

Erased, *without repeal.*

The Roosevelt Corollary unmade — five discrete moments between 1928 and 1934 that dismantled the doctrine's intellectual scaffolding, rhetorical posture, treaty embodiment, and operational presence. Monroe's words survived. Monroe's meaning, restored. The Corollary's words survived too. Its meaning, gone.

MOMENTS

Five

Memo, tour, inaugural, treaty, withdrawals

PERIOD

6 years

December 17, 1928 — August 15, 1934

FORMAL REPEAL

None

The Corollary is never repealed by Congress

Doctrines do not have to be repealed to be erased. The Roosevelt Corollary was never formally repudiated. It was dismantled through five discrete moves — an internal State Department memorandum that withdrew intellectual endorsement, a goodwill tour that reframed the posture, an inaugural sentence that named a successor doctrine, a multilateral convention the United States signed renouncing intervention as a right, and the two operational closures that ended the longest-running Corollary occupations within ten weeks of each other.

Sources. The Clark Memorandum (HathiTrust). FDR First Inaugural and the Cuba Treaty of Relations of 1934 (Avalon Project, Yale Law School). The Montevideo Convention of 1933 (Avalon Project). Public Papers of the Presidents — Hoover (UCSB).

Important. Step 05 is not a single document. Erasure rarely is. The mechanism that wrote the Corollary in 1904 by declaration alone could be invoked again by a future executive willing to read Monroe the way Roosevelt did. That is why the pattern repeats.

Cited on Step 05 of the Five-Step Authorization Pattern deck. *we watch oil so your 401k survives it.*

The erasure, in order.

November 19, 1928	Hoover boards the USS Maryland for the Latin American goodwill tour. The rhetorical retreat begins before he takes office.
December 17, 1928	Clark submits the Memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine internally to Secretary Kellogg.
March 4, 1929	Hoover takes office. Stimson becomes Secretary of State.
March 1930	Clark Memorandum officially published by the State Department.
January 2, 1933	Final Marine withdrawal from Nicaragua. The longest sustained Corollary occupation ends.
March 4, 1933	FDR's First Inaugural Address introduces the Good Neighbor framing.
December 26, 1933	Montevideo Convention signed — Article 8 renounces the right of intervention.
May 29, 1934	Treaty of Relations abrogates the Platt Amendment — Cuba.
June 15, 1934	U.S. Senate ratifies the Montevideo Convention.
August 15, 1934	Final Marine withdrawal from Haiti. Operationally, the Corollary is finished.
December 2, 1823	<i>Monroe's original line — defensive, passive, protective intent. Step 01 receipt. The doctrine being restored, by silence, to its original meaning.</i>
December 6, 1904	<i>The Roosevelt Corollary articulated. Step 03 receipt. The interpretation being quietly retired.</i>
1906 – 1934	<i>Six occupations cite the Corollary. Step 04 receipt. The pattern that ends here.</i>
Never	

The Roosevelt Corollary is never formally repealed by Congress. The doctrine becomes unrecognizable in practice without ever being repudiated in law.

Clark did not repeal the Corollary. He could not. No Under Secretary has that power. What he did was withdraw the State Department's intellectual endorsement. By severing the Corollary from Monroe in the Department's own memoranda, Clark made future invocations harder to defend. The publication in 1930 signaled the beginning of the official rhetorical retreat.

DATE

December 17, 1928

DURATION

Held internal for two years; published 1930

Trigger. Under Secretary of State J. Reuben Clark submitted a 238-page memorandum to Secretary Frank B. Kellogg analyzing the Monroe Doctrine's legal history and its drift since 1904.

"Clark wrote that the Roosevelt Corollary "is not necessary to support or justify" the Monroe Doctrine. He argued the Corollary was "a doctrine of self-defense" that had been improperly conflated with the original Monroe principle. This was the State Department itself, internally, admitting that the Corollary had drifted beyond Monroe. The memorandum was confidential for two years before publication in March 1930."

Primary record: Clark, J. Reuben. Memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine. U.S. Dept. of State, 1930.

The tour did not change law. It changed tone. The shift from "international police power" to "mutual respect" was rhetorical — but rhetoric is how doctrines are sustained or abandoned. Each speech moved the operative language of U.S. hemispheric policy further from the Corollary's grammar.

DATE

November 19, 1928 – January 6, 1929

DURATION

Ten-nation goodwill tour as President-elect

Trigger. Before taking office, Herbert Hoover toured Latin America to repair relations damaged by twenty-five years of Corollary interventions. He delivered speeches stressing non-intervention and equal sovereignty.

"Hoover's tour reframed U.S. posture without repealing the Corollary. He called for a "new policy of mutual respect." The diplomatic shift began before his administration did. His Secretary of State, Henry Stimson, would later sign the Clark Memorandum for publication and end the Nicaragua occupation in 1933."

Primary record: Public Papers of the Presidents — Herbert Hoover (1929)

FDR's inaugural was almost entirely domestic — banks, work, recovery. The Good Neighbor sentence was a fragment of foreign-policy framing in a speech about American economic collapse. But the phrase stuck. Within nine months Cordell Hull would carry it to Montevideo and sign treaties renouncing intervention as a matter of inter-American law.

DATE

March 4, 1933

DURATION

One sentence in a domestic-focused speech

Trigger. Franklin Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address — delivered at the depth of the Depression — included a single foreign-policy sentence that became the namesake of the new doctrine.

"In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor — the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others — the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors." One sentence. No mention of Monroe. No mention of the Corollary. The new framing replaced the old by being given a name.

Primary record: FDR First Inaugural Address — Avalon Project, Yale Law School

Hull's signature was the diplomatic erasure. By signing Article 8, the United States accepted in international law what the Clark Memorandum had argued internally — that the Roosevelt Corollary's claim to a unilateral right of intervention was not a defensible reading of the Monroe Doctrine. The Convention remains in force today.

DATE

December 26, 1933

DURATION

Signed at the end of a two-week conference

Trigger. Secretary of State Cordell Hull signed the Convention on Rights and Duties of States. Article 8 read: "No State has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another."

"The United States voted yes on Article 8. The Senate ratified the Convention on June 15, 1934. This was the formal multilateral renunciation of the Corollary's central operative claim. The Corollary itself was never repealed by Congress. It was just superseded by a treaty the United States signed."

Primary record: [Convention on Rights and Duties of States — Montevideo, 1933](#)

Within ten weeks in the summer of 1934, the Corollary lost the Platt Amendment and the Haiti occupation — the two most visible artifacts of its operative existence. The pattern that had run since 1903 ended. The Corollary as a working doctrine of international police power was, by the end of 1934, a phantom. Monroe's words survived. Monroe's meaning, restored. The Corollary's words survived too. Its meaning, gone.

DATE

May 29, 1934 (Platt) · August 15, 1934
(Haiti)

DURATION

Two operational closures within ten weeks

Trigger. Cuba — the Treaty of Relations of 1934 abrogated the Platt Amendment that had codified U.S. intervention rights since 1903. Haiti — the final U.S. Marines departed Port-au-Prince ending the 19-year occupation.

"The Platt Amendment had been the legal scaffolding Roosevelt named in 1904 as the proof the Corollary worked. Its abrogation removed the Corollary's earliest and most explicit treaty embodiment. The Haiti withdrawal removed the Corollary's longest operational expression. Neither was framed as a repudiation. Both were framed as the natural consequence of Good Neighbor policy. The doctrine's words were left intact. Its enforcement infrastructure was dismantled."

Primary record: Treaty of Relations, May 29, 1934 — Avalon Project, Yale Law School