceful trade and commerce with other parts of the Americas were threatened by armed privateers sent to the West Indies by nations then at war in Europe. Because of this threat to peace in this Hemisphere,

the USS Constitution and many other ships were fitted out; and they drove the armed ~~ships~~ ^{rushes} of Europe out of the waters to the south of us, and made commerce between the Americas once more peaceful and possible.

We of the Americas still consider that this defense of these oceans of the Western Hemisphere against acts of aggression is the first factor in the defense and protection of our own territorial integrity. We reaffirm that policy, lest there be any doubt of our intention to maintain it.

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The United States of America is mustering its men and resources, arming not only to defend itself, but, in co-operation with the other American Republics, to defend the whole hemisphere.

[] Between January 1, 1940 and October 12, 1940, the American Congress has appropriated \$8,773,770 for defense purposes. An additional sum of \$3,735,770 has been ^{granted} authorized during the same period in contract authorizations. Thus a total of \$12,509,540 has been made available for the building of ships, airplanes, artillery and other vast quantities of munitions. Most of these funds are already under contract. And all of these contracts are in addition to the hundreds of millions of dollars worth of munitions

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There are some in every single one of the twenty-one American Republics who suggest that the course the Americas are following is slowly drawing one or all of us into war with some nation, or nations, beyond the seas.

The clear facts have been stated over and over again. This country wants no war with any nation. This hemisphere wants no war with any nation. The American Republics are determined to work in unity for peace just as we work in unity to defend ourselves from attack.

For many years every ounce of energy I have had has been devoted to keeping this nation and the ~~other~~ other Republics ~~Americas~~ at peace with the rest of the world. That is what continues uppermost in my mind today -- the objective for which I hope and work and pray.

We arm to defend ourselves. The strongest reason for that is that it is the strongest guarantee for peace.

contracted for by Great Britain and the Dominions.

We are bending every effort to speed up deliveries and
to construct vast additional plant facilities.

[*We are building a*] Our plans call for total defense on land and sea and
in the air, sufficient to repel total attack from any part of
the world. Forewarned by the deliberate attacks of the
dictators upon free peoples, the United States, for the
first time in our history, has undertaken the mustering of
men in peace time. Unprecedented dangers have caused the
United States to undertake the building of a navy and an
air force sufficient to defend all the coasts of the Americas
from any combination of hostile powers.

[*We have asked for and we have received,*]
[*This program is being carried forward with*] the fullest
cooperation and assistance of industry and labor. There
shall be no delay in mustering our men or our material.

And, let this be clearly understood: this program for
defense was not created merely by executive order, nor by
act of Congress alone. It is the expression of the will of
130,000,000 people, the free citizens of the United States
of America.

[We are constructing this defense in a time of peace.
Peace -- continued peace -- is our objective, a real and a
lasting peace -- not merely an armistice which only covers
new preparations for new attacks.]

We are keeping the nations of this hemisphere fully
advised of our defense preparations. We have welcomed the
military missions from neighboring republics; and in turn our
own military experts have been welcomed by them. We intend
to encourage this frank interchange of information and plans.

We shall be all for one and one for all.

This idea of a defense strong enough and wide enough
to cover this half of the world had its beginnings in 1933,
when the Government of the United States announced its policy
with respect to South America. It was the policy of the
good neighbor, the neighbor who knew how to mind his own
business, but was always willing to lend a friendly hand to
a friendly nation which sought it, the neighbor who was
willing to discuss in all friendship the problems which will
always arise between neighbors.

From the day on which that policy was announced, the American Republics have consulted with each other; they have peacefully settled their old problems and disputes; they have grown closer and closer to each other; until at last in 1938 [1937] at Lima, their unity and friendship were sealed in a pact of mutual defense against attack upon this hemisphere from overseas.

There we have adopted
That ~~most~~ was a declaration that the new world proposed to maintain collectively the freedom upon which its strength had been built. It was the culmination of the good neighbor policy, the proof of what was said by that famous Argentinian of Italian birth, Alberdi -- "The Americas are a great political system: the parts draw their life from the whole; and the whole draws life from its parts".

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We are determined ~~also~~ to use our energies and our resources to counteract and repel the foreign propaganda, plots and intrigue, plotting and moral undermining -- the whole technique of underground warfare originating in Europe and directed against all the Republics on this side of the ocean.

[We are not deceived by the blandishments of propagandists for foreign countries. We see clearly what the real plan of their masters is -- to seize domination of any part of

the new world which cannot defend itself by opposing force
against force.

It is timely now to recall parts of the statement of American policy made clear over a century ago -- as timely now as it was when made. It said: "With the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States". The important words for our time, words which now seem so prophetic, as uttered more than a hundred years ago are: "controlling in any other manner their destiny". Those words we reaffirm today in their new significance.

Through the acquisition of eight naval bases in territories of the British Empire lying within the sphere of the new world, from Newfoundland to Guiana, we have increased the immediate effectiveness of the great navy which we now have and of the greater navy we have under construction. These bases were acquired by the United States; but not for the protection of the United States alone. They

were acquired for the protection of the whole Western Hemisphere. The unity of the American Republics was proven to the world, when these naval bases were promptly opened by the United States to the other Republics for cooperative use. In that act was typified the good neighbor conception of hemispheric defense through the cooperation of all of us.

American radio stations will play their part in the new unity which has been built so solidly between the American nations during the past eight years. They must be effective instruments for the honest exchange and communication of ideas. They must never be used as stations in other lands *on the same day* are used, to send out one false story to one country, and a different false story to another.

[] There are stations abroad, for example, that broadcast to South America, that what they call the "Yankees" have never given up dollar diplomacy, and that all the "Yankee" talk about the good neighbor is only talk. On the same day, however, they tell us up here that if we will only recognize the domination of certain dictators in Europe and their right to establish in Europe a new order, those dictators will recognize our right and our destiny to control our neighbors south of us -- a right and destiny which we do not claim.

This attempt by the dictators to divide us by deception will be doomed to failure.

The core of our defense is the faith we have in the institutions we defend. The American descendants of the people of Columbus and of the people of Carl Schurz share with Americans of Austrian, Czech, Polish, Danish, Norwegian, and Balkan Dutch, Belgian, French or Baltic blood, abhorrence of the forces of enslavement that have placed the yoke of the new despotism on so many of the people of Europe.

The indispensable defenses -- those without which tanks and planes and ships are of no avail -- are the defenses of and will, on the mind, the clear realization of spiritual ends and of the ideals of life. The moral forces of [a democracy] -- the allegiance to [democratic purposes] and the [resolution to] defend [them] at all costs -- these are [weapons essential to stand off the dictator attacks.] → essential weapons of a free people.

More important even than all the vast array of armament we are building is our vital unifying force which comes from the courage of free men. This unifying force will not succumb to propagandists of fear. The Americas will not be scared or threatened into the ways the dictators want us to follow.

No combination of dictator countries of Europe and Asia will halt us in the path we see ahead for ourselves and for the democracy, [of the world.]

No combination of dictator countries of Europe and Asia will stop the help we are giving to the last free peoples, fighting to hold them at bay.

Our course is clear. Our decision is made. We will continue to pile up our defense and our armaments. We will continue to help those who resist aggression, and who now hold the aggressors far from our shores, east and west.

Those forces of evil which are bent on conquest of the world will destroy whomever and whenever they can destroy. We have learned the lessons of recent years; and now we know ~~now~~ that if we seek to appease them by withholding aid from those who stand in their way, we only hasten the day of their attack upon us.

The people of the United States, the people of all the Americas, reject the doctrine of appeasement. They recognize it for what it is -- a major weapon of the aggressor nations.

[We will not appease; we will oppose.]

(Welles & Hull say this sentence
should come out)

I speak bluntly. I speak the love the American people have for freedom and liberty and decency and humanity.

The men of Great Britain have shown how free men defend what they know to be right. Their heroic defense will be recorded for all time, not only for its stamina, its super-human courage. It will be perpetual proof that [the human spirit when challenged, can rise to throw off its shackles; that] democracy, when put to the test, can show the stuff it is made of. It bespeaks the determination by free men that tyranny will not dominate mankind. It gives not merely a hope -- it gives renewed assurance that in the end democracy will triumph.

I recall so well, during my recent visit to three great capitals in South America, the vast throngs which came to express by their cheers their friendship for the United States. I shall always remember that above all the cheers I heard one constant cry again and again: "Viva la Democracia"! -- "Long Live Democracy"!

Those three stirring words cry out the abiding conviction of people in all the democracies that freedom shall rule in the land.

A p 17.

That is why we arm. Because, I repeat, this nation wants to keep war away from these two continents. Because we all of us are determined to do everything possible to maintain peace on this hemisphere. Because ^{great} strength of arms is the practical way of fulfilling our hopes for peace and staying out of this war or any other war. Because we are determined to muster all our strength ^{so} that we may remain free.

As I salute the peoples of all the Republics in the western world, I echo that greeting from our good neighbors of the Americas: "Viva la Democracia"!

DRAFT NO. 4 OF DAYTON SPEECH

Draft # 14

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE
DAYTON, OHIO
OCTOBER 12, 1940

It is no mere coincidence that this radio broadcast to the entire Western Hemisphere -- North America, Central America and South America -- should take place on the anniversary of Christopher Columbus' discovery of the New World. This new miracle of radio science will draw the bonds more tightly which bind the Republics of the western world in common union. No day could be more appropriate for that enterprise than this day on which we celebrate the exploits of the bold discoverer.

[] The very make-up of the first expedition of Columbus foreshadowed the destiny of the nations of this hemisphere. The leader himself was an Italian. He sailed in the service of Spain. His crew were Spaniards, but there were among

them at least three or other nationalities. In a real sense, therefore, in its very discovery, the New World was an adventure of different races, different peoples working together.]

Today, all of us Americans North and Central and South Americans, join with our fellow citizens of Italian descent to do honor to the name of Columbus.

Many and numerous have been the groups of Italians who have come in welcome waves of immigration to this hemisphere. They have been an essential element in the civilization and make-up of all of the twenty-one Republics. During these centuries Italian names have been high in the list of statesmen in the United States and in the other Republics. —
~~and in addition~~ ^{helped to} ~~In the foremost~~ those who have created the scientific, commercial, professional and artistic life of the New World, have been the names of other Italians. Millions of Americans of Italian birth or ancestry have spent their lives contributing to the service of American culture, American industry, American defense and American peace.

The role of the Americas ever since that day has been
to have exceeded in the adventure of many races living in harmony
and cooperative effort. In the wake of the discoverers
came the first settlers, the first refugees from Europe.
They came to plough new fields, build new homes, establish
a new society in a new world. They fought for liberty.
Men and women of courage, of enterprise, of vision, they
knew what they were fighting for; they gained it --
and thereby "gave hope to all the world for all
future time".

They formed, here in the Western Hemisphere, a new
human reservoir, and into it has poured the blood, the
culture, the traditions of all the races and peoples of
the earth. To the Americas they came -- the "masses
yearning to be free" -- "the multitudes brought hither out
of many kindreds and tongues", cherishing common aspirations,
not for economic betterment alone, but for the personal
to
freedoms and liberties which had been denied them in the
1
Old World.

They came not to conquer one another but to live with one another. They came to make a new order of things -- ~~not in the sense of physical conquest, but in the only true sense in which a new order can ever be made: a spiritual and moral change.~~ They proudly carried with them their inheritance of culture, but they cheerfully left behind the burden of prejudice and hatred.

In this ~~new~~ world were transplanted the great cultures of Spain and Portugal. The long history of ~~Spain~~ ^{the} civilization -- its art, music, literature, engineering -- was continued and perpetuated in the new soil to the south of us. In our own day the fact is that a great part of the ~~and Portugal~~ Spanish culture of the entire world now comes from the Americas. From ~~Portugal~~, too, came a civilization which flourished on this side of the Atlantic so well that it now is a source of much of the Portuguese culture throughout the world.

It is natural that all American citizens from the many nations of the Old World should kindly remember the lands where their ancestors lived, and the great attributes of the old civilization in those lands. But in every single one of the American Republics, the first and final allegiance and loyalty of these citizens, almost without exception, is to the Republic in which they live and move and have their being.

For when our forefathers came to these shores, they came with a determination to stay and to become citizens of the New World. As it established its independence, they wanted to become citizens of America -- not an anglo-Saxon

America, nor an Italian, nor German, nor Spanish, nor Portuguese -- but just citizens of an independent nation of America.

When they settled here, no group considered itself as separate from the other groups, and the mass of all the citizens, in turn, considered each new group as a part of themselves rather than as a separate entity.

Here, group loyalties have been merged into one larger
dual
loyalty. Here, we do not have any ~~second class~~ citizenship.

Here, the descendants of the very same races who had always been forced to fear or hate each other in lands across the ocean, have learned to live in peace and in friendship.

No one group or race in the New World has any desire to subjugate the others. No one nation in this hemisphere has any desire to dominate the others. In the Western Hemisphere no nation is considered a second class nation.

We know that attempts have been made -- we know that they will continue to be made -- to divide these groups within a nation, and to divide these nations among themselves.

There are those in the Old World who persist in believing that here in this new hemisphere the Americas can be torn by the hatreds and fears which have drenched the battle grounds of Europe for so many centuries. Americans as individuals, American Republics as nations, remain on guard against those who seek to break up our unity by preaching ancient race hatreds, by working on old fears,

or by holding out glittering promises which they know to be false.

"Divide and conquer"~~they~~ has been the battle-cry of the totalitarian powers in their war against the democracies. It has succeeded on the continent of Europe. On our continents it will fail.

We are determined to use our energies and our resources to counteract and repel the foreign plots and propaganda,-- the whole technique of underground warfare originating in Europe and directed against all the Republics on this side now clearly of the ocean.

That propaganda repeats and repeats that democracy is a decadent form of government.--~~that the legions of the free are deemed to be conquered by regimented hordes.~~ They tell us that our old democratic ideal, our old traditions of civil liberty^{it is}, are things of the past,^{and that their} ~~new principles of totalitarianism represent the inexorable law of the future.~~

Thought

We reject this ~~doctrine~~. We say that we are the future.

We say that the direction in which they would lead us is

backward, not forward -- backward to the bondage of the

Pharaohs, backward to the ways of the wolf pack.

The command of the democratic faith has been ever

forward and upward.

~~Somewhat~~ Never have free men been satisfied with the mere

maintenance of any status quo, however comfortable or secure

it may have seemed at the moment. ~~The story of our faith~~

is the story of men for whom the present was never quite good

enough. They knew there was something better; and they

thought for it, and worked for it, and fought for it; and

they won it.

We have held to

There has always been a peculiar fire in the eye of

every true lover of freedom, always the hope, the belief,

the conviction that there is a better life, a better world,

beyond the horizon.

of freedom

That fire was in the eyes of Washington, and Bolivar,

A

and San Martin, and Artigas, and Juarez, and Bernardo

O'Higgins, and all the brave, rugged, ragged men who followed

them in the wars of independence.

That fire burns now in the eyes of those who are fighting for freedom in lands across the sea. ~~It burns in the eyes of every man who is ready to fight, whenever his freedom is challenged.~~

On this side of the ocean there is no desire, there will be no effort, on the part of any one race, or people, or nation, to ~~control~~ ^{good old fashioned neighborly} any other. The only encirclement sought is the encircling bond of friendship. So bound together, we are able to withstand any attack from the east or from the west. Together we are able to ward off any penetration of subversive economic interest, any infiltration of alien political and economic ideas which would destroy our freedom and democracy.

When we speak of defending this Western Hemisphere, we are speaking not only of the territory of North, Central and South America and the immediately adjacent islands. We include the right to the peaceful use of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. That has been our traditional policy.

It is a fact, for example, that as far back as 1798 the United States found that its peaceful trade and commerce with other parts of the Americas were threatened by armed privateers sent to the West Indies by nations then at war in Europe. Because of this threat to peace in this Hemisphere, the USS Constitution and many other ships were fitted out; and they drove the armed vessels of Europe out of the waters to the south of us, and made commerce between the Americas once more peaceable and possible.

We of the Americas still consider that this defense of these oceans of the Western Hemisphere against acts of aggression is the first factor in the defense and protection of our own territorial integrity. We reaffirm that policy, lest there be any doubt of our intention to maintain it.

There are some in every single one of the twenty-one American Republics who suggest that the course the Americas are following is slowly drawing one or all of us into war with some nation, or nations, beyond the seas.

The clear facts have been stated over and over again. This country wants no war with any nation. This hemisphere wants no war with any nation. The American Republics are determined to work in unity for peace just as we work in unity to defend ourselves from attack.

For many years every ounce of energy I have had has been devoted to keeping this nation and the other Republics at peace with the rest of the world. That is what continues uppermost in my mind today -- the objective for which I hope and work and pray.

We arm to defend ourselves. The strongest reason for that is that it is the strongest guarantee for peace.

The United States of America is mustering its men and resources, arming not only to defend itself, but, in cooperation with the other American Republics, to defend the whole hemisphere.

A. S. H.

We are building a total defense on land and sea and in the air, sufficient to repel total attack from any part of the world. Forewarned by the deliberate attacks of the dictators upon free peoples, the United States, for the first time in ~~our~~ history, has undertaken the mustering of men in peace time. Unprecedented dangers have caused the United States to undertake the building of a navy and an air force sufficient to defend all the coasts of the Americas from any combination of hostile powers.

We have asked for, and we have received, the fullest cooperation and assistance of industry and labor. ~~These~~ ^{All of us} are speeding the preparation of adequate defense. ~~which will be needed in mastering our men or our material~~

Let this be clearly understood: this program for defense was not created merely by executive order, or by act of Congress alone. It is the expression of the will of 130,000,000 people, free citizens of the United States of America.

and We are keeping the nations of this hemisphere fully advised of our defense preparations. We have welcomed the military missions from neighboring republics; and in turn our own military experts have been welcomed by them. We intend to encourage this frank interchange of information and plans.

We shall be all for one and one for all.

This idea of a defense strong enough and wide enough to cover this half of the world had its beginnings ~~in 1823~~, when the Government of the United States announced its policy with respect to South America. It was the policy of the good neighbor, the neighbor who knew how to mind his own business, but was always willing to lend a friendly hand to a friendly nation which sought it, the neighbor who was willing to discuss in all friendship the problems which will always arise between neighbors.

From the day on which that policy was announced, the American Republics have consulted with each other; they have peacefully settled their old problems and disputes; they have grown closer and closer to each other; until at last in 1938 at Lima, their unity and friendship were sealed.

There was then adopted a declaration that the New World proposed to maintain collectively the freedom upon which its strength had been built. It was the culmination of the good neighbor policy, the proof of what was said by that famous Argentinian of Italian birth, Alberdi -- "The Americas are a great political system: the parts draw their life from the whole; and the whole draws life from its parts".

It is timely now to recall parts of the statement of American policy made clear over a century ago -- as timely now as it was when made. It said: "With the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have

acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States". The important words for our time, words which now seem so prophetic, as uttered more than a hundred years ago are: "controlling in any other manner their destiny". Those words we reaffirm today in their new significance.

Through the acquisition of eight naval bases in territories of the British Empire lying within the sphere of the New World, from Newfoundland to Guiana, we have increased the immediate effectiveness of the great navy which we now have and of the greater navy we have under construction. These bases were acquired by the United States; but not for the protection of the United States alone. They were acquired for the protection of the whole Western Hemisphere. The unity of the American Republics was proven to the world, when these naval bases were

promptly opened by the United States to the other Republics for cooperative use. In that act was typified the good neighbor conception of hemispheric defense through the *by and* cooperation for all of us.

American radio stations will play their part in the new unity which has been built so solidly between the American nations during the past eight years. They must be effective instruments for the honest exchange and communication of ideas. They must never be used as stations in other lands are used, to send out on the same day one false story to one country, and a different false story to another.

The core of our defense is the faith we have in the institutions we defend. *The American all* The American descendants of the people of Columbus and of the people of Carl Schurz share with Americans of Austrian, Czech, Polish, Danish, Norwegian, Dutch, Belgian, French or Baltic and Balkan blood, abhorrence of the forces of enslavement that have placed the yoke of the new despotism on so many of the people of Europe.

The indispensable defenses -- those without ~~which~~ tanks
and planes and ships are of no avail -- rest on resoluteness
of mind and will, on clear realization of spiritual ends
and of the ideal of life. The moral forces of freedom --
the allegiance to liberty and the determination to defend
~~it at all costs~~ -- these are weapons of a free people.
essential

More important even than all the vast array of armament
we are building is our vital unifying force which comes
from the courage of free men. This unifying force will not
succumb to propaganda of fear. The Americas will not be
scared or threatened into the ways the dictators want us
to follow.

No combination of dictator countries of Europe and
Asia will halt us in the path we see ahead for ourselves
and for ~~the~~ democracy.

No combination of dictator countries of Europe and
Asia will stop the help we are giving to, the last free
people, fighting to hold them at bay.
~~also not~~

Our course is clear. Our decision is made. We will continue to pile up our defense and our armaments. We will continue to help those who resist aggression, and who now hold the aggressors far from our shores, ~~east-and-west~~.

A / -These forces of evil which are bent on conquest of the world will destroy whomever and whenever they can destroy. We have learned the lessons of recent years. We know now that if we seek to appease them by withholding aid from those who stand in their way, we only hasten the day of their attack upon us.

The people of the United States, the people of all the Americas, reject the doctrine of appeasement. They recognize it for what it is -- a major weapon of the aggressor nations.

I speak bluntly. I speak the love the American people have for freedom and liberty and decency and humanity.

That is why we arm. Because, I repeat, this nation wants to keep war away from these two continents. Because we all of us are determined to do everything possible to

maintain peace on this hemisphere. Because great strength of arms is the practical way of fulfilling our hopes for peace and for staying out of this war or any other war. Because we are determined to muster all our strength so that we may remain free.

and warmer
The men of Great Britain have shown how free ~~men~~ people defend what they know to be right. Their heroic defense will be recorded for all time, ~~not only for its stamina, its super-~~
~~human courage.~~ It will be perpetual proof that democracy, *of which* when put to the test, can show the stuff it is made, ~~is~~ ~~It~~ ~~be speaks the determination by free men that tyranny will not dominate mankind. It gives not merely a hope — it~~ gives renewed assurance that in the end democracy will triumph.

With
I recall ~~people~~, during my recent visit to three great capital cities in South America, the vast throngs which came to express by their cheers their friendship for the United States. I ~~should always~~ remember that above all the cheers I heard one constant cry again and again — ~~one~~ *espacially* shout above all others: "viva la Democracia"! -- "Long Live Democracy"!

Those three stirring words cry out the abiding
conviction of people in all the democracies that freedom
shall rule in the land.

As I salute the peoples of all the ~~Republics~~^{nations} in
the western world, I echo that greeting from our good
neighbors of the Americas: "Viva la ~~Democracy~~^{Republic} — Long
~~live Democracy!!~~^{live Democracy!!}"



RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE
DAYTON, OHIO
OCTOBER 12, 1940

It is no mere coincidence that this radio broadcast to the entire Western Hemisphere -- North America, Central America and South America -- should take place on the anniversary of Christopher Columbus' discovery of the New World. No day could be more appropriate than this day on which we celebrate the exploits of the bold discoverer.

Today, all of us Americans of North and Central and South America, join with our fellow citizens of Italian descent to do honor to the name of Columbus.

Many and numerous have been the groups of Italians who have come in welcome waves of immigration to this hemisphere. They have been an essential element in the civilization and make-up of all of the twenty-one Republics.

During these centuries Italian names have been high in the list of statesmen in the United States and in the other Republics -- and in addition, those who have helped to create the scientific, commercial, professional and artistic life of the New World.

The Americas have excelled in the adventure of many races living together in harmony. In the wake of the discoverers came the first settlers, the first refugees from Europe. They came to plough new fields, build new homes, establish a new society in a new world. Later, they fought for liberty. Men and women of courage, of enterprise, of vision, they knew what they were fighting for; they gained it -- and thereby "gave hope to all the world for all future time".

They formed, here in the Western Hemisphere, a new human reservoir, and into it has poured the blood, the culture, the traditions of all the races and peoples of the earth. To the Americas they came -- the "masses yearning to be free" -- "the multitudes brought hither

out of many kindreds and tongues", cherishing common aspirations, not for economic betterment alone, but for the personal freedoms and liberties which had been denied to them in the Old World.

They came not to conquer one another but to live with one another. They proudly carried with them their inheritance of culture, but they cheerfully left behind the burden of prejudice and hatred.

In this New World were transplanted the great cultures of Spain and Portugal. In our own day the fact is that a great part of the Spanish and Portuguese culture of the entire world now comes from the Americas.

It is natural that all American citizens from the many nations of the Old World should kindly remember the lands where their ancestors lived, and the great attributes of the old civilization in those lands. But in every single one of the American Republics, the first and final allegiance and loyalty of these citizens, almost without exception, is to the Republic in which they live and move and have their being.

9.05

For when our forefathers came to these shores, they came with a determination to stay and to become citizens of the New World. As it established its independence, they wanted to become citizens of America -- not an angle-Saxon America, nor an Italian, nor a German, nor a Spanish, nor a Portuguese -- but just citizens of an independent nation of America.

Here, we do not have any dual citizenship. Here, the descendants of the very same races who had always been forced to fear or hate each other in lands across the ocean, have learned to live in peace and in friendship.

No one group or race in the New World has any desire to subjugate the others. No one nation in this hemisphere has any desire to dominate the others. In the Western Hemisphere no nation is considered a second class nation.

We know that attempts have been made -- we know that they will continue to be made -- to divide these groups within a nation, and to divide these nations among themselves.

There are those in the Old World who persist in believing that here in this new hemisphere the Americas can be torn by the hatreds and fears which have drenched the battle grounds of Europe for so many centuries. Americans as individuals, American Republics as nations, remain on guard against those who seek to break up our unity by preaching ancient race hatreds, by working on old fears, or by holding out glittering promises which they know to be false.

"Divide and conquer" has been the battle-cry of the totalitarian powers in their war against the democracies. It has succeeded on the continent of Europe. On our continents it will fail.

We are determined to use our energies and our resources to counteract and repel the foreign plots and propaganda -- the whole technique of underground warfare originating in Europe and now clearly directed against all the Republics on this side of the ocean.

9.10

That propaganda repeats and repeats that democracy is a decadent form of government. They tell us that our old democratic ideal, our old traditions of civil liberties, are things of the past.

We reject this thought. We say that we are the future. We say that the direction in which they would lead us is backward, not forward -- backward to the bondage of the Pharaohs, backward to the slavery of the Middle Ages.

The command of the democratic faith has been ever onward and upward. Never have free men been satisfied with the mere maintenance of any status quo, however comfortable or secure it may have seemed at the moment.

We have always held to the hope, the belief, the conviction that there is a better life, a better world, beyond the horizon.

That fire of freedom was in the eyes of Washington, and Bolivar, and San Martin, and Artigas, and Juarez, and Bernardo O'Higgins, and all the brave, rugged, ragged men who followed them in the wars of independence.

That fire burns now in the eyes of those who are
fighting for freedom in lands across the sea.

On this side of the ocean there is no desire, there
will be no effort, on the part of any one race, or people,
or nation, to control any other. The only encirclement
sought is the encircling bond of good old fashioned neighborly
friendship. So bound together, we are able to withstand any
attack from the east or from the west. Together we are able
to ward off any infiltration of alien political and economic
ideas which would destroy our freedom and democracy.

When we speak of defending this Western Hemisphere, we
are speaking not only of the territory of North, Central
and South America and the immediately adjacent islands. We
include the right to the peaceful use of the Atlantic and
Pacific Oceans. That has been our traditional policy.

It is a fact, for example, that as far back as 1798
the United States found that its peaceful trade and commerce
with other parts of the Americas were threatened by armed

privateers sent to the West Indies by nations then at war in Europe. Because of this threat to peace in this Hemisphere, the USS Constitution and many other ships were fitted out; and they drove the armed vessels of Europe out of the waters to the south of us, and made commerce between the Americas once more peaceable and possible.

We of the Americas still consider that this defense of these oceans of the Western Hemisphere against acts of aggression is the first factor in the defense and protection of our own territorial integrity. We reaffirm that policy, 915 lest there be any doubt of our intention to maintain it.

There are some in every single one of the twenty-one American Republics who suggest that the course the Americas are following is slowly drawing one or all of us into war with some nation, or nations, beyond the seas.

The clear facts have been stated over and over again. This country wants no war with any nation. This hemisphere wants no war with any nation. The American Republics are determined to work in unity for peace just as we work in unity to defend ourselves from attack.

For many years every ounce of energy I have had has been devoted to keeping this nation and the other Republics at peace with the rest of the world. That is what continues uppermost in my mind today -- the objective for which I hope and work and pray.

We arm to defend ourselves. The strongest reason for that is that it is the strongest guarantee for peace.

The United States of America is mustering its men and resources, arming not only to defend itself, but, in cooperation with the other American Republics, to help defend the whole hemisphere.

We are building a total defense on land and sea and in the air, sufficient to repel total attack from any part of the world. Forewarned by the deliberate attacks of the dictators upon free peoples, the United States, for the first time in its history, has undertaken the mustering of its men in peace time. Unprecedented dangers have caused the United States to undertake the building of a navy and

an air force sufficient to defend all the coasts of the Americas from any combination of hostile powers.

We have asked for, and we have received, the fullest cooperation and assistance of industry and labor. All of us are speeding the preparation of adequate defense.

And we are keeping the nations of this hemisphere fully advised of our defense preparations. We have welcomed the military missions from neighboring republics; and in turn our own military experts have been welcomed by them. We intend to encourage this frank interchange of information and plans.

We shall be all for one and one for all.

This idea of a defense strong enough and wide enough to cover this half of the world had its beginnings when the Government of the United States announced its policy with respect to South America. It was the policy of the good neighbor, the neighbor who knew how to mind his own business, but was always willing to lend a friendly hand to a friendly nation which sought it, the neighbor who

9.20

was willing to discuss in all friendship the problems which will always arise between neighbors.

From the day on which that policy was announced, the American Republics have consulted with each other; they have peacefully settled their old problems and disputes; they have grown closer and closer to each other; until at last in 1938 at Lima, their unity and friendship were sealed.

There was then adopted a declaration that the New World proposed to maintain collectively the freedom upon which its strength had been built. It was the culmination of the good neighbor policy, the proof of what was said by that famous Argentinian of Italian birth, Alberdi -- "The Americas are a great political system: the parts draw life from the whole; and the whole draws life from its parts".

Through the acquisition of eight naval bases in territories of the British Empire lying within the sphere of the New World, from Newfoundland to Guiana, we have

increased the immediate effectiveness of the great navy which we now have and of the greater navy we have under construction. These bases were acquired by the United States; but not for the protection of the United States alone. They were acquired for the protection of the whole Western Hemisphere. The unity of the American Republics was proven to the world, when these naval bases were promptly opened by the United States to the other Republics for cooperative use. In that act was typified the good neighbor conception of hemispheric defense through by and cooperation_A for all of us.

American radio stations will play their part in the new unity which has been built so solidly between the American nations during the past eight years. They must be effective instruments for the honest exchange and communication of ideas. They must never be used as stations in other lands are used, to send out on the same day one false story to one country, and a different false story to another.

The core of our defense is the faith we have in the institutions we defend. The Americas will not be scared or threatened into the ways the dictators want us to follow.

No combination of dictator countries of Europe and Asia will halt us in the path we see ahead for ourselves and for democracy.

No combination of dictator countries of Europe and Asia will stop the help we are giving to almost the last ^{now} free people fighting to hold them at bay.
A

Our course is clear. Our decision is made. We will continue to pile up our defense and our armaments. We will continue to help those who resist aggression, and who now hold the aggressors far from our shores. Let no American in any part of the Americas question the possibility of danger from over seas. Why should we accept assurances that we are immune? History records that not long ago those same assurances were given to the people of Holland and Belgium.

(4.25)

It can no longer be disputed that forces of evil which are bent on conquest of the world will destroy whomever and whenever they can destroy. We have learned the lessons of recent years. We know now that if we seek to appease them by withholding aid from those who stand in their way, we only hasten the day of their attack upon us.

The people of the United States, the people of all the Americas, reject the doctrine of appeasement. They recognize it for what it is -- a major weapon of the aggressor nations.

I speak bluntly. I speak the love the American people have for freedom and liberty and decency and humanity.

That is why we arm. Because, I repeat, this nation wants to keep war away from these two continents. Because we all of us are determined to do everything possible to maintain peace on this hemisphere. Because great strength of arms is the practical way of fulfilling our hopes for peace and for staying out of this war or any other war. Because we are determined to muster all our strength so that we may remain free.

The men and women of Britain have shown how free people defend what they know to be right. Their heroic defense will be recorded for all time. It will be perpetual proof that democracy, when put to the test, can show the stuff of which it is made.

I well recall during my recent visit to three great capital cities in South America, the vast throngs which came to express by their cheers their friendship for the United States. I especially remember that above all the cheers I heard one constant cry again and again -- one shout above all others: "Viva la democracia"! -- "Long live democracy"!

Those three stirring words cry out the abiding conviction of people in all the democracies that freedom shall rule in the land.

As I salute the peoples of all the nations in the western world, I echo that greeting from our good neighbors of the Americas: "Viva la democracia" -- "Long live democracy!"

*Franklin Roosevelt
Original reading copy*

Circumstances of Release
Date and place unknown as at time
of preparation of this document

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the Rear Platform of his Special Train
Dayton, Ohio,
October 12, 1940, 9:00 P.M.

MY FRIENDS OF THE AMERICAS:

It is no mere coincidence that this radio broadcast to the entire Western Hemisphere -- North America, and Central America and South America -- should take place on the anniversary of Christopher Columbus' discovery of the New World. No day could be more appropriate than this day on which we celebrate the exploits of the bold discoverer.

Today, all of us Americans of North and Central and South America, join with our fellow citizens of Italian descent to do honor to the name of Columbus.

Many and numerous have been the groups of Italians who have come in welcome waves of immigration to this hemisphere. They have been an essential element in the civilization and make-up of all of the twenty-one Republics. During these centuries Italian names have been high in the list of statesmen in the United States and in the other Republics -- and in addition, those who have helped to create the scientific, commercial, professional, and artistic life of the New World are well known to us.

The Americas have excelled in the adventure of many races living together in harmony. In the wake of the discoverers came the first settlers, the first refugees from Europe. They came to plough new fields, build new homes, establish a new society in a new world. Later, they fought for liberty. Men and women of courage, of enterprise, of vision, they knew what they were fighting for; they gained it -- and thereby "gave hope to all the world for all future time".

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.

: READ FROM HERE TO END WITH THE

speech has started I think we -- especially because we're
understandingly going to have to do some other things -- so far as
you think about establishing some of those you can draw well out to yesterday
therefore this and to whatever else you do no
so far as speech has started one more to mention as to the what
to whom or whom or whom called to assist to settle two lists that
are

one which one assisted to square off and now the other one
as no need even yet -- everybody still is interested to know whether all
the questions off to him to go over the possibilities off in making further
jail off at mid week even though nothing seems to have changed substantially
-- he is here -- continuing to do off his work before us off to settle
what happened, what happened off what off began and our exact position
as of now like this will be off to still consider has, is
university never been to anything off all believe and agreed off
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They formed, here in the Western Hemisphere, a new human reservoir, and into it has poured the blood, the culture, the traditions of all the races and peoples of the earth. To the Americas they came -- the "masses yearning to be free" -- "the multitudes brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues", cherishing common aspirations, not for economic betterment alone, but for the personal freedoms and liberties which had been denied to them in the Old World.

They came not to conquer one another but to live with one another. They proudly carried with them their inheritance of culture, but they cheerfully left behind them the burden of prejudice and (hatred) hate.

In this New World were transplanted the great cultures of Spain and Portugal. And in our own day the fact is that a great part of the Spanish and Portuguese culture of the entire world now comes from the Americas themselves.

It is natural that all American citizens from the many nations of the Old World should kindly remember the lands where their ancestors lived, and the great attributes of the old civilization in those lands. But in every single one of the American Republics, the first and final allegiance, (and) the first and final loyalty of these citizens, almost without exception, is to the Republic in which they live and move and have their being.

For when our forefathers came to these shores, they came with a determination to stay, (and) to become citizens of the New World. As (it) we established (its) our independences, they wanted to become citizens of America -- not an Anglo-Saxon American, nor an Italian-American, nor a German-American, nor a Spanish-American, nor a Portuguese-American -- but just citizens of an independent nation of America.

Here, we do not have any dual citizenship. Here, the descendants

of the very same races who had always been forced to fear or hate each other in lands across the ocean, have learned to live in peace and in friendship.

No one group or race in the New World has any desire to subjugate the others. No one nation in this hemisphere has any desire to dominate the others. In the Western Hemisphere no nation is considered a second-class nation. And that is something worth remembering.

We know that attempts have been made -- we know that they will continue to be made, alas -- to divide these groups within a nation, and to divide these nations among themselves.

There are those in the Old World who persist in believing that here in this new hemisphere the Americas can be torn by the hatreds and fears (which) have drenched the battle grounds of Europe for so many centuries. Americans as individuals, American Republics as nations, remain on guard against those who seek to break up our unity by preaching ancient race hatreds, by working on old fears, or by holding out glittering promises which they know to be false.

"Divide and conquer!" That has been the battle-cry of the totalitarian powers in their war against the democracies. It has succeeded on the continent of Europe for the moment. On our continents it will fail.

We are determined to use our energies and our resources to counteract and repel the foreign plots (and), the propaganda -- the whole technique of underground warfare originating in Europe and now clearly directed against all of the Republics on this side of the ocean.

That propaganda repeats and repeats that democracy is a decadent form of government. They tell us that our old democratic ideal, our old traditions of civil liberties, are things of the past.

We reject (this) that thought. We say that we are the future. We say that the direction in which they would lead us is backward, not forward -- backward to the bondage of the Pharaohs, backward to the slavery of the Middle Ages.

The command of the democratic faith has been ever onward and upward. Never have free men been satisfied with the mere maintenance of any status quo, however comfortable or secure it may have seemed at the moment.

We have always held to the hope, the belief, the conviction that there is a better life, a better world, beyond the horizon.

That fire of freedom was in the eyes of Washington, and Bolivar, and San Martin, and Artigas, and Juarez, and Bernardo O'Higgins, and all the brave, rugged, ragged men who followed them in the wars of independence.

That fire burns now in the eyes of those who are fighting for freedom in lands across the sea.

On this side of the ocean there is no desire, there will be no effort, on the part of any one race, or people, or nation, to control any other. The only encirclement sought is the encircling bond of good old-fashioned neighborly friendship. So bound together, we are able to withstand any attack from the east or from the west. Together we are able to ward off any infiltration of alien political and economic ideas (which) that would destroy our freedom and our democracy.

And when we speak of defending this Western Hemisphere, we are speaking not only of the territory of North, and Central and South America and the immediately adjacent islands. We include the right to the peaceful use of the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean(s). That has been our traditional policy.

It is (a fact), for example, a fact that as far back as the year

1798 the United States found that its peaceful trade and commerce with other parts of the Americas were threatened by armed privateers sent to the West Indies by nations then at war in Europe. Because of (this) that threat to peace in this Hemisphere of ours, the USS, United States Ships, "CONSTITUTION", "CONSTITUTION", "UNITED STATES", and many others (Constitution and many other ships) were fitted out; and they drove the armed vessels of Europe out of the waters and armed, to the south of us, and made commerce between the Americas once more peaceable and possible.

We of the Americas still consider that this defense of these oceans of the Western Hemisphere against acts of aggression is the first factor in the defense and protection of our own territorial integrity. We reaffirm that policy, lest there be any doubt of our intention to maintain it.

There are some in every single one of the twenty-one American Republics who suggest that the course the Americas are following is slowly drawing one or all of us into war with some nation, or nations, beyond the seas.

The clear facts have been stated over and over again. This country wants no war with any nation. This hemisphere wants no war with any nation. The American Republics are determined to work in unity for peace just as we work in unity to defend ourselves from attack.

For many long years every ounce of energy I have had has been devoted to keeping this nation and the other Republics at peace with the rest of the world. That is what continues uppermost in my mind today -- the objective for which I hope and work and pray.

We arm to defend ourselves. The strongest reason for that is that it is the strongest guarantee for peace.

The United States of America is mustering its men and resources,

arming not only to defend itself, but, in cooperation with the other American Republics, to help defend the whole hemisphere.

We are building a total defense on land and on sea and in the air, a total defense sufficient to repel total attack from any part of the world. Forewarned by the deliberate attacks of the dictators upon free peoples, the United States, for the first time in its history, has undertaken the mustering of its men in peace time. Unprecedented dangers have caused the United States to undertake the building of a navy and an air force sufficient to defend all the coasts of the Americas from any combination of hostile powers.

We have asked for, and we have received, the fullest cooperation and assistance (of) from industry and labor. All of us are speeding the preparation of adequate defense.

And we are keeping the nations of this hemisphere fully advised of our defense preparations. We have welcomed the military missions from neighboring republics; and in turn our own military and naval experts have been welcomed by them. We intend to encourage this frank interchange of information and plans.

Because we shall be all for one and one for all.

This idea of a defense strong enough and wide enough to cover this half of the world had its beginnings when the Government of the United States announced its policy with respect to South and Central America. It was the policy of the good neighbor, the neighbor who knew how to mind his own business, but was always willing to lend a friendly hand to a friendly nation which sought it, the neighbor who was willing to discuss in all friendship the problems which will always arise between neighbors.

From the day on which that policy was announced, the American

Republics have consulted with each other; they have peacefully settled their old problems and disputes; they have grown closer and closer to each other; until at least in 1938 at Lima, their unity and friendship were sealed.

There was then adopted a declaration that the New World proposed to maintain collectively the freedom upon which its strength had been built. It was the culmination of the good neighbor policy, the proof of what was said by that famous Argentinian, (of Italian birth) Alberdi, of Italian birth, "The Americas are a great political system: the parts draw life from the whole; and the whole draws life from its parts".

Through the acquisition in recent months of eight naval bases in territories of the British Empire lying within the sphere of the New World, from Newfoundland to Guiana, we have increased the immediate effectiveness of the great navy which we now have (and) of the greater navy we have under construction. These bases were acquired by the United States; but not for the protection of the United States alone. They were acquired for the protection of the whole Western Hemisphere. The unity of the American Republics was proven to the world, when these naval bases were promptly opened by the United States to the other Republics for cooperative use. In that act was typified the good neighbor conception of hemispheric defense through cooperation by and for all of us.

American radio stations will play their part in the new unity (which) that has been built so solidly between the American nations during the past eight years. They must be effective instruments for the honest exchange and communication of ideas. They must never be used as stations in some other lands are used, to send out on the self-same day one false story to one country, and a different false story to another.

The core of our defense is the faith we have in the institutions

we defend. The Americas will not be scared or threatened into the ways the dictators want us to follow.

No combination of dictator countries of Europe and Asia will halt us in the path we see ahead for ourselves and for democracy.

No combination of dictator countries of Europe and Asia will stop the help we are giving to almost the last free people now fighting to hold them at bay.

Our course is clear. Our decision is made. We will continue to pile up our defense and our armaments. We will continue to help those who resist aggression, and who now hold the aggressors far from our shores. Let no American in any part of the Americas question the possibility of danger from over seas. Why should we accept assurances that we are immune? History records that not long ago those same assurances were given to the people of Holland and Belgium and Norway.

It can no longer be disputed that forces of evil which are bent on conquest of the world will destroy whomever and whenever they can destroy. We have learned the lessons of recent years. We know now that if we seek to appease them by withholding aid from those who stand in their way, we only hasten the day of their attack upon us.

The people of the United States, the people of all the Americas, reject the doctrine of appeasement. They recognize it for what it is -- a major weapon of the aggressor nations.

I speak bluntly. I speak the love the American people have for freedom and liberty and decency and humanity.

That is why we arm. Because, I repeat, this nation wants to keep war away from these two continents. Because we all of us are determined to do everything possible to maintain peace (on) in this hemisphere. Because

great strength of arms is the practical way of fulfilling our hopes for peace and for staying out of this war or any other war. Because we are determined to muster all our strength so that we may remain free.

The men and women of Britain have shown how free people defend what they know to be right. Their heroic defense will be recorded for all time. It will be perpetual proof that democracy, when put to the test, can show the stuff of which it is made.

I well recall during my recent visit to three great capital cities in South America, the vast throng which came to express by their cheers their friendship for the United States. I remember especially that above all the cheers I heard one constant cry again and again -- one should above all others: "Viva la Democracia!" -- "Long live democracy!"

Those three stirring words cry out the abiding conviction of people in all the democracies that freedom shall rule in the land.

As I salute the peoples of all the nations in the western world, I echo that greeting from our good neighbors of the Americas: "Viva la democracia" -- "Long live democracy!"

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STATEMENTS FILE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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October 12, 1940.

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be delivered from the President's train at Dayton, Ohio, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 9:00 P.M., E.S.T., October 12, 1940. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

ms. 5 con
STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President.

My friends of the Americas:

It is no mere coincidence that this radio broadcast to the entire Western Hemisphere — North America, Central America and South America — should take place on the anniversary of Christopher Columbus' discovery of the New World. No day could be more appropriate than this day on which we celebrate the exploits of the bold discoverer.

Today, all of us Americans of North and Central and South America, join with our fellow citizens of Italian descent to do honor to the name of Columbus.

Many and numerous have been the groups of Italians who have come in welcome waves of immigration to this hemisphere. They have been an essential element in the civilization and make-up of all of the twenty-one Republics. During these centuries Italian names have been high in the list of statesmen in the United States and in the other Republics — and in addition, those who have helped to create the scientific, commercial, professional and artistic life of the New World *pre war known to us*.

The Americas have excelled in the adventure of many races living together in harmony. In the ~~ways~~ of the discoverers came the first settlers, the first refugees from Europe. They came to ~~new~~ new fields, build new homes, establish a new society in a new world. Later, they fought for liberty. Men and women of courage, of enterprise, of vision, they knew what they were fighting for; they gained it — and thereby "gave hope to all the world for all future time". /

They formed, here in the Western Hemisphere, a new human reservoir, and into it has poured the blood, the culture, the traditions of all the races and peoples of the earth. To the Americas they came — the "masses yearning to be free" — "the multitudes brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues", cherishing common aspirations, not for economic betterment alone, but for the personal freedoms and liberties which had been denied to them in the Old World.

They came not to conquer one another but to live with one another. They proudly carried with them their inheritance of culture, but they cheerfully left behind the burden of prejudice and ~~hatred~~. *hate And them*

In this New World were transplanted the great cultures of Spain and Portugal. In our own day the fact is that a great part of the Spanish and Portuguese culture of the entire world now comes from the Americas. *themselves*.

It is natural that all American citizens from the many nations of the Old World should kindly remember the lands where their ancestors lived, and the great attributes of the old civilization in those lands. But in every single one of the American Republics, the first and final allegiance

and loyalty of these citizens, almost without exception, is to the Republic in which they live and move and have their being.

For when our forefathers came to these shores, they came with a determination to stay ~~and~~ to become citizens of the New World. As it established its independence, they wanted to become citizens of America — not an Angle-Saxon American, nor an Italian, nor a German, nor a Spanish, nor a Portuguese, but just citizens of an independent nation of America. *America* *America* *America*

Here, we do not have any dual citizenship. Here, the descendants of the very same races who had always been forced to fear or hate each other in lands across the ocean, have learned to live in peace and in friendship.

No one group or race in the New World has any desire to subjugate the others. No one nation in this hemisphere has any desire to dominate the others. In the Western Hemisphere no nation is considered a second class nation.

We know that attempts have been made — we know that they will continue to be made — to divide these groups within a nation, and to divide these nations among themselves.

There are those in the Old World who persist in believing that here in this new hemisphere the Americas can be torn by the hatreds and fears which have drenched the battle grounds of Europe for so many centuries. Americans as individuals, American Republics as nations, remain on guard against those who seek to break up our unity by preaching ancient race hatreds, by working on old fears, or by holding out glittering promises which they know to be false.

"Divide and conquer," *but* has been the battle-cry of the totalitarian powers in their war against the democracies. It has succeeded on the continent of Europe. On our continents it will fail. *for the moment.*

We are determined to use our energies and our resources to counteract and repel the foreign plots and propaganda — the whole technique of underground warfare originating in Europe and now clearly directed against all the Republics on this side of the ocean.

That propaganda repeats and repeats that democracy is a decadent form of government. They tell us that our old democratic ideal, our old traditions of civil liberties, are things of the past. *They*

We reject ~~this~~ thought. We say that we are the future. We say that the direction in which they would lead us is backward, not forward — backward to the bondage of the Pharaohs, backward to the slavery of the Middle Ages.

The command of the democratic faith has been ever onward and upward. Never have free men been satisfied with the mere maintenance of any status quo, however comfortable or secure it may have seemed at the moment.

We have always held to the hope, the belief, the conviction that there is a better life, a better world, beyond the horizon.

That fire of freedom was in the eyes of Washington, and Bolivar, and San Martin, and Artigas, and Juarez, and Bernardo O'Higgins, and all the brave, rugged, ragged men who followed them in the wars of independence.

That fire burns now in the eyes of those who are fighting for freedom in lands across the sea.

On this side of the ocean there is no desire, there will be no effort, on the part of any one race, or people, or nation, to control any other. The only encirclement sought is the encircling bond of good old fashioned neighborly friendship. So bound together, we are able to withstand any attack from the east or from the west. Together we are able to ward off any infiltration of alien political and economic ideas which would destroy our freedom and ~~our~~ democracy.

When we speak of defending this Western Hemisphere, we are speaking not only of the territory of North, Central and South America and the immediately adjacent islands. We include the right to the peaceful use of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. That has been our traditional policy.

It is a fact, for example, that as far back as 1798 the United States found that its peaceful trade and commerce with other parts of the Americas were threatened by armed privateers sent to the West Indies by nations then at war in Europe. Because of ~~the~~ threat to peace in this Hemisphere, the USS Constitution and many other ships were fitted out, and they drove the armed vessels of Europe out of the waters to the south of us, and made commerce between the Americas once more peaceable and possible.

We of the Americas still consider that this defense of these oceans of the Western Hemisphere against acts of aggression is the first factor in the defense and protection of our own territorial integrity. We reaffirm that policy, lest there be any doubt of our intention to maintain it.

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The clear facts have been stated over and over again. This country wants no war with any nation. This hemisphere wants no war with any nation. The American Republics are determined to work in unity for peace just as we work in unity to defend ourselves from attack.

For many years every ounce of energy I have had has been devoted to keeping this nation and the other Republics at peace with the rest of the world. That is what continues uppermost in my mind today -- the objective for which I hope and work and pray.

We arm to defend ourselves. The strongest reason for that is that it is the strongest guarantee for peace.

The United States of America is mustering its men and resources, arming not only to defend itself, but, in cooperation with the other American Republics, to help defend the whole hemisphere.

We are building a total defense on land and sea and in the air, sufficient to repel total attack from any part of the world. Forewarned by the deliberate attacks of the dictators upon free peoples, the United States, for the first time in its history, has undertaken the mustering of its men in peace time. Unprecedented dangers have caused the United States to undertake the building of a navy and an air force sufficient to defend all the coasts of the Americas from any combination of hostile powers.

We have asked for, and we have received, the fullest cooperation and assistance ~~in~~ industry and labor. All of us are speeding the preparation of adequate defense.

And we are keeping the nations of this hemisphere fully advised of our defense preparations. We have welcomed the military missions from neighboring republics; and in turn

our own military experts have been welcomed by them. We intend to encourage this frank interchange of information and plans.

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From the day on which that policy was announced, the American Republics have consulted with each other; they have peacefully settled their old problems and disputes; they have grown closer and closer to each other; until at last in 1938 at Lima, their unity and friendship were sealed.

There was then adopted a declaration that the New World proposed to maintain collectively the freedom upon which its strength had been built. It was the culmination of the good neighbor policy, the proof of what was said by that famous Argentinian, *of Italian birth*, Alberdi, *of Italian birth*: "The Americans are a great political system: the parts draw life from the whole; and the whole draws life from its parts".

Through the acquisition of eight naval bases in territories of the British Empire lying within the sphere of the New World, from Newfoundland to Guiana, we have increased the immediate effectiveness of the great navy which we now have ~~and~~ of the greater navy we have under construction. These bases were acquired by the United States; but not for the protection of the United States alone. They were acquired for the protection of the whole Western Hemisphere. The unity of the American Republics was proven to the world, when these naval bases were promptly opened by the United States to the other Republics for cooperative use. In that act was typified the good neighbor conception of hemispheric defense through cooperation ~~by~~ ^{for} ~~all~~ of us.

American radio stations will play their part in the new unity ~~which~~ has been built so solidly between the American nations during the past eight years. They must be effective instruments for the honest exchange and communication of ideas. They must never be used as stations in other lands are used, to send out on the same day one false story to one country, and a different false story to another.

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No combination of dictator countries of Europe and Asia will halt us in the path we see ahead for ourselves and for democracy.

No combination of dictator countries of Europe and Asia will stop the help we are giving to almost the last free people fighting to hold them at bay.

New Our course is clear. Our decision is made. We will continue to pile up our defense and our armaments. We will continue to help those who resist aggression, and who now hold the aggressors far from our shores. Let no American in any part of the Americas question the possibility of danger from over seas. Why should we accept assurances

that we are immune? History records that not long ago those same assurances were given to the people of Holland and Belgium.^{and Norway.}

It can no longer be disputed that forces of evil which are bent on conquest of the world will destroy whomever and whenever they can destroy. We have learned the lessons of recent years. We know now that if we seek to appease them by withholding aid from those who stand in their way, we only hasten the day of their attack upon us.

The people of the United States, the people of all the Americas, reject the doctrine of appeasement. They recognize it for what it is — a major weapon of the aggressor nations.

I speak bluntly. I speak the love the American people have for freedom and liberty and decency and humanity.

That is why we arm. Because, I repeat, this nation wants to keep war away from these two continents. Because we all of us are determined to do everything possible to maintain peace in this hemisphere. Because exert strength of arms is the practical way of fulfilling our hopes for peace and for staying out of this war or any other war. Because we are determined to muster all our strength so that we may remain free.

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I well recall during my recent visit to three great capital cities in South America, the vast throngs which came to express ~~by their cheers~~ their friendship for the United States. I especially remember that above all the cheers I heard one constant cry again and again — one shout above all others: "Viva la Democracia!" — "Long live democracy"!

Those three stirring words cry out the abiding conviction of people in all the democracies that freedom shall rule in the land.

As I salute the peoples of all the nations in the western world, I echo that greeting from our good neighbors of the Americas: "Viva la democracia" — "Long live democracy"!

(unmarked)

Mr. Berle's draft
October 4, 1940.

Memorandum: Columbus Day Speech

Fellow Americans of the New World:

Nearly three years ago, in fact on Christmas Eve 1937, the twenty-one Republics on this Hemisphere took a great decision. They decided to unify the New World in a program of mutual defense should it ever be threatened from overseas.

There was then no World War; but the signs of its coming were plain enough to all who would see. The Declaration of Lima was a pact of mutual defense and a statement that the New World proposed to maintain the freedom on which its might strength has been built.

That strength rests on an ability which is the particular quality of the Western Hemisphere -- the ability to unite hundreds of millions of men different in race, in creed and in background, but one in their determination to live in this new civilization which we have built. Our strength does not come from dictatorship; our union was not made by having any race force other races to become its

servants.

servants. It was made by pooling the differing minds and experience of all who cared to contribute.

It is particularly appropriate to discuss defense of the New World on this 12th day of October, which is the anniversary of Christopher Columbus. He was an Italian, inheriting the glorious tradition of Italian culture and art, and of Italian discovery in mathematics, in mechanics, in navigation, and in science. Without these he never could have conceived, far less executed, a voyage across the impassable sea.

He sailed in the service of Spain; and thus, at its very discovery the New world was an experiment of races working together. The tradition has been continued. Great Italian groups have come both to North and to South America. Italian names stand high in the list of statesmen in the United States and in the other American republics who are working day and night for the defense of the Hemisphere. Others of Italian name stand high in the scientific, the commercial, the professional, and the artistic life of the New world; and millions of men of

Italian ancestry, less well known, steadily contribute to the service of American peace and to its vigorous and forceful defense.

We have never asked -- it would be stupid to ask -- of any such group that it forget its race origins. On the contrary, we expect all of these groups to be rightfully proud of their heritage of blood and culture. This is in no way inconsistent with their complete loyalty to the New World countries in which they live and of which they are a part.

What has been said of Italians may equally be said of the other great groups which have entered into our hemispheric life. In the square in front of the White House are statues of four men who contributed mightily to the building of American independence: Von Steuben, who was German; Pulaski, who was Polish; and Lafayette and Chambeau, who were French. Beside the liberals of Spanish America who were Spanish, like Bolivar, Artigas, San Martin, are men of other names, like Bernard O'Higgins.

The first line of defense of the Americas is made

up of her men; and they are one, though their blood may be drawn from all the world.

In defending our common life, we have to realize that attempts have been made and will continue to be made to try to divide these groups. They have always failed before, and they will fail now; but a certain vigilance is necessary to make sure that agents from beyond the not seas, trying to masquerade as Americans, will endeavor to split up the unity by preaching forgotten race hatreds, or by working on old fears, or by holding out glittering but false promises. In the Old World, people still make the tragic mistake of believing that the Americas are torn with the hatreds and fears which have made Europe a bloody battleground for many centuries. It is inconceivable to these foreign observers that races which had always been forced to hate each other beyond the seas should live here in peace and friendship; should educate their children together and have their young people intermarrying and making happy homes.

Yet to anyone who knows the history of this Hemisphere, the reason is perfectly clear. Practically everyone who has

taken up life in the New World in the past two centuries came in order to get away from this accumulated mass of hatreds and fears and blood feuds. They proposed to make a new order of things, not in the sense of forcible conquest, but in the only true sense in which a new order can be made: a spiritual change. They proudly brought with them their inheritance of culture; but they gladly left behind the burden of prejudice and fear and hate. Out of many, they created the twenty-one republics of the New World; and this family of nations, itself unified in the most successful international group the world has ever seen, is the symbol of the only new order of things which can possibly survive in a modern world.

Step by step we are building and will presently complete a defensive machine greater than any which the world has yet known. We are creating it in peace, and peace is its objective; but the peace must be real, and not an armistice designed to cover new preparations for a new attack.

The beginnings of this defense justify a word.

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In 1932, I stated that the policy of the United States would be that of the Good Neighbor -- a neighbor which minded its own business but was always available to lend a friendly hand to a friendly nation which sought it; a neighbor which could discuss in all friendship problems which do arise and will always arise between neighbors.

In the New World there was much to be done to make this policy real. It was necessary to end the right of intervention in Cuba -- a historic remnant carried over from a bygone day. It was necessary to clear up a number of questions which had arisen; and this was done by an Inter-American Conference at Montevideo. To protect American unity the President of the Argentine and I called a special conference for the preservation and maintenance of peace at Buenos Aires in 1936.

During this period, the American nations set themselves to clearing up, so far as possible, all differences which might exist between themselves. The unfortunate Chaco War was ended. Certain boundary questions were at length laid to rest. Old grievances were examined and solutions reached. Finally, at Lima we were prepared to enter a pact of common defense. The keynote was set by the Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs, who quoted a famous Argentinian of Italian name, Alberdin,-- "The Americas are a great political system: the parts draw their life from the whole; and the whole draws life from its parts." There followed the Declaration to which I have referred, which is the outline of a union for the defense of the New World.

All too quickly the war which we foresaw broke out in Western Europe. Steadily it engulfed nation after nation. Today it is, in the true sense, a World War, whose dangers are everywhere.

Clearly it was time for the New World to take

measures,

measures, and this was done. Following a suggestion made more than a century ago, and brought forward by certain South American republics during the last World War, I proposed that we surround the Americas with a neutral zone three hundred miles out to sea, and that in cooperation we patrol this zone, to the end that war be kept as far as possible from American shores. At the consultation of Panama in September of 1939, this plan was agreed to. At once cooperative arrangements were established between the United States and the other American republics by which the Atlantic zone was under constant observation by Argentina, Brazil and the United States warships, airplanes and reconnaissance patrols. We were able, thereby, to prevent in large measure the use of American waters as hunting grounds for naval warfare of the sort which we had been forced to endure in the World War of 1914. To do this required, among other things, that the United States repair and put into commission more than one hundred warships which we had laid up; and that we hasten construction of a considerable number of ships for whose launching we had long since planned.

At the same time we consulted upon and arranged for common policies with respect to overseas ships or aircraft which might attempt to use our coasts or waters as supply bases. By working together, we were able to obtain so large a measure of success that no foreign warship has been able to use American resources; and by consequence, no foreign power has been able with success to carry on operations on this side of the world.

As the war developed, and increased in scope, it became unhappily clear that certain European powers, quite aside from their official statements, had entertained the idea that they might, granted opportunity, undertake to bring into the New World certain imperialistic ideas which have no basis here. We could not be ignorant of the fact that propaganda was being carried on, not only for the purpose of making friends in this Hemisphere, but actually designed to weaken certain American states, in the hope of being able to bring them within a European system: a direct violation of the Declaration of Lima. We could not close our eyes to the fact that plots and intrigues

were being hatched on "merican territory, by people who were enjoying "merican hospitality, but were serving over-seas masters, and were directly attacking our own way of life. We could not, in common sense and fairness to our own people, close our eyes to the fact that a technique of underground warfare had been established in Europe; and that signs of it were appearing here. Finally, we could not be blind to the fact that if the propagandists for foreign countries meant what they said -- and it was clear that they were talking under orders of their governments -- the real plan of their masters was to seize, if possible, domination of any part of the New World which could not defend itself, by force if need be. No serious statesman in either of our continents could afford to ignore the challenge.

We accordingly carried out the arrangements fore-shadowed at Lima and brought forward at Panama; and quietly took counsel together. Plainly, military measures were required; and these must be taken in cooperation. Plainly also, the United States, as the strongest and most numerous of the twenty-one nations, might fairly be expected to

contribute heavily to the common defense.

You will note that no one of us could have done these things if any of us were afraid of the other. True cooperation requires complete confidence of each in the intentions of the other; and this, I am happy to say, we had, we now have, and we shall continue to have.

Staff conferences between military experts of the United States and of the other countries have been steadily going forward for a period of more than eight months. Through military missions, through naval missions, through special visits of experts, and through constant consultation, we have worked out the major problems of the defense of the Hemisphere, and are making steady progress in the methods by which any attack must be met. One result of this is the meeting now going on in the United States between the Chiefs of Staff of a number of the "merican republics, so that their plans and ours may be coordinated for ready use should occasion arise -- as I trust and hope it will not.

To make matters safe, it became plain that a considerable additional increase of naval power in the

Atlantic and in the Caribbean would be necessary. By the acquisition of naval bases at strategic points along the Atlantic coast, running from Newfoundland to Brazil, it would be possible vastly to increase the immediate effectiveness of the naval strength which we have, and to multiply the strength of the ships which are under construction. You will recall that we have recently solved this problem by acquiring eight bases in territories of the British Empire, which, however, lie within the sphere of the New World. You will recall that though this was a transaction between the British and Canadian governments and the United States, the bases have promptly been opened for cooperative use to the other American nations, preserving thereby the conception of a hemispheric defense through the cooperation of the twenty-one "American republics. At the same time, the only question of contention which might arise between the American republics, namely, the handling of colonies within the New World belonging to European powers whose sovereignty might be affected by

the

the current war, was discussed and arranged for in the conference at Havana three months ago, and taken care of temporarily by the Act of Havana, and permanently by the Convention of Havana, which has already been ratified by ourselves and a number of "merican nations.

On the side of air defense we have been hard at work. Using as a nucleus certain commercial air fields, running all the way from the northern part of the United States to southern Argentina, we have been arranging for their equipment so that they may be promptly used, should necessity arise, for the rapid transport of air and military strength. At the conclusion of this operation, it will be possible for the twenty-one "merican republics, or for any one of them should need arise, to place at the disposal of any one of the republics adequate military and naval aviation to repel any reasonably foreseeable attack.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT DELIVERED
FROM THE AIRSHIP'S TAIL AT
DAYTON, OHIO, OCTOBER 12, 1940.

1650

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My friends of the Americas:

It is no mere coincidence that this radio broadcast to the entire Western Hemisphere -- North America, Central America and South America -- should take place on the anniversary of Christopher Columbus' discovery of the New World. No day could be more appropriate than this day on which we celebrate the exploits of the bold discoverer.

Today, all of us Americans of North and Central and South America, join with our fellow citizens of Italian descent to do honor to the name of Columbus.

Many and numerous have been the groups of Italians who have come in welcome waves of immigration to this hemisphere. They have been an essential element in the civilization and make-up of all of the twenty-one Republics. During these centuries Italian names have been high in the list of statesmen in the United States and in the other Republics -- and in addition, those who have helped to create the scientific, commercial, professional and artistic life of the New World.

The Americas have excelled in the adventure of many races living together in harmony. In the wake of the discoverers came the first settlers, the first refugees from Europe. They came to plough new fields, build new homes, establish a new society in a new world. Later, they fought for liberty. Men and women of courage, of enterprise, of vision, they knew what they were fighting for; they gained it -- and thereby "gave hope to all the world for all future time".

They formed, here in the Western Hemisphere, a new human reservoir, and into it has poured the blood, the culture, the traditions of all the races and peoples of the earth. To the Americas they came -- the "masses yearning to be free" -- "the multitudes brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues", cherishing common aspirations, not for economic betterment alone, but for the personal freedoms and liberties which had been denied to them in the Old World.

They came not to conquer one another but to live with one another. They proudly carried with them their inheritance of culture, but they cheerfully left behind the burden of prejudice and hatred.

In this New World were transplanted the great cultures of Spain and Portugal. In our own day the fact is that a great part of the Spanish and Portuguese culture of the entire world now comes from the Americas.

It is natural that all American citizens from the many nations of the Old World should kindly remember the lands where their ancestors lived, and the great attributes of the old civilization in those lands. Yet in every single one of the American Republics, the first and final allegiance and loyalty of these citizens, almost without exception, is to the Republic in which they live and move and have their being.

For when our forefathers came to these shores, they came with a determination to stay and to become citizens of the new World. As it established its independence, they wanted

to become citizens of America — not an anglo-Saxon Americas, nor an Italian, nor a German, nor a Spanish, nor a Portuguese -- but just citizens of an independent nation of America.

Here, we do not have any dual citizenship. Here, the descendants of the very same races who had always been forced to fear or hate each other in lands across the ocean, have learned to live in peace and in friendship.

No one group or race in the New World has any desire to subjugate the others. No one nation in this hemisphere has any desire to dominate the others. In the Western Hemisphere no nation is considered a second class nation. And that is something worth remembering.

We know that attempts have been made -- we know that they will continue to be made -- to divide these groups within a nation, and to divide these nations among themselves.

There are those in the Old World who persist in believing that here in this new hemisphere the Americas can be torn by the hatreds and fears which have drenched the battle grounds of Europe for so many centuries. Americans as individuals, American Republics as nations, remain on guard against those who seek to break up our unity by preaching ancient race hatreds, by working on old fears, or by holding out glittering promises which they know to be false.

"Divide and conquer" has been the battle-cry of the totalitarian powers in their war against the Democracies. It has succeeded on the continent of Europe for the moment. On our continents it will fail.

We are determined to use our energies and our resources to counteract and repel the foreign plots and propaganda — the whole technique of underground warfare originating in Europe and now clearly directed against all the Republics on this side of the ocean.

That propaganda repeats and repeats that democracy is a decadent form of government. They tell us that our old democratic ideal, our old traditions of civil liberties, are things of the past.

We reject this thought. We say that we are the future. We say that the direction in which they would lead us is backward, not forward — backward to the bondage of the Pharaohs, backward to the slavery of the Middle Ages.

The command of the democratic faith has been ever onward and upward. Never have free men been satisfied with the mere maintenance of any status quo, however comfortable or secure it may have seemed at the moment.

We have always held to the hope, the belief, the conviction that there is a better life, a better world, beyond the horizon.

That fire of freedom was in the eyes of Washington, and Bolivar, and San Martin, and Artigas, and Juarez, and Bernardo O'Higgins, and all the brave, rugged, ragged men who followed them in the wars of independence.

That fire burns now in the eyes of those who are fighting for freedom in lands across the sea.

On this side of the ocean there is no desire, there will be no effort, on the part of any one race, or people, or nation, to control any other. The only encirclement sought is the encircling bond of good old fashioned neighborly friendship. So bound together, we are able to withstand any attack from the east or from the west. Together we are able to ward off any infiltration of alien political and economic ideas which would destroy our freedom and democracy.

When we speak of defending this Western Hemisphere, we are speaking not only of the territory of North, Central and South America and the immediately adjacent islands. We include the right to the peaceful use of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. That has been our traditional policy.

It is a fact, for example, that as far back as 1798 the United States found that its peaceful trade and commerce with other parts of the Americas were threatened by armed privateers sent to the West Indies by nations then at war in Europe. Because of this threat to peace in this Hemisphere of ours, the United States Ships "Constellation," "Constitution," "United States," and many others were fitted out; and they drove the armed vessels of Europe out of the waters to the south of us, and made commerce between the Americas once more peaceable and possible.

We of the Americas still consider that this defense of those oceans of the Western Hemisphere against acts of aggression is the first factor in the defense and protection of our own territorial integrity. We reaffirm that policy, lest there be any doubt of our intention to maintain it.

There are some in every single one of the twenty-one American Republics who suggest that the course the Americans are following is slowly drawing one or all of us into war with some nation, or nations, beyond the seas.

The clear facts have been stated over and over again. This country wants no war with any nation. This hemisphere wants no war with any nation. The American Republics are determined to work in unity for peace just as we work in unity to defend ourselves from attack.

For many long years every ounce of energy I have had has been devoted to keeping this nation and the other Republics at peace with the rest of the world. That is what continues uppermost in my mind today -- the objective for which I hope and work and pray.

We aim to defend ourselves. The strongest reason for that is that it is the strongest guarantee for peace.

The United States of America is mustering its men and resources, aiming not only to defend itself, but, in cooperation with the other American Republics, to help defend the whole hemisphere.

We are building a total defense on land and sea and in the air, sufficient to repel total attack from any part of the world. Forewarned by the deliberate attacks of the dictators upon free peoples, the United States, for the first time in its history, has undertaken the mustering of its men in peace time. Unprecedented dangers have caused the United States to undertake the building of a navy and an air force sufficient to defend all the coasts of the Americas from any combination of hostile powers.

We have asked for, and we have received, the fullest cooperation and assistance of industry and labor. All of us are speeding the preparation of adequate defense.

And we are keeping the nations of this hemisphere fully advised of our defense preparations. We have welcomed the military missions from neighboring republics; and in turn

our own military experts have been welcomed by them. We intend to encourage this frank interchange of information and plans.

We shall be all for one and one for all.

This idea of a defense strong enough and wide enough to cover this half of the world had its beginnings when the Government of the United States announced its policy with respect to South America. It was the policy of the good neighbor, the neighbor who knew how to mind his own business, but was always willing to lend a friendly hand to a friendly nation which sought it, the neighbor who was willing to discuss in all friendship the problems which will always arise between neighbors.

From the day on which that policy was announced, the American Republics have consulted with each other; they have peacefully settled their old problems and disputes; they have grown closer and closer to each other; until at last in 1938 at Lima, their unity and friendship were sealed.

There was then adopted a declaration that the New World proposed to maintain collectively the freedom upon which its strength had been built. It was the culmination of the good neighbor policy, the proof of what was said by that famous Argentinian of Italian birth, Alberdi -- "The Americas are a great political system: the parts draw life from the whole; and the whole draws life from its parts".

Through the acquisition of eight naval bases in territories of the British Empire lying within the sphere of the New World, from Newfoundland to Guiana, we have increased the immediate effectiveness of the great navy which we now have and of the greater navy we have under construction. These bases were acquired by the United States; but not for the protection of the United States alone. They were acquired for the protection of the whole Western Hemisphere. The unity of the American Republics was proven to the world, when these naval bases were promptly opened by the United States to the other Republics for cooperative use. In that act was typified the good neighbor conception of hemispheric defense through cooperation by and for all of us.

American radio stations will play their part in the new unity which has been built so solidly between the American nations during the past eight years. They must be effective instruments for the honest exchange and communication of ideas. They must never be used as stations in other lands are used, to send out on the same day one false story to one country, and a different false story to another.

The core of our defense is the faith we have in the institutions we defend. The Americas will not be scared or threatened into the ways the dictators want us to follow.

No combination of dictator countries of Europe and Asia will halt us in the path we see ahead for ourselves and for democracy.

No combination of dictator countries of Europe and Asia will stop the help we are giving to almost the last free people fighting to hold their at bay.

Our course is clear. Our decision is made. We will continue to pile up our defense and our armaments. We will continue to help those who resist aggression, and who now hold the aggressors far from our shores. Let no American in any part of the Americas question the possibility of danger from over seas. Why should we

accept assurances that we are immune? History records that not long ago those same assurances were given to the people of Holland and Belgium and Norway.

It can no longer be disputed that forces of evil which are bent on conquest of the world will destroy whomever and whenever they can destroy. We have learned the lessons of recent years. We know now that if we seek to appease them by withholding aid from those who stand in their way, we only hasten the day of their attack upon us.

The people of the United States, the people of all the Americas, reject the doctrine of appeasement. They recognize it for what it is -- a major weapon of the aggressor nations.

I speak bluntly. I speak the love the American people have for freedom and liberty and decency and humanity.

That is why we arm. Because, I repeat, this nation wants to keep war away from these two continents. Because we all of us are determined to do everything possible to maintain peace on this hemisphere. Because great strength of arms is the practical way of fulfilling our hopes for peace and for staying out of this war or any other war. Because we are determined to muster all our strength so that we may remain free.

The men and women of Britain have shown how free people defend what they know to be right. Their heroic defense will be recorded for all time. It will be perpetual proof that democracy, when put to the test, can show the stuff of which it is made.

I well recall during my recent visit to three great capital cities in South America, the vast throngs which came to express by their cheers their friendship for the United States. I especially remember that above all the cheers I heard one constant cry again and again -- one shout above all others: "Viva la Democracia"! -- "Long live democracy"!

Those three stirring words cry out the abiding conviction of people in all the democracies that freedom shall rule in the land.

As I salute the peoples of all the nations in the western world, I echo that greeting from our good neighbors of the Americas: "Viva la democracia" -- "Long live democracy"!

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The attached was used by the
President for the News Reels

FIRST TAKE.

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SECOND TAKE (continued)

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THIRD TAKE:

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