THE ROERICH PACT
AND
THE BANNER OF PEACE

CEREMONY OF THE SIGNING OF
THE ROERICH PACT

by
PLENIPOTENTIARIES OF THE TWENTY-ONE
AMERICAN REPUBLICS

at the
WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C.
CEREMONY

Signing of the Roerich Pact

*Treaty for the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments*

at the

WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

in the presence of

Franklin D. Roosevelt
*President of the United States of America*

by

Plenipotentiaries of the Twenty-One American Republics

April 15, 1935
PROGRAM

International Broadcast

APRIL 15th, 1935, at 12 P.M.

From the Cabinet Room
Of the White House, Washington, D. C.

RADIO ADDRESSES BY

The Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
President of the United States of America

The Honorable Henry A. Wallace
United States Secretary of Agriculture

His Excellency, Senor Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro
Minister of Panama

Louis L. Horch
President, Roerich Museum, New York
FOREWORD

In a memorable ceremony at the White House, on April 15, 1935, in the presence of President Roosevelt, the Roerich Pact for the protection of cultural monuments was signed. In addition to the President and the Signatories of the Twenty-one American Nations, whose names are presented hereinafter, the ceremony was also graced by the presence of Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Assistant Secretary of State Sumner Welles, members of the Protocol, Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan American Union, Dr. E. Gil Borges, Assistant Director of the Pan American Union, Dr. William Manger, Counsellor of the Pan American Union, as well as Mr. Louis L. Horch, President of the Roerich Museum, and Miss Frances R. Grant, Mrs. Nettie S. Horch, Miss Esther J. Lichtmann, Mr. M. M. Lichtmann, Mrs. Sina Lichtmann, Trustees of the Roerich Museum. The profound historical and spiritual significance of the occasion was deeply felt by all present, as each Signatory added his name to the Instrument, pledging his nation to mutual vigilance and protection for those cultural achievements which form the patrimony of all men. Following the signing of the Instrument in behalf of the twenty-one nations, the following broadcast was held, announcing to the American continents and the nations of the world the signing of this first convention for the protection of culture.

The Roerich Pact was first proposed by its creator, Nicholas Roerich, in 1904, and formally promulgated by the Roerich Museum in 1929. Committees for the advancement of its adoption have been formed in various countries, the most active being the Central Committee in the Roerich Museum in New York, and those in France and Belgium. Three International Conventions for its adoption have been held, the first two in Belgium in 1931 and 1932, and the third in Washington, D. C., in 1933.

At the Seventh Pan American Conference in Montevideo, in December 16, 1933, upon proposal of Chile, a unanimous resolution was passed recommending the adoption of the Roerich Pact by the Americas. In accordance with this Resolution, the Pan American Union at Washington, D. C., drew up the present Treaty on the Roerich Pact, which has now been signed unanimously by the twenty-one Americas. The Treaty now becomes open to signature by all nations of the world.

It is the hope of the Permanent Committee for the Roerich Pact that this Treaty for the protection of the world's culture will bring about among the nations that mutual respect which must inevitably lie at the basis of international understanding and peace.

(From the Permanent Committee for the Advancement of the Roerich Pact, New York)

NATIONS SIGNING THE ROERICH PACT AT THE WHITE HOUSE, APRIL 15, 1935

Republic of Argentina—His Excellency, Señor Don Felipe A. Espil
Ambassador of Argentina

Republic of Bolivia—His Excellency, Señor Dr. Don Enrique Finot
Minister of Bolivia

United States of Brazil—His Excellency, Dr. Oswaldo Aranha
Ambassador of Brazil

Republic of Chile—His Excellency, Señor Don Manuel Trucco
Ambassador of Chile

Republic of Colombia—His Excellency, Señor Don Miguel Lopez Pumarejo
Minister of Colombia

Republic of Costa Rica—His Excellency, Señor Don Manuel González-Zeledón
Minister of Costa Rica

Republic of Cuba—His Excellency, Señor Dr. Guillermo Patterson y de Jauregui
Ambassador of Cuba

Dominican Republic—His Excellency, Señor Don Rafael Brache
Minister of the Dominican Republic

Republic of Ecuador—His Excellency, Señor Capitán Colón Eloy Alfaro
Minister of Ecuador

Republic of El Salvador—His Excellency, Señor Dr. Don Hector David Castro
Minister of El Salvador

Republic of Guatemala—His Excellency, Señor Dr. Don Adrián Recinos
Minister of Guatemala

Republic of Haiti—His Excellency, M. Albert Blanchet
Minister of Haiti
ADDRESS OF

The Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
President of the United States of America

It is most appropriate that on this day, designated as Pan American Day by the Chief Executives of all the Republics of the American Continent, the governments, members of the Pan American Union, should sign a treaty which marks a step forward in the preservation of the cultural achievements of the nations of this hemisphere. In opening this pact to the adherence of the nations of the world we are endeavoring to make of universal application one of the principles vital to the preservation of modern civilization.

This treaty possesses a spiritual significance far deeper than the text of the instrument itself. It is but one of the many expressions of that basic doctrine of continental responsibility and continental solidarity which mean so much to the present and to the future of the American republics.

On the occasion of this celebration of Pan American Day let us again dedicate ourselves to the task of translating into deeds the essential unity of interest of the nations of this continent. Let us also bring renewed allegiance to those high principles of international cooperation and helpfulness which, I feel assured, will be a great contribution to civilization by the Americas.
LETTER OF PROFESSOR NICHOLAS ROERICH, CREATOR OF THE ROERICH PACT, READ BY THE HONORABLE HENRY A. WALLACE, UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

May I ask you, as the Protector of our Pact for the Preservation of Cultural Treasures, to transmit my heartiest greetings to all who have gathered on this Memorable Day dedicated to Pan American Brotherhood.

As you know, the work of the Expedition does not permit me to be present on this solemn occasion. But in spirit I wish to greet all those who have gathered this day and to express my profound wishes for the protection and eternal growth of the universal achievements of culture, those true torches of human progress.

May our united resolve to protect the sacred manifestations of Beauty and Science merge us into one powerful union. For around these unifying monuments humanity will become fortified in mutual respect based upon the study of human genius during all ages and among all peoples.

Upon this reverential occasion, I send my sincere greetings and heartiest wishes.

Believe me to be, very cordially,

NICHOLAS ROERICH.
many priceless objects out of the past were being destroyed not only by barbaric tribesmen, but by Western travellers. Therefore, in 1929 on his return from Asia he formulated what essentially is the present Pact, which won the support of international jurists and cultural leaders both of Europe and the United States. It is not surprising that the first two meetings on this Pact were held in Belgium. The third convention was held in November 1933 in Washington with official delegates from thirty-five nations. Following this meeting, the Montevideo Conference passed a resolution recommending its adoption by the American States. Pursuant to this resolution the Governing Board of the Pan American Union prepared the Pact which is today being officially launched as an International Agreement.

Interesting as the history of the Pact has been, it is even more important to consider its present uses and its future. Humanity today is terribly heartsick. As a result of the disintegrating forces let loose by the World War and the differential economic effects of increasing mechanization, there has been a rising tension and uneasiness between the classes and between the nations. Efforts have been made again and again to solve this disturbing situation by disarmament conferences, peace treaties, economic conversations, and currency stabilization agreements. Thus far all of these have proved singularly disappointing. With the international situation as it is today, no great nation feels that it can altogether renounce war as a possible instrument of national policy. Those who attempt to bring about the renunciation of war without working more precisely on the nature of the binding ties of human hearts across the nations are probably engaged in vain undertakings.

Many of the logically fine objectives in the way of lowering economic and currency barriers can perhaps be attained in any complete and binding fashion only after the human beings of the world have come more nearly to recognize their cultural unity. Concerning beauty, true science and the cultural treasures of the past there can be no discord among the different peoples of the world. A Rembrandt is appreciated whether it is found in the United States, in the Netherlands or in Germany.

No one knows today how far it is possible for the different nations of the world to go in forming international currency pacts, the lowering of trade barriers or disarmament agreements. Methods of this sort tend too often to be sophisticated and futile. While undoubtedly efforts in these directions should continue, it would seem desirable also to hold up before the world, in times like these, the ideal of the Unity of Human Heart regardless of nation in the worship of beauty, of culture, of religion, of science and of education. There are thousands of people in each of the nations of the world animated by those finer, broader human aspirations, and many of them will welcome the mechanism of the Roerich Pact as a means of making more manifest on earth those intangible forces which they have long recognized as the true guides of international good feeling.

Throughout all history mankind has sought an ever deeper and broader unity of purpose. During the past 300 years much has been said about the rights of the individual. As persons and as nations, the individuals have striven mightily. In so doing they have brought themselves to the brink of chaos, and it is now necessary to think a little more about duties, and a little less perhaps about rights; a little more perhaps about discipline, and a little less perhaps about complete freedom; a little more about the ties which bind us all together and much less about the hatreds and irritations which thrust us as individuals, or classes, or nations, apart from one another. The symbolism of the three spheres contained in the larger circle to my mind conveys the thought of the most complete realization of the possibilities of the individual person or the particular class or the specific nation within the limitations of the larger whole. This is a philosophic doctrine of the most profound significance. In law and government we can speculate endlessly and with profit about the relationship between liberty and duty, and the development of a constructive outcome to the apparent conflict between individualistic democracy and the strong enforcement of constructive justice. Always the individualistic units must strive to their utmost to realize their full potentialities, but always those efforts must be within the due bounds of a cultural decency which recognizes the fundamental unity of all humanity. Those who would emphasize a particular individual or class or nation beyond those due bounds violate what I believe to be a sacred law and inevitably must pay the penalty.

I believe the Roerich Pact is in conformity with the deepest, most sacred laws of the universe, and that it has become an international reality at an especially propitious time. Launched in the year 1935
at the beginning of the Holy Week before Easter, it can, and I believe, will serve as the germinal essence of what eventually will be a New Deal among the nations. And in so saying, I am not talking about a New Deal characterized by emergency agencies, but about the spiritual New Deal which places that which is fine in humanity above that which is low and sordid and mean and hateful and grabbing.

From an immediate practical point of view, the next step would seem to be for the Permanent Committee of which I happen to be Honorary Chairman and of which Louis L. Horch, President of the Roerich Museum is active Chairman, to start upon the task of cataloging the particular sites, museums, national monuments, scientific institutions, etc., which are entitled under the terms of the Pact to protection from vandalism in peace and barbarism in war. Such places are entitled to fly the Banner of Peace. Thus far the Roerich Peace Pact has been open to signature only by the American nations. From henceforth it will be open to signature by all the nations of the world. I anticipate that those who work with this great cultural instrument will deepen the true international consciousness of the finest people in all the nations. This consciousness can be arrived at not as a result of a narrow class dogma or a commercial treaty or a disarmament agreement, but by an appeal to the common appreciation of those treasures of beauty and science which each nation wishes to pass on to posterity as its peculiar and enduring contribution to the ages.

Your Excellencies:

The historic act which has just taken place is one that marks a signal victory in the perennial struggle of the better sentiments of man against the ravages of war. Seventy-one years ago a Convention was signed at Geneva whereby the person of the wounded and the infirm was pronounced sacred and placed beyond the sphere of armed hostilities. Today the representatives of the Republics of the American Continent have gathered at the White House in Washington for the purpose of pronouncing also sacred the treasures of Art, Science and History which constitute the common heritage of mankind.

After the protection accorded by international agreement to humanitarian activities such as the Red Cross, civilization has undertaken the protection of human culture. The world is today wonderfully organized for service in behalf of those who have fallen by their colors in the bloody clashes of war. The Red Cross guarantees immunity and respect to physicians and nurses in the discharge of their humanitarian ministrations; to hospitals and ambulances; to all persons and things devoted to the alleviation of the misery and suffering brought about by the armed strife of nation against nation.

But in the forward march of the human spirit it has been felt that there is something else that needs protection and immunity; something that must not be subjected to the ravages of indiscriminate devastation; something that must be befriended by all because it is the friend of all; something that is not the exclusive possession of any one people or race because it is just as much of a blessing and a necessity to civilized life as light and sunshine are to every living being; something that brings happiness to all, and injury to none; something that must be inviolable because it is the reflection of the divine spark kindled within the soul of man; something that we may express with that one word culture, as indicating the scientific, artistic, educational, moral and social achievements of all ages and all peoples.

Art and Science are claiming inviolability for the treasures which they have accumulated through the ages. Civilization cannot conceive and must not tolerate any longer the perpetration of such acts
of vandalism and fanaticism as have been responsible in the past for the burning of libraries, the demolition of temples, the razing of monuments, the devastation of architectural gems which represented the genius and the energy of generation upon generation; the annihilation of knowledge which represented the accumulated experience of centuries; the destruction of the fruit of brains which have turned into dust and which can have immortal life only in the books, the paintings, the statues, the musical scores, the monuments, the buildings in which they created Beauty or revealed Truth.

To this imperative demand of civilization modern nations have been responding little by little with numerous movements tending to protect and preserve the treasures of universal culture.

By the General Act of the Berlin Conference on African trade, held by a group of European nations and the United States in 1885, the High Contracting Parties agreed among themselves to extend protection to the religious, scientific and charitable institutions or expeditions which might operate in the African continent. This act of respect for the work of civilization was reaffirmed by the Treaty of St. Germain, signed in 1919, article II of which stipulates that the Signatory Powers "will protect and favor without distinction of nationality or religion, the religious, scientific or charitable institutions and undertakings created and organized by the nationals of the other Signatory Powers, and of States Members of the League of Nations which may adhere to the present Convention, which aim at leading the natives in the path of progress and civilization. Scientific missions, their property and their collections, shall likewise be the object of special solicitude."

The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 undertook to extend to the whole world, with much broader scope, the protection needed by the depositories of universal culture. Article 27 of the Second Hague Convention, on the laws and customs of war and land, provided:

"In sieges and bombardments all necessary steps must be taken to spare, as far as possible, buildings dedicated to religion, art, science and charity, historic monuments, hospitals and places where the wounded are assembled, provided they are not being used at the time for military purposes. It is the duty of the besieged to indicate the presence of such buildings or places by distinctive and visible signs of which the enemy shall be notified beforehand."

A similar provision was embodied in article 5 of the Convention on the rules of naval bombardment.

Seven years after the Second Peace Conference the greatest conflagration of history broke out in Europe. The whole world gazed with horror upon the appalling devastation wrought by the contending armies, but it visualized with still greater horror the increased possibility of damage and ruin to be expected in a future war by reason of the advances made in the methods of warfare, in the technique of death and destruction.

Thinking men pondered the horrible prospect; lovers of culture and humanity meditated. A great idealist and a fervent apostle of peace, Professor Nicholas Roerich, conceived the plan of an international convention for the neutralization and protection of the cultural treasures of the world.

Then the Republics of the Western Hemisphere sought and attained the honor of carrying the lofty project to a successful conclusion. The Montevideo Conference sponsored the Roerich Pact and this day, the Republics of America have subscribed a Covenant, open also to the signature of all other nations, whereby for the first time in history the neutrality and protection of culture are incorporated into one single and complete body of conventional international law. The deep significance of this occasion has been enhanced by the gracious hospitality which the President of the United States has shown the Plenipotentiaries of the Signatory Nations by inviting them to perform the historic act in the White House. For this splendid gesture President Roosevelt has placed us all under a debt of obligation.

The pact signed today responds to the suggestion of the Hague Convention of 1907 that a distinctive and visible sign shall serve to indicate the presence of historic monuments, museums, scientific, artistic and cultural institutions. Henceforth, over the buildings which are the temples of civilization, a flag will be unfurled, the flag of the Red Circle, the Banner of Peace, which will serve to remind the combatants that if the folly of war leads them to the destruction of human life, a higher love and a higher respect for things eternal should compel them to treat as sacred the patrimony of art, science and history which must remain untouched unless civilization itself is to be obliterated from the face of the earth.
ADDRESS OF

MR. LOUIS L. HORCH
President of the Roerich Museum, New York

Your Excellencies:

The signing of an Inter-American Treaty based on the Roerich Pact at the White House today on the occasion of Pan American Day, is indeed a great and significant step in the unifying of the Pan American countries, and in cementing the bonds of friendship and cooperation between these nations.

It is of especial significance that this historical event takes place under the dome of the White House, through the noble gesture of President Roosevelt who has honored this solemn occasion by his presence and message. At a time when nations are in stress due to impending disturbances which threaten the peace of the world, it is noteworthy that the Americas are the first nations to embrace this Treaty for the preservation of civilization in the cause of human progress. Thus the signing of the Treaty is a step forward in the realization of the Good Neighbor policy of President Roosevelt, and thus a cultural Pact has become an instrument and force in advancing the solidarity of the Americas. In extending his enlightened support to this project, which is linking the Americas into a closer unit, President Roosevelt's name will be inscribed upon the annals of history as a champion of cultural unity, and a leader of world constructiveness.

The Roerich Pact upon which this Treaty has been based, was created by Nicholas Roerich, world-renowned artist and cultural leader, to preserve the treasures of art, science and religion, the historic monuments and sites, against destruction in times of war and peace,—and represents a symbol that the supreme achievement of human genius must be held as inviolate.

In its humanitarian implications this Treaty can be compared to the Red Cross, and advances another step along the path of international rapprochement. The lofty and inspired creations of man throughout the ages take on an aspect of universality and belong in essence, not to one nation alone, but to the entire world; and it is therefore fitting that nations unite in a common vigilance to protect these irreplaceable creations. Thus each nation accepting this Treaty will act as true guardian of the spiritual treasures of mankind, and the Banner of Peace will be unfurled as a symbol of neutrality and universality.

The new Treaty expresses the ideal that the future will never again see the destruction of libraries, cathedrals and other treasures which have unfortunately marked the history of human relations in the past.

In behalf of the Roerich Museum, which has presented the Roerich Pact to the world, I wish to express our deepest appreciation to the Director and Members of the Pan American Union for their splendid efforts in promulgating this project, as well as to the Honorable Henry A. Wallace, United States Secretary of Agriculture, for his great support rendered to this cause.

The Permanent Committee for the Advancement of the Roerich Pact, appointed by the Third International Convention held in Washington in 1933, has been furthering the adoption of the Roerich Pact among all nations of the world, and aims to carry out its purposes by assisting the signatory nations to list and catalogue their cultural treasures. In order to signify these buildings, monuments and sites designated by the respective powers, they will be marked by a flag which was created by Nicholas Roerich and called the Banner of Peace.

The Roerich Pact and the Banner of Peace were designed not only for protection during times of war and destruction, but also in Peace as a reminder to the peoples that the treasures of humanity must be respected and safeguarded. It also aims to promote in the consciousness of peoples of the world, the true values and appreciation of culture, as well as the establishing of a mutual respect. For it has been seen that not only in periods of war but during internal disturbances, vandalism and mutilation of artistic treasures have taken place. Thus the unfurling of the Banner of Peace will help strengthen the understanding of the irreplaceability of these creations.

The pledge between nations which has been consummated today at the White House by twenty-one nations of the American continent, has put into effect an agreement respecting the inviolability of the products of human genius, thus safeguarding the true heritage of man for posterity. This enlightening event marks a significant achievement
in the cause of international understanding and friendship as well as a step forward in the spiritual and cultural progress of mankind. This signing constitutes one of the most important steps in humanitarian relationships in world history.

On this Pan American Day, we send salutations to our Sister Nations! The unifying pledge brought into life today at the White House by all the Republics of the Americas cannot but herald a radiant future for this Continent.

TREATY FOR THE PROTECTION OF ARTISTIC AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS AND HISTORIC MONUMENTS (ROERICH PACT) SIGNED AT THE WHITE HOUSE BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWENTY-ONE AMERICAN REPUBLICS, APRIL 15, 1935, AT 12:00 O'CLOCK.

RESOLUTION OF THE SEVENTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES ON THE ROERICH PACT

The Seventh International Conference of American States,

RESOLVES:

To recommend to the Governments of America which have not yet done so that they sign the "Roerich Pact," initiated by the Roerich Museum in the United States, and which has as its object the universal adoption of a flag, already designed and generally known, in order thereby to preserve in any time of danger all nationally and privately owned immovable monuments which form the cultural treasure of peoples.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE GOVERNING BOARD OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION ON THE ROERICH PACT, APPROVED BY THE GOVERNING BOARD ON APRIL 4th, 1934.

The Committee appointed by the Governing Board to report on the steps that might be taken by the Pan American Union to contribute to the realization of the idea originally expressed by Professor Nicholas Roerich and incorporated in the Pact for the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments, the adoption of which was recommended to the nations of America by the Seventh International Conference of American States, has the honor to report as follows:

The Committee has taken the fundamental principles of the instrument originally proposed by Professor Roerich as a universal pact and given them the form of an inter-American draft treaty, which is herewith submitted to the consideration of the Board.

The Committee recommends that the Governments, members of the Union, be asked to grant their Representatives on the Board plenary powers to subscribe to the pact, which is to be signed on April 14th, 1935, or at an earlier date to be determined by the Board.
if all its members have received plenary powers before April 14th, 1935. After April 14th, 1935, the pact will be open to the accession by non-signatory States.

TREATY

The High Contracting Parties, animated by the purpose of giving conventional form to the postulates of the Resolution approved on December 16, 1933, by all the States represented at the Seventh International Conference of American States, held at Montevideo, which recommended to "the Governments of America which have not yet done so that they sign the 'Roerich Pact', initiated by the Roerich Museum in the United States, and which has as its object, the universal adoption of a flag, already designed and generally known, in order thereby to preserve in any time of danger all nationally and privately owned immovable monuments, which form the cultural treasure of peoples", have resolved to conclude a treaty with that end in view, and to the effect that the treasures of culture be respected and protected in time of war and in peace, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I

The historic monuments, museums, scientific, artistic, educational and cultural institutions shall be considered as neutral and as such respected and protected by belligerents.

The same respect and protection shall be due to the personnel of the institutions mentioned above.

The same respect and protection shall be accorded to the historic monuments, museums, scientific, artistic, educational and cultural institutions in time of peace as well as in war.

ARTICLE II

The neutrality of, and protection and respect due to, the monuments and institutions mentioned in the preceding article, shall be recognized in the entire expanse of territories subject to the sovereignty of each of the signatory and acceding States, without any discrimination as to the State allegiance of said monuments and institutions. The respective Governments agree to adopt the measures of internal legislation necessary to insure said protection and respect.

ARTICLE III

In order to identify the monuments and institutions mentioned in article I, use may be made of a distinctive flag (red circle with a triple red sphere in the circle on a white background) in accordance with the model attached to this treaty.

ARTICLE IV

The signatory Governments and those who accede to this treaty, shall send to the Pan-American Union, at the time of signature or accession, or at any time thereafter, a list of the monuments and institutions for which they desire the protection agreed to in this treaty.

The Pan-American Union, when notifying the Governments of signatories or accessions, shall also send the list of monuments and institutions mentioned in this article, and shall inform the other Governments of any changes in said list.

ARTICLE V

The monuments and institutions mentioned in Article I shall cease to enjoy the privileges recognized in the present treaty in case they are made use of for military purposes.

ARTICLE VI

The States which do not sign the present treaty on the date it is opened for signature, may sign or adhere to it at any time.

ARTICLE VII

The instruments of accession, as well as those of ratification and denunciation of the present treaty, shall be deposited with the Pan American Union, which shall communicate notice of the act of deposit to the other signatory or acceding States.

ARTICLE VIII

The present treaty may be denounced at any time by any of the signatory or acceding States, and the denunciation shall go into effect three months after notice of it has been given to the other signatory or acceding States.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries, after having deposited their full powers found to be in due and proper form, sign this treaty on behalf of their respective governments, and affix thereto their seals, on the dates appearing opposite their signatures.