

*Compliments of*  
*D. A. McSiven, M. P.*

**Three Addresses**

BY

SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER  
OF FLORIDA

SUBJECTS :

***"Democracy in the Modern World"***

AND

***"Shall Democracy Meet the  
Challenge of To-day?"***

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DELIVERED BEFORE

The Canadian Club of Toronto  
MARCH 17, 1941

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The Empire Parliamentary Association  
MARCH 18, 1941

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The Canadian Club of Ottawa  
MARCH 19, 1941

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**ADDRESS OF SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER OF FLORIDA BEFORE  
THE CANADIAN CLUB OF TORONTO, CANADA, AT  
1.00 O'CLOCK P.M., MARCH 17, 1941**

***Subject: Democracy in the Modern World***

*Mr. President, Neighbors and Friends of  
Canada:*

President Wilson, appearing before the Convention which nominated him for the Governorship of New Jersey, opened his remarks with these words: "Have you ever experienced the elation of a great emotion?" One could not come, as I am privileged to do today, to address for the first time an audience of neighbors and new friends, friends which he expects to know and to cherish for a very long time, without experiencing the elation of the great emotion of happiness.

You know we in North America are friendly people. We like to visit, and it is easy for us to know one another because we have so many things in common. We both have our oceans, our mountain ranges, our plains, our barren lands, our lakes; in the east we have industry, and westerly, agriculture.

We even have the same troubles. We make more, in factory and on farm, than we consume. We live and have our being in a great world from which we buy and to which we sell many things. The streams of world thought and the ebb of world tides wash across both our countries.

We both have politics, good, and in our case, at least on occasion, even bad politics and politicians.

We have the same traditions. We didn't, like Topsy, just grow. We both grew slowly, tediously, even painfully. We together, and many times with mutual helpfulness, turned forests into thriving cities, beautiful villages and inviting countryside, wildernesses into farms and humming factories. We have laden the backs of our streams with burdens of commerce and harnessed the waters to the dynamos of the modern world.

We have wrought the spirit of our creative peoples into great institutions of inspiration, stability and permanence. We have developed sentiments which we think of as colored by our own evolution of them—such sentiments as liberty, freedom, responsibility, national and personal dignity, physical, mental and spiritual integrity.

Now I guess we are about grown up.

I remember when I was a little past eleven, somehow I got the impression that one did not become morally accountable until he reached the age of twelve. I shall never forget what great satisfaction I derived from the escapades

I committed in those last months before reaching twelve, devilishly immune from accountability for those wrongs of which I was gleefully aware.

After a fashion I had the same experience when I got into politics. Surely I thought no one could be held really accountable for what he did when he was still under forty. Last fall I reached that perihelion, and alas I am afraid that now I shall have to answer to my constituents in Florida for what I do that they don't like. So you and I and Canada and the United States are now grown up, and we shall have to face this modern world like mature men and nations, and we shall not be able to make excuses either for our failure to understand it or to meet it. Our people and our history will observe only that we either did or did not meet that world as we should.

This modern world presents to the institution of Democracy its most supreme challenge. No institution has ever struggled with a world like this because there has never been a world like this. There were never before so many people, and since people make problems, there were never before so many problems. People never lived so intimately before. They were never so interdependent. Their welfare was never so inextricably interwoven. They never were so keenly competitive as they now are. They never had so many things in common. They never had so many reasons to oppose one another for what there is. They never had so many causes to work together to enjoy what there is and to make more.

Obviously, when almost all the world can hear a man speak at the same time, when most of the world knows most of the world's news at almost the same time, when modern transportation has contracted the globe almost to a neighbourhood, no part of the world or the race of man does or can live alone. Modern technology has emphasized our interdependence, for from the ends of the earth come together the elements of our daily lives. Interrupt the streams of raw materials as they move almost like falling waters toward the machines of the world and modern life would stop. Disturb the delicate equilibrium and adjustment of the labour which turns and guides those machines and life slips back at once through the centuries. Affect the delicate mechanism of the exchanges and immediately come chaos and confusion. Burden the free



movement of vital forces with unnatural restrictions and the whole economic machine groans.

Is it possible that fair balance can be kept in this giant constellation by the processes of Democracy as you and I know them?

From many parts of the world the answer is an authoritative "No." This is all too vast, too complicated, too delicately balanced, too throbbingly alive to be guided by more than a single mind—steered by more than one hand. In no other way, say they, can there be the timing or the comprehensiveness which will keep it in order. It is a job, they contend, only for especial skill. It requires a particular technique which grows out of nice distinctions and subtle differentiations. It must have, they contend, scientific accuracy and no allowance can be made for human error or frailty. All must be subordinated to the central purpose. The individual must give way to the group. The individual is nothing—the State all, and above the State must be one to say:—

"I am the State."

Those who believe that and we who believe our way are in mortal struggle which can end only when the stronger and the righter shall prevail.

It is the fiercest struggle of history. The whole world is engaged. Some contribute materials, some heroically give both men and materials. Some give their mite, and others whom inglorious circumstances have made mute give only their prayers; but all give something which is their stone in the edifice of our effort, bearing their own craftman's mark.

If our kind of Democracy is to persist, we must first make it work in our own nations. Second, make it work in our continent, and third, do one part to make it work in the world. Undoubtedly, to make Democracy work in the modern state in this technological age, is the severest test of genius, understanding and patience. If there is overproduction in the totalitarian state, the adjustment is made by an order. If populations are needed in one place more than another, they are simply moved, body and soul. If there is no money with which to pay them, their labor is forced by a simple decree. If funds are not to be found, currency can be issued, obligations put into circulation by simple steps of inflation, which by mere mandate prices and wages remain stable. Of course, the innocent can be robbed to fill the looters' treasury and the concentration camp or the nameless grave can stifle the remonstrances or the cry of the protestant against any ravage.

With us men and women are still sane. They can speak, assemble, write and vote. They can stir up a terrible tempest in the political teapot. They have to be explained to as to why you do and why you don't. They have to be told why they don't get something, and if they get something, why they didn't get more. They have to vote contributions to the tax-gatherer. They have to be compensated for their property or their time. They have something to say as to what kind of work they do, what kind of crops they grow, and where they labour or produce.

And they insist on doing it all in their own way and in their own good time, regardless of whether that is the scientific way or not. Moreover, they must have it not only in circumstances as they want it, but by the particular method they prefer, and in getting what they want they insist that they will not give up things which may be to some just ideas, but to them are very valuable possessions.

It is clearly apparent that something must enter into the spirit of men, a new kind of willingness to assume a new kind of discipline, before such Democracy can really save the modern world as we know it in our homelands.

There are some who think that any discipline is tyrannical. You and I know that the character of the discipline depends upon its source, its authority. If our farmers, because they have an unmarketable excess, see their Congress establish a method to curtail production and to enrich their soil, if two-thirds of them in a fair election in which only farmers participate, approve that method and reapprove it each year it is in force, the resulting mandate which carries out that method is not dictatorship—it is Democracy.

If we agree that we will pay a minimum wage, that we will not exceed maximum hours of labor, that we will break up monopolies, that we will forbid unfair trade practices, that we will regulate commerce in its flow, that we shall require the observance of private morals in business financing: These are but the evidences of our common will imposed for the common weal. If we plan, think ahead, give and take, we surrender no liberties. We gain independence.

Of course, it is not always easy for one to fit into his or her particular place, however strong the wish to do so. Ability to serve contemplates not only willingness, but training and helpful instruction. And there must be an understanding that Democracy is a pearl of great price and cannot come cheaply. It must be bought with sacrifice and sometimes with "sweat, and tears, and blood."



We cannot ask the world to adopt and live by the principles of Democracy unless we can show them that we have first made Democracy work in our continent. Co-operative democracy in this hemisphere has given peace to more people over a larger area and for a longer time than the world has ever seen before. In this dreary hour when men have so much to bring despair to their hearts, where is there a picture so inspiring, so reassuring as that which is presented over all these thousands of miles, among all of these twenty-two nations, among all these different people, speaking their different languages, having their variable origins, their own distinctive characteristics and aspirations.

See them, wedded together in sickness and in health, in peace and in defense, until God doth them part!

Was there ever such neighborhood in the world! It is the very antithesis of the *pax romana*, the totalitarian state, where unity is achieved by force. With us unity springs from the deeper source, a deep rooted consciousness of right, justice, interdependence, and awareness that we are not our brother's killer, but our brother's keeper.

Here we meet not by summons of the gun; we sign our conventions not under the drawn sword. We come together because we want to work together and we make our accords because true friendship is in our hearts. Our many differences, our natural frictions, we settle not by command and coercion, but by reasoning together—by give and take—by arbitration.

In all this massive land dividing the oceans we have found no problem, territorial, racial, religious, political, economic, social or cultural, which would not melt under the radiance of these warm sentiments of mutual respect and affection.

I delight to do honor to a great American, not of our continent, but of our land, Simon Bolivar. You know the story of how this far seeing patriot wrote a letter in 1815 to an English gentleman in the English colony of Jamaica where he had found a friendly haven from the vicissitudes of the revolution he was leading. In this letter he said:—

"How beautiful it would be for the Isthmus of Panama to be for our nations what the Corinthian Isthmus was for the Greeks. Would to God that some day we might enjoy the happiness of having there an august Congress of representatives of the Republics, kingdoms and Empires of America to deal with the high interests of peace and of war with the nations of the other three parts of the world."

Having achieved his glorious victory at Ayacucho in 1824 the independence of the

Americas was assured. The distinguished prophet of the future set about to realize his dream of a Congress of American nations. Invitations were issued to the free nations of the hemisphere, including the United States. An English observer was invited as well. How are excerpts from the memorandum sent to Great Britain:—

"The Congress of Panama will bring together representatives from all the governments of America and a diplomatic agent of his Britannic Majesty. This congress seems destined to form the vastest league, the most extraordinary and the strongest which has ever appeared on earth. . . The human race would give a thousand thanks for this league of salvation, and America and England would receive manifold benefits from it."

The invitation concluded with this significant statement:—

"Such ideas are to be found in the minds of some Americans of the highest quality; they wait with impatience for the congress of Panama to initiate this project which may be the occasion for the consolidation of the union of *the new states with the British Empire.*"

This Congress was, of course, doomed to failure. It was too far ahead of its time. We will leave it to the historian to reflect upon what the world might have been spared had it then embraced the dream of Simon Bolivar.

But these sentiments, having found happy lodgment in the United States, finally in 1889 resulted in James G. Blaine, as Secretary of State of the United States, calling in Washington the first Pan-American Conference.

The nature of this conference, the foundations it laid for the whole structure of Pan-American unity, which has so gloriously grown up since, is well stated by former President Ricardo J. Alfaro, of the Republic of Panama, who said:—

"No treaties or conventions were signed at this meeting, yet its achievements were great, for it served three transcendent purposes. In the first place, it crystallized into action the latent sentiment of Pan-Americanism and laid down the foundations of a united America, as dreamed by Bolivar and Clay. In the second place, it gave birth to the central organ of continental action, the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics, which was the forerunner of the present Pan-American Union. And last but not least, the Conference of 1889 went down in history as the first occasion upon which representatives of the great majority of the continent united



in condemning the right of conquest and in proclaiming the principle of compulsory arbitration.

" . . . . Pan-Americanism is a structure devoted to peace and prosperity. That structure rests upon the four pillars of independence, equality, justice and co-operation, and those four pillars were erected in 1889."

Since that historic conference there have been nine Pan-American Conferences, which have molded Pan-American relations into an edifice of firmness, effectiveness and permanence. An entirely new relationship among the twenty-one republics on your southern border has under the impulse of this American spirit come about. The United States has frankly reversed some of its own policies. It has laid down what it may not be too much to say has become the principle that best expresses this American spirit—the principle of the good "neighbor who resolutely respects himself, and because he does so, respects the rights of others," uttered by a worthy champion of Simon Bolivar's dream, a friend of man, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The United States now is proud of its friendship with the other nations of our world, proud of the fellowship which it enjoys with them, proud of the happy community which we have created with these great Americas, proud of the respect which each accords the others and enjoys for all, proud of the friendship of the smallest as of the largest, and no more designing upon the one than the other. It is a source of immeasurable satisfaction to us that what was once taken as policies of paternalism or maybe aggression are now taken by none except as ties that bind us together for our common defense against a common danger.

But most salutary of all is that out of this new fraternity in the Americas there has come not only sentiments of understanding and friendship, but effective, efficient, constantly functioning instrumentalities and agencies for meeting and solving the myriad problems of the work-a-day world which affect us all. In Washington stands an imposing building which is the seat of Pan-American functioning, as well as sentiment. Supporting this superstructure of Pan-American accord are numerous committees working through the days and the nights to improve the health, the standards of living, the cultural opportunities, the security, may I add the happiness, of a quarter of a billion men, women and children whom God has blessed with the Americas.

And here as you and we clasp hands across this almost imaginary border which hardly perceptibly divides us, Simon Bolivar's dream has come to a substantial reality, for with the

contact between you and us, the British Commonwealth of Nations, a great and salutary world institution is brought into the comradeship of your neighbors in the Americas. Can the spectacle fail to inspire you?

A major part of the world's surface, the dominant part of the world's people, constituting two gigantic world systems meeting at an unfortified boundary between your country and mine!

How pitiful, how spiritually barren, is the so-called "New State" by comparison! Here no chains of slavery forged by a tyrant, no throwing of people together into the dungeons of slavery, but more than half the people of the earth saying to one another, "We want to be your friend. We want to work together in peace so that the humblest man, the frailest little child, shall have a fair chance to find a way to his own just destiny."

Is it surprising then that we are not afraid, that we are confident, that we defy the monsters who would crush all these fine things in their cruel and lustful grasp, who would scorch our fair lands with their flaming hate?

It gives me no little satisfaction to come fresh from the American Congress which has laid down in the democratic way the positive policy of our people which is understood by all—that we shall build an arsenal for democracy the like of which the world has never seen.

It is not enough to have democracy these days in a part of the world. Democracy must and can live only in a healthy environment. The world can no more be half slave and half free than can a nation be. The very nature of each philosophy makes totalitarianism and democracy mutually exclusive. They can no more live in the same earth than light and darkness can at the same time occupy the same space. The organization, the aims, the very spirit of each is repugnant to the other. Now the struggle is on, the issue joined as to which shall live and which shall die. The first task then is to throw back the beast which leaps at us all, to strangle him into impotence, to destroy his power, to disturb the orderly progress of man upward.

That we shall do, each in his own way, consistently with his own traditions and institutions, but so co-operatively that there shall be no doubt about the unity and the effectiveness of the common effort. And we shall stay at it until the job is done, because it is the history of our people that having taken hold we don't turn loose.

When that job is done in due course, then we shall have to think about what we ought to do to encourage a co-operative peace and progress



in the world. Not one of us, I am sure, but what is willing to do his or her part; not one of us has a thought of shirking our fair share of responsibility; not one of us is unwilling to measure fairly and squarely the risk of doing something with the risk of doing nothing.

Whatever form it may take, we know that the pillars of the structure will be the principles of the good neighbor which prevail with us here—"the neighbor who resolutely respects himself, and because he does so, respects the rights of others."

In the foundations can be no other supports than willingness to admit the other man's rights while you insist upon your own, earnest recognition of the interdependence of us all, sincere desire to co-operate helpfully with one another, acceptance of the principles of honest discussion or fair arbitration as a method of

settling differences, recognition that whatever impairs or obstructs the fullest possible exchange of goods, services, ideas and inspirations harms all, and above all, understanding that the most glorious monument that man can build is not a dazzling state, but a healthy, busy, happily striving people.

While the sky is dark, while the hearts of men are heavy and the cries of the anguished echo around the world, those of us who have never lost our faith in man and man's God know that the darkest hour comes just before the dawn and from the fallow ground of suffering have sprung forth the most beautiful specimens of the spirit.

The portals of the future are ajar. They challenge us to open them and through them to enter into the abundance and the beauty of a better world.

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**ADDRESS OF SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER OF FLORIDA BEFORE  
THE EMPIRE PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION COMPOSED  
OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF  
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CANADIAN PAR-  
LIAMENT, AT OTTAWA, CANADA,  
MARCH 18, 1941**

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*Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Senate, Members of the House:*

It is difficult to say whether a sense of honor or a sense of satisfaction is uppermost in my mind as I have for the first time this great privilege of addressing in this historic chamber you who represent the people of Canada with whom we in the United States have so long enjoyed what one has called the brotherly relation of "peace with friction".

When I reflect upon our long and happy associations I am reminded of the country boy in my state of Florida who, when his girl accepted his stammered proposal, was so beside himself that he rushed out of the house into the beautiful moonlight, stretched his hands upward to the kindly moon, and said, "Oh, Lord, I ain't got nothin agin nobody."

While I should have liked my visit to Canada to have been earlier, yet I believe that if I could have chosen a time in my life to visit you, I would prefer this time when I can come fresh from the Congress of the United States and tell you and through you the heroic people of Britain and the stalwart peoples of the British Commonwealth that we will not abandon you in this hour of trial. We free men and women challenge the enslaved to a test of endurance. Let us see who is made of the sterner stuff.

We challenge the dictators in Europe and in the Orient to shake off Winston Churchill, Mackenzie King, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the others who speak for free men.

I owe it to you to say that it is the gallant and limitless way in which all of you who are fighting this good fight of faith have thrown yourselves into it which has made our people as determined as they are to help you until it hurts. Before I came here I knew what share of your income you were spending in the cause. I was aware of some of the external evidences of your mighty effort, but I did not know until I came to see it and to feel it just how fixed and determined was the purpose of your people to carry on until the inevitable day of victory against this devilish attack upon freedom everywhere.

It is like your great past, like the great races to which you belong, to entertain these sentiments. It is like you not to give them up at any cost.

Our people in the United States are not strangers to these same sentiments. You know how common our origins are, how parallel have been our careers, how much alike we are, how these same mountains and plains and lakes and rivers, these great forests, the tides of these oceans, have their counterpart with us. You know how freely and naturally travel and trade



and understanding, the niagaras of friendship, have flowed across this almost imaginary line that barely perceptibly divides us from each other.

You know the history of the long years in which we have each worked out by the oceans, by the streams, in the forests, in the fields, the kind of a world which seemed right to us, and how the taproots of our lives reach down deep into the same earthlike traditions which we cherish. Whatever our shortcomings, whatever we may not have done or have done poorly, the effort has been ours. Under God it has been our world here. Under God it shall be our world to the end.

We are not ashamed to say that both you and we prayed that this cup might pass from us. Our lives, our destinies are in the Americas. In nothing that we have done, in nothing that we intend to do, do we propose to lose sight of that first principle of Americanism. Assuredly the most repugnant policy imaginable to the minds of our peoples is to seek involvement in any foreign war. The whole race knows not only how we cherish peace, but what we have done to assure it and to preserve it. Nothing could enough entice us, so allure us by way of gain for selfish purpose, that we would for it spend the life of a single boy in any province or state.

But we are sensible people. We know the delicate equilibrium there is in the world in which we live. We know how the economy, the security, the integrity of the whole world, has become a single pattern. To tear it or break it anywhere weakens the whole and dislocates and disturbs all lives and all nations. We know that we do not and cannot live alone and live as we now live. We must sell to others and buy from others. To buy and sell we must be able to carry our goods and our people along the sea lanes of the world. We know there must be a medium of exchange that will promote rather than clog our commerce. We know we must be able to depend upon men's words and men's bonds to do business—to carry on. We know we must have a satisfying sense of security to know that we will not be attacked in the night by some powerful enemy. We know that nothing is safe, neither life nor property, if international brigands bent upon loot, stopping at nothing, are allowed to run loose. We know that if force be the criterion of all things among nations, if might be the single arbiter of right, all that we have tediously and painfully built up, all that "the sweat and tears and blood" of the past have won and kept, is lost. We know that if tyranny gains supremacy over the earth freedom is dead, and our race of men still prefers death to slavery.

In those circumstances then what can we do save to say that these cruel men who would destroy all these things upon which we live cannot and shall not prevail? We are bent upon a single purpose. We shall choke them into impotence. They shall not destroy our world. To that task each of us in his own way, and according to his own tradition shall give himself without stint.

How could we if we would restrain the impulse of exultation and joy that rises up within us from the spectacle of what our kind of men and women, boys and girls, are doing in other parts of the world! Let those who scorn what they call the decadence of free men behold what fighting men they are, entrenched behind their homes and altars, their temples, the ramparts of their faith. Let them see how terrible is their wrath when provoked beyond endurance!

No knight was ever braver, more gallant, than those boys who left their classrooms a few months ago and have now saved a world in the clouds. No heroine was ever more noble than those women who have sent their offspring away while they stayed to carry on, to dress the wounds of the injured, to solace the hurt, or those who have saved their bodies that they might throw them as a shield between a devil's bomb and an innocent babe. Such courage no pitiless power can break.

It is a paradox that while one part of this generation has reached the depths of depravity, yet another part has soared into the sun.

When we think of the future, we turn to the past. I wonder if you remember the letter that a great American, Simon Bolivar, wrote in 1815 to an English gentleman in the English colony of Jamaica, who had given him friendly refuge from the unfavourable fortunes of the revolution which he was leading. In this letter Bolivar said:

"How beautiful it would be for the Isthmus of Panama to be for our nations what the Corinthian Isthmus was for the Greeks. Would to God that some day we might enjoy the happiness of having there an august Congress of representatives of the Republics, Kingdoms and Empires of America to deal with the high interests of peace and of war with the nations of the other three parts of the world."

When he had gained the liberation of his peoples this great patriot and prophet set out to make real his dream, a Congress of American nations. He issued an invitation to all the free nations of this hemisphere, including the United States. You will recall that an English observer was invited also.



This is an excerpt from the note sent to Great Britain:

"The Congress of Panama will bring together representatives from all the governments of America and a diplomatic agent of His Britannic Majesty. This Congress seems destined to form the vastest league, the most extraordinary and the strongest which has ever appeared on earth. . . . The human race would give a thousand thanks for this league of salvation, and America and England would receive manifold benefits from it."

This is the significant statement with which the invitation concluded:

"Such ideas are to be found in the minds of some Americans of the highest quality, they wait with impatience for the congress of Panama to initiate this project which may be the occasion for the consolidation of the union of the new states with the British Empire."

This Congress, of course, was ahead of its time and it failed. What might have been saved, how many might have been spared had the world embraced the dream of Simon Bolivar only the historian and the Omniscient One can say.

But this concept of Bolivar, thinking of unity in the Americas which Great Britain and the United States had solidly resolved would forever be for Americans, had also sprung out of the fertile mind of Thomas Jefferson. It found fervid echo in the eloquence of Henry Clay. It came forever into reality when James G. Blaine, as Secretary of State of the United States, in 1889 called in Washington the first Pan-American Conference. This first conference laid the foundation and breathed the spirit of the noble edifice which was to grow upon it. Former President Ricardo J. Alfaro, of the Republic of Panama, described this first conference in these words:

"No treaties or conventions were signed at this meeting, yet its achievements were great, for it served three transcendent purposes. In the first place, it crystallized into action the latent sentiment of Pan-Americanism and laid down the foundations of a united America, as dreamed by Bolivar and Clay. In the second place, it gave birth to the central organ of continental action, the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics, which was the forerunner of the present Pan-American Union. And last but not least, the Conference of 1889 went down in history as the first occasion upon which representatives of the great majority of the

continent united in condemning the right of conquest and in proclaiming the principle of compulsory arbitration.

"... Pan-Americanism is a structure devoted to peace and prosperity. That structure rests upon the four pillars of independence, equality, justice and cooperation, and those four pillars were erected in 1889."

Nine further historic conferences since that one in 1889 have built the permanent and effective institution of Pan-Americanism. Not only a new spirit, but a new relationship has come about among the twenty-one republics on your Southern border. New standards in international affairs, not only are spoken of, but are observed.

One of those who has taken the mote out of its own eye before complaining about the beam in the eye of its neighbor has been the United States. That country has frankly confessed the error of many of its own ways. It has expressed the principle which perhaps more than any other epitomizes this new spirit—the principle of the good "neighbor who resolutely respects himself, and because he does so, respects the rights of others", uttered by an Elisha worthy of Simon Bolivar's mantle, a friend to man, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In the spirit of the New Pan-Americanism each nation has re-examined its policy to be sure there was nothing by omission or commission in that policy that would be inconsistent with these new concepts of neighborliness.

At Montevideo in 1933 this policy of the good neighbor found expression in solemn covenants wherein everyone of these twenty-one republics with unshakable determination resolved that no nation in all this continent had a right to interfere with the internal affairs of any other nation, and that the territorial and national integrity of each nation was to be respected by all others as a sacred thing.

At Buenos Aires in 1936 met the first Pan-American Conference dedicated to the maintenance of peace in the Western Hemisphere. There for the first time effective collective action was taken and machinery for collective co-operation set in motion that gave a real as well as a philosophical solidarity to all this vast territory and all these many peoples. It was readily recognized no less enthusiastically by the United States than by any other power that the Monroe Doctrine was not a doctrine of the United States of America, but a doctrine of the Western Hemisphere, which asserted the right of this hemisphere to be free of European aggression and to develop its own destiny in its own way. The interdependence of all our many nations was recognized in the conclusion



of this conference, that a threat to the security of one of our neighbors was a danger to the safety of all our Western neighborhood.

In 1938 came the conference of Lima and its splendid declaration of American principles. Here consultative machinery was more specifically provided for and set in motion. This principle of solidarity among the American republics was becoming one of the vital forces of the world.

Then at Panama in 1939 met the foreign ministers of the Pan-American group to meet the challenge of this new menace to our security.

In 1940 at Havana again came together all our twenty-one republics and further co-ordinated our common effort, strengthened our common ties and quickened the pace of our co-operation.

These conferences have been but the external appearances of deeper forces which were moving through the minds and hearts of our governments and our quarter of a billion people.

In Washington the great Pan-American building is the seat not only of the Pan-American sentiment, but of an effectively functioning Pan-American service. Committees of earnest and able representatives of all these nations are constantly working through the day and the night to improve and to better assure the security, to improve the health, to raise the standard of living, to promote a better exchange of the cultures of all our nations and all our peoples. We stop not at the non-controversial boundaries, but the common effort enters also into the field of reciprocal helpfulness one to another in the strengthening of one another's economic life.

I may mention what my own country is doing through the Export-Import Bank in furnishing capital and credit to our friends and neighbors which has the double aspect of helping both them and us. This fact alone indicates most significantly a new attitude in the realm of international relations and international finance. Capital is regarded as the instrument of national policy, the vehicle for international progress, and not the exploiting tyrant which in some times past has bent national policy supinely to its will.

The armed forces of no one of the Pan-American republics is thought of in relation to the collection of either private or public debts. The good neighbor policy is, of course, bilateral and multilateral. It is mutual and reciprocal in its character. Nevertheless, it is ancient history in the Pan-American world that even severe differences in business transactions or policies can be a cause for intervention, much less war.

In the modern Pan-American order we no more think of the use of a gun in international business affairs than in private business affairs.

The United States, as you all know, has even removed the former vestiges of the old order, in, for example, our voiding of the Platte Amendment which gave our nation certain rights in respect to our neighbor Cuba, the revision of our treaty with Panama, which in its original form was thought somewhat to impair the national integrity of our good friends in the Republic of Panama.

In these days when we hear so much of the greed of nations for territory and resources, it is perhaps permissible to add that any suggestions relative to any change in the existing law providing for the independence of the Philippines has come from the Filipinos themselves and not from us.

All these things that I have said simply relate to doings in our neighborhood in which I knew you were keenly interested. No discussion, of course, of international affairs could leave out of consideration, indeed of emphasis, a system and a sentiment which has given peace over a larger area to more people for a longer time than any other system in history.

What a happy prospect it is to turn our eyes to your great nation here, to think of the long years of our unbroken friendship, the many ties of interest, understanding, mutual helpfulness and affection which bind us together with hoops of steel!

You and I know that we could no more get along without each other sentimentally than we could get along without each other economically. What an example to the world we have given in mutual confidence and trust, in working out our differences by honest discussion or fair arbitration, in maintaining the machinery for the adjustment of frictions which inevitably develop among strong peoples, in the removal or the limitation of artificial barriers which impede the natural flow of goods and services across our thin boundary! And last and most glorious of all, the welding together in insoluble bonds our two nations for our common defense!

What our President said to you here at Queen's College in 1938, that we would not sit idly by and see your fair land made the victim of aggression by any foreign power, was but a natural assurance of what you knew already, and but the same sentiment which your great Prime Minister, whom we so highly esteem, would have expressed in my country had circumstances made it appropriate there. In other words, it is a good idea for nations to do what husbands and wives ought to do, tell each other they love each other, even if each knows it already.

At Ogdensburg, of course, our cooperation began in earnest. Personally, as a legislator,



I have the right to hope that our cooperation shall extend far beyond what was said at Ogdensburg; that our effort to build here in this continent an overflowing arsenal of democracy shall be so synchronized that it shall be as much one as are our common wills that democracy shall survive.

Is it too much to hope that the spirit of Simon Bolivar, Henry Clay and those who have dreamed their dreams, can see this glorious spectacle in which your people and mine join together the two mightiest systems upon the face of the earth, half of all the world's people, more than half of all the world's surface, in a common friendship, common understanding and a common purpose?

It is no Pax Romana; it is no gigantic slave state; we are not brought together under the yoke of tyranny. Ours is a new kind of empire. It is a new kingdom, a dominion of the spirit which echoes back the hosannas of the angels, "On Earth Peace, Good Will toward Men."

When we have passed as we shall the crisis in this malady from which the world so bitterly suffers, our next problem shall be to think of a healthy future. Each of us, all of us, must make it his first concern that we shall not make the mistakes we have made in the past. The scales have fallen from many eyes and they no longer see as through a glass darkly. They see clearly the tragedy which has befallen a selfish and a short-sighted policy. We in our country are beginning now to be a little ashamed of ourselves, not of what we did in the World War, but of what we didn't do after the war. We are praying that we shall be big enough and wise enough this time not to try to run away from a world from which there is no escape for any of us. There was a time in your country and mine when it was easy to flee beyond the mountains, beyond the rivers, beyond the plains, from the exacting pressures behind. With both of us that time has largely passed. However, we "grunt and sweat" there is no place now to flee to. We must stay and meet our problems like men.

It is not easy, of course, for your people or mine to come to the consciousness that they are just a family in a busy world community.

We have had so long security here upon our continent that many have come to confuse security with what some called isolation. Even in an earlier day we were not so much isolated that both you and we did not feel the dynamic reverberations of the earth-shaking wars of Europe. The oceans were not so broad that the soldiery of Europe could not reach again and again our own lands and the

hands of our neighbors. That was before modern ships, the long range bomber. Who can say what will be the weapons of tomorrow, when men are talking about the release of the energy of the infinitesimal particles of matter.

But we are come to see in our country that it was not the oceans which gave us our security, but the statesmanship and the courage of our leaders and our people. For over a century because of the happy accord between Great Britain and the United States in laying down and in maintaining the Monroe Doctrine, the fleets of those nations have lain like an impenetrable screen across the exits of the old world and the entrances to the new. We recognize the farsightedness of our Jefferson who saw that the restless Napoleon was not a good neighbor.

Now not only our President but our people have come with rare unanimity and by the democratic process to the solemn resolve that we shall pour our substance out to those heroic men and women who upon any one of the world's fronts is stemming the tide of slavery.

I like to imagine that I see in spite of all its fluctuations some continuity in the sentiment of our people, a persistent adherence to the principles of freedom, independence and justice. What we gained for ourselves we have many times helped others to gain. We will now help others to keep.

None of us can see over the hill and know just what our path will be beyond the crest, but we know the direction in which we are going. We know the faith which shall move us and guide us, both here and on the other side. We shall not be afraid of sacrifice in peace as we have not feared it in strife. Man's destiny grows fuller. He has hardly begun even to see it, let alone to reach it. Nothing can stop his onward march.

There are some words with which I should like to close. They are the last words uttered by Woodrow Wilson in the last speech he made in the west before he fell like a brave soldier facing the enemy. As he uttered those words I visualize him in the shining raiment of prophecy. He said:

"Now that the mists have cleared away, I believe that man will see the truth, eye to eye and face to face. There is one thing that the American people always rise to and extend their hand to, and that is the truth of justice and of liberty and of peace. We have accepted that truth and we are going to be led by it, and it is going to lead us, and through us the world, out into pastures of quietness and peace such as the world never dreamed of before."



**ADDRESS OF SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER OF FLORIDA, BEFORE  
THE CANADIAN CLUB OF OTTAWA, CANADA,  
AT 1.00 P.M. MARCH 19, 1941**

***Subject: Shall Democracy Meet the Challenge of Today?***

*Mr. Chairman, Friends and Neighbors:*

You can imagine what a thrill and what a joy it is for one who has admired you so much to be able to come to know you—to greet you for the first time. To me this is a significant occasion because I venture to believe that I am making friends whom I shall long cherish, and I have the stimulating consciousness that I am in the flood of friendship which flows in ever increasing volume between your country and mine. I know of no happier picture than that of the comradeship and the cordiality of the United States and Canada; not just of the governments of our two countries, as intimate as they are, but the people themselves in whatever part of our respective countries they live.

Surely Canada has no better friends than in my state of Florida, which lies far to our south. Many of your people come to visit with us and we accepted them as one always does when a good neighbor comes to see him. Many of our people in turn have the privilege of visiting your inviting land and come back again and again for refreshment, recreation, trade and sometimes residence.

It is easy for us to be friends, of course, for we have learned here in the Americas that the test of virtue is what you are and not where you come from, what race you belong to, what language you speak, or what is your faith. Here in our great countries people readily lose all allegiance save to our own fallow ground. There is something about our mountains, our plains, our rolling rivers, our pulsating lakes, our great forests and wide fields, even the waters from the broad Pacific and the Atlantic which lave our shores, that bind us together with hoops of steel. We are proud to say that we are Americans, first, last and all the time.

We have out of a common experience developed common traditions and concepts. When men and brave women pull down the forests, clear the fields, open up the wilderness in a new land they become comrades whether they do it North or South of a given line of latitude.

Our forebears came here with a new spirit. They were resolved that there should not only be here something different, but something new. And by newness they meant not only new fields and new homes and new shops; they meant new institutions and par-

ticularly a new spirit. They meant to do things in a new way because they had seen how the old way had borne down upon them, its burdens of sadness and sorrow! How it had frustrated the dreams of the multitudes for peace, security, abundance, happiness. They had followed son after father and son after father in the long lines, the unending lines, of those whom jealous conflict had led to an obedient soldier's grave. There was always generation after generation, a tearful mother, a sad wife, who were no less the victims of the old way than those who died.

Hence, here we sought understanding of each other's problems, adjustment in an honorable way of recurring frictions which are the incidents of innumerable contacts between busily striving people. So well have we succeeded that over five thousand miles of boundary, barely perceptible to us, demark you from us, without a sentinel or a fort, without a thought of fear each of the other. We have through the long years lived the policy which our President promulgated in his first inaugural, the policy of the good neighbor; "the neighbor who resolutely respects himself, and because he does so, respects the rights of others."

But we have gone far beyond a neighborly relation which just forbids each to attack the other. We have made the concept of neighborhood an attitude of mutual helpfulness. We not only visit together, we work together in the same spirit in which the pioneers of both our lands built together their homes and churches and schools in the wild wilderness.

Knowing that trade is the life blood of our prosperity, we have sought in every way possible to remove or to diminish impediments to its natural flow between us, and our aim, of course, goes far beyond what we have so far been able to achieve. We have set up and propose to maintain a continuous body which shall concern itself not only with the adjustment of questions of boundary and the like, but with any other problem the adjustment of which is mutually desirable to promote cordial and profitable contacts and co-operation between us.

And now we are wedded together in the greatest effort of our history, each in his own way, in accordance with its own tradition and circumstance, to throw back this monster who



strikes at us from beyond the seas, who wills to destroy all these fine things we have won and saved from the "sweat, tears and blood" of the past.

What was said by your great Prime Minister, who holds such high place in our regard, and our President at Ogdensburg, was what our respective peoples, of course, expected them to say. And what has been done to promote the common defense since that time, and what is yet further to be done, is simply a reflection of our determination to stand shoulder to shoulder in this hour of greatest peril. I know that you and I hope and expect that the military aspects of our co-operation will be the least part of it all. We hope as laymen and as citizens that our economies, the productive facilities of our two nations, shall be so welded that they make a common front and an overflowing arsenal against which this sinister enemy cannot stand.

In this co-ordination which will be another great step in world pioneering, where the money comes from, where the machines are, on which side of a line of latitude they stand, by whom they are operated, is really immaterial. The important thing is that they are soldiers of democracy, who shall together bring victory to our honorable cause.

It is not men with guns, I venture to say, but men and women who man these whirling machines, who shall eventually strangle into impotence these brigands who aim at nothing less than the loot of the world.

It gives me not a little satisfaction to come to you now fresh from the Congress of the United States, which has in the democratic way laid down the forthright policy of the people of the United States. You know that we have resolved to spare no expense, to shirk at no sacrifice, to make our country a Niagara of support to those heroic peoples who stand today with indescribable valor in the front lines. You and they can count upon it that we are with you to the end. We have adopted in our hearts those words which were the spirit of Verdun, "They shall not pass."

We hope only that it may be said that our effort is as splendid as yours, for we know that it is no less our cause than your own. This thing is no European war, no boundary dispute, no struggle for trade. It is a world-shaking revolution led by the most sinister genius who has appeared to degrade the name of man. It aims to shake from their foundations every institution which we have built in our world, to strangle every dream which has burst from our hearts, to tear asunder the pattern of these lives which we have woven from the sacrifice of our honorable ancestors.

Not law, not justice, not right, is their creed, but—

"The simple plan,  
He may take who has the power,  
He may keep who can."

They propose not only to take from us what we have gained from our labors, but the very liberty which to us is life itself. This devilish Samson, in the agony of his blind hate, is willing to run the risk of his own destruction in order to pull down the temples of our world. All that he preaches, all that he teaches, is the antithesis of what we believe. Where he raises race to hate race, nation to hate nation, creed to hate creed, paganism to hate religion, we have all these years been trying to bring men together in the realm of understanding and in the spirit of tolerance. Instead of setting religion against religion, we have lifted our eyes to the horizon of the world and seen there many honest men and many honest faiths.

One, Harry Romaine, has expressed what he saw in these words:—

"At the Muezzin's call for prayer,  
The kneeling faithful thronged the square,  
And on Pushkara's lofty height  
The dark priest chanted Brahma's might.  
Amid a monastery's weeds  
An old Franciscan told his beads;  
While to the synagogue there came  
A Jew to praise Jehovah's name.  
The one great God looked down and  
smiled  
And counted each His loving child;  
For Turk and Brahman, monk and Jew  
Had reached Him through the Gods they  
knew."

We have shown the world that men do not have to speak the same language, belong to the same race, look or dress alike, to respect one another and to live together in peace and brotherhood.

What a discouraging spectacle it is when there was so much to indicate the race's progress toward peace and understanding, one part with another, to have these jungle forces to rear their ugly heads across our path.

Here in Canada two great races have found friendship and accord. In my country many races from many lands have become one people. Here in this continent even nations have come to be members of a happy neighborhood.

I like to let memory run back to Simon Bolivar, a great American, who held up first in a letter to an English gentleman in Jamaica who had given his weary body and mind refuge in 1815, the dream of a happy family of American nations living in cordial and free intimacy with another neighbor-



hood, the British nations. What romance there is in seeing this dream echoed and re-echoed in the eloquence of patriots and prophets of our lands and finally coming into reality in 1889 in the first Pan-American Congress called by one of your closest neighbors, James G. Blaine, of Maine, then Secretary of State of the United States.

You know that since that eventful congress there have been nine additional congresses of the twenty-one American republics lying beyond your southern border. Now the world knows that Pan-Americanism is one of the most vital forces in the affairs of men. Through it there has come about a new relationship, a new spirit throughout these many nations, these many people, stretching over these many thousands of miles, permeating many races, bringing together men of many origins.

This system, be it known, has given peace and tranquility to more people, over a longer period of time, throughout a larger area, than has ever been seen in the world before. It has not only established the principles of the good neighbour, of equality, justice, honorable dealing, one nation with another, but it has been the means of these twenty-one republics actually setting up the functioning machinery of co-operation.

This cooperation covers the whole field of our relationships. It is working for our common defense. It is strengthening our several economies. It is promoting better understanding of one another's language, culture and aspirations. What it means is that what the world has known as Americanism is now not confined to any segment of these great continents of ours, but to the whole area from Arctic to Antarctic.

I include the people of Canada, of course, when I speak of these American sentiments, because what has now grown up, the principles which are now cherished among us and our neighbors to the south, some geographically remote from us, have been from a time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary the sentiments between my country and yours.

Have you realized what it means for the people of Canada and the United States to be joined together in friendship, have you realized that through us across this thin boundary line, come together the two greatest political systems in all the world, in peace, understanding, goodwill, and now in common unshakable resolve?

What could be so comforting to him who has flashes of fear from all these horrible things that are now going on in the world, as to realize that the mightiest assault of history

has not only left these two systems, the British Commonwealth and Pan America, unshaken, but stronger in their unity than they have ever been, both intro-system and inter-system. It does not seem to us that there are insurmountable barriers to the spread of the sentiments which have made up these systems to other nations and other peoples of like mind and heart.

Our first task, of course, is to chain the international culprits to the stocks, to shut them in the prison walls of impotence, to take the dangerous weapons from their hands: then men of good will may lay down their arms and sense the inexpressible satisfactions of peace.

Then will be the time for men to plan their peace. Not only to cherish it, but to nurture it, so that it shall grow from a frail plant to a giant unshakable tree.

You and I know how we have flung away opportunities to save the peace in the past. You will understand me, I know, when I say that I know how culpable my own country has been; that our regret is not what we did in the last war, but what we did not do when the storm of that struggle had passed. We have not committed the only error, either of omission or commission, which has been committed. We are not alone at fault. Some of our leaders have not been the only ones who did not see.

But when the mischief has been undone again the test of the sincerity of our repentance will be what use we make of future opportunities.

What is there to prevent the application of the principles of Pan Americanism to the wide world—to other hemispheres as well as our own? It may or may not be too soon, even when peace is with us again, to set up the superstate or a proven form of world organism, but it will certainly not be too soon for the representatives of all the nations of the earth, great and small, black and white, yellow and brown, to establish the habit of meeting together, of talking about common problems, of setting up the machinery of cooperation, in meeting those things that threaten us all, disease, crime, poor food, poor shelter, poor working conditions, to work out the many non-controversial ways in which we may help one another all may help each.

I will not believe that any one of the British Commonwealth or of the Pan American republics would object to such an effort and would withhold its honest cooperation from such an aim.

There has never been such an opportunity as there will be when this outbreak of outlawry shall again be suppressed, there has

never been the intimacy among the peoples of the world there now is, physically, intellectually, spiritually. A man now speaks and the world hears him, writes and the world reads him, thinks and the world thinks with him. If there was ever any doubt that any of us was not an integral part of this great world organism, that doubt has passed away. We move in the rapidly flowing stream of life all along together, whether we want it or not, whether we know it or not. If we would guide our own course we must guide the course of it all, for where they go, and where we go, all go.

Destiny has chosen your people and mine to have an honorable part in our time. At each stage in our history we have seen the expanding frontier. First it crossed the mountains, then the rivers and the plains. It stopped not at the mountains again. Finally

it reached the moving waters of the Pacific. Since, we have seen it stretch to the north and to the south. It moves in its irresistible march across yet other rivers, other plains, more mountain ranges, until it passed the torrid lands of the Equator and finally reaches the cold seas of the Atlantic. Now it has changed direction, but it moves on, for we have come to see that frontiers are not geographic, but mental and spiritual.

But those who shall break the new ground as the new pioneers must have the intrepid spirit of the old. They must be unafraid, strong, and have in their minds no thought except forward, ever forward.

The fascinating adventure of this future reaches out its hand to us. We shall look it in the eye and grasp its hand in the typical way that we have in the Americas.