
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

Series 3: “The Four Freedoms” and FDR in World War II

File No. 1428-A

1942 September 3

Address to the International Student Assembly

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 15, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. MALONEY
G.P.O.

Will you please tie as usual
and mark box as follows:

F.D.R. Address, International Student
Assembly -- Sept. 3, 1942

Dorothy Brady

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ASSEMBLY
SEPTEMBER 3, 1942

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It may interest the members of this Assembly of the International Student Service that, during the past week, the Axis radio has given unusual comment to your sessions and to the speech which you are hearing at this moment.

Our listening stations have picked up an increasing volume of Axis broadcasts, including controlled stations in France, Hungary, the Netherlands and elsewhere, referring to this meeting of the younger generation from all the United Nations in terms of growing hate and, of course, complete falsehood. Our listening stations report that they expect that at this moment the air in all Axis-dominated nations will be thoroughly jammed -- blacked out -- in order that no sound of what I am saying, either in English or in translation, will be heard by any restless young people who are under Hitler's heel.

The Nazi radio in Paris, for example, tells the youth of France that Roosevelt was solely responsible for the defeat of France; that Roosevelt is not qualified to address a message to the youth of the world because America is a nation that has done nothing for youth.

Berlin reports that four French youth organizations have protested in advance against this speech, since Roosevelt must be blamed for the death of more than one hundred thousand young Frenchmen. Incidentally, it would be interesting to know how many real Frenchmen there are in these so-called French Youth Organizations.

A radio in Tokyo says that I am admitting to you at this moment that my people are decadent -- weaklings -- playboys -- spoiled by jazz music and Hollywood pictures. Of course, this broadcast did not originate from any of the Japanese who bumped into our playboys in the Southwest Pacific.

The reason for this hysterically defensive attitude toward this gathering is not hard to find. For many years they have made their hypocritical appeal to youth -- they have tried, with all their blatant publicity, to represent themselves as the champions of youth.

But now the world knows that the Nazis, the Fascists and the militarists of Japan have nothing to offer to youth -- except death.

On the other hand, the cause of the United Nations is the cause of youth itself. It is the hope of the new generation -- and the generations that are to come -- hope for a new life that can be lived in freedom, and justice, and decency.

(S-)

This fact is becoming clearer every day to the young people of Europe, where the Nazis are trying to create youth organizations built on the Nazi pattern. It is not a pattern devised by youth for youth. It is a pattern devised by Hitler and imposed upon youth by a form of mental forcible feeding --

a diet of false facts, distortions, and prohibitions -- all backed up by the guns of the Gestapo.

If you have any doubt as to what the decent youth of Europe think about the false promises the Axis masters make to the young people of the world, look to the brave young men of France and all the occupied countries who prefer to face the firing squads rather than a lifetime of slavery and degradation under Hitler.

In such unfortunate countries as Finland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Italy, whose Governments have found it necessary to submit to Hitler and do his bidding, the Quislings have organized youth movements too -- but these are only movements of youth by the tens of thousands to the slaughter of the Eastern front, where the Nazis need cannon-fodder in their desperate attempts to shatter the stalwart Russian Army.

In China, heroic youth has stood steadfast for more than five years against all of Japan's attempts to seduce and disarm them with such transparent lies as the promise of "Asia for the Asiatics". For the Chinese know that this only means "All of creation enslaved by the Japanese".

We exult in the thought that it is the young, free men and women of the United Nations, and not the wound-up robots of the slave states, who will mold the shape of the new world.

The delegates to this International Student Assembly represent the twenty-nine United Nations. They also represent, in spirit at least, the younger generation of many other nations who, though they are not now actively at war on our side, are with us heart and soul in aspiration for a secure and peaceful world.

Before the first World War, very few people in any country believed that youth had the right to speak for itself as a group or to participate in councils or State.

We have learned much since then. We know that wisdom does not come necessarily with years; that old men may be foolish, and young men may be wise. But in every war, it is the younger generation which bears the burden of combat and inherits all the ills that war leaves in its wake.

(10)

In the economic crises that followed the false prosperity after the first World War, many young men and women suffered even more than did their elders. For they were denied the primary opportunities for education, for training, for work, or even for food enough to build up healthy bodies. As a result, they were tempted to seek some simple remedy not only for their own individual problems, but for all the problems that beset the world. Some listened to alien, siren voices which offered glib answers to all the questions. "Democracy is dead", said these voices. "Follow us, and we will teach you efficiency. We will lead you to world conquest. We will give you power over inferior races. And all that we ask you to give in return is -- your freedom".

Other young people in the democracies listened to gospels of despair. They took refuge in cynicism and bitterness.

However, the day finally came when all theory had to give way to fact -- the terrible, tangible fact of dive bombers, panzer divisions, the actual threat to the security of every home and every family in every free country in the world. And when that fact became clear to our youth they answered the call to arms -- many millions of them; and, today, they are determined to fight until the forces of aggression have been utterly destroyed.

What I am saying here in Washington is being heard by several million American soldiers, sailors and marines, not only within the continental limits of the United States, but in far distant points -- in Central and South America, in the Islands of the Atlantic, in Britain and Ireland, on the Coasts of Africa, in Egypt, in Iraq and Iran, in Russia, in India, in China, in Australia, in New Zealand,

in many Islands of the Pacific and on all the seas of the world.

There -- in all those places -- are our fighting men.

And to them I should like to deliver a special message,
from their Commander-in-Chief, and from the very hearts of
their countrymen:

You young Americans today are conducting yourselves
in a manner that is worthy of the highest, proudest traditions
of our nation.

No pilgrims who landed on the uncharted New England
Coast, no pioneers who forced their way through the trackless
wilderness, showed greater fortitude, greater determination,
than you are showing now.

Neither your own fathers, in 1918, nor your fathers'
fathers, in 1863 or 1776, fought with greater gallantry or
more selfless devotion to duty and country than you are now
displaying on battlefields far from home.

(15)

And what is more, you know why you are fighting. You know that the road which has led you to the Solomon Islands, or to the Red Sea, or to the coast of France, is in fact an extension of Main Street, and that when you fight, anywhere along that road, you are fighting in the defense of your own homes, your own free schools, your own churches, your own ideals.

We here at home are supremely conscious of our obligations to you, now and in the future. We will not let you down.

We know that in the minds of many of you are thoughts of interrupted education, interrupted careers, delayed opportunities for getting a job. The solution of such problems cannot be left, as it was last time, to mere chance. This Government has accepted the responsibility for seeing to it that, wherever possible, work has been provided for those who were willing and able, but who could not find work.

That responsibility will continue after the war. And when you come home, we do not propose to involve you, as last time, in a domestic economic mess of our own making.

You are doing first things first -- fighting to win this war. For you know that should this war be lost, all our plans for the peace to follow would be meaningless.

Victory is essential; but victory is not enough for you -- or for us. We must be sure that when you have won victory, you will not have to tell your children that you fought in vain -- that you were betrayed. We must be sure that in your homes there will not be want -- that in your schools only the living truth will be taught -- that in your churches there may be preached without fear a faith in which men may deeply believe.

The better world for which you fight -- and for which some of you give your lives -- will not come merely because we shall have won the war. It will not come merely because we wish very hard that it would come. It will be

made possible only by bold vision, intelligent planning and hard work. It cannot be brought about overnight; but only by years of effort and perseverance and unshaking faith.

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You young soldiers and sailors, farmers and factory workers, artists and scholars, who are fighting our way to victory now, all of you will have to take your part in shaping that world. You will earn it by what you do now; but you will not attain it if you leave the job for others to do alone. When you lay aside your gun at the end of the war, you cannot at the same time lay aside your duty to the future.

What I have said to our American soldiers and sailors applies to all the young men and women of the United Nations who are facing our common enemies. There is a complete unanimity of spirit among all the youth of all kinds and kindreds who fight to preserve or to regain their freedom.

In Norway and Holland, Belgium and France, Czechoslovakia and Poland, Serbia and Greece, there is a fighting spirit that defies the harsh oppression, the barbarous cruelty and terrorism of the Nazis. Although disarmed, the unconquerable people still strike at their oppressors. Although forbidden to know the truth, they listen at the risk of their lives to radio broadcasts from afar; and, by word of mouth and by secret newspaper passed from one patriot to another, they still spread the truth. When the time comes for these peoples to rise, Hitler's New Order will be destroyed by the hands of its own victims.

Today the embattled youth of Russia and China are realizing a new individual dignity, casting off the last links of the ancient chains of imperial despotism which had bound them so long.

This is a development of historic importance.

It means that the old term, "Western Civilization", no longer applies. World events and the common needs of all humanity are joining the culture of Asia with the culture of Europe and of the Americas to form, for the first time, a real world civilization.

In the concept of the Four Freedoms, in the basic principles of the Atlantic Charter, we have set for ourselves high goals, unlimited objectives.

These concepts and these principles are designed to form a world in which men, women and children can live in freedom and in equity and, above all, without fear or the horrors of war. For no soldiers or sailors, in any of our forces today, would so willingly endure the rigors of battle if they thought that in another twenty years their own sons would be fighting still another war on distant deserts or seas or in far-away jungles or skies.

(25)

We have profited by our past mistakes. This time we shall know how to make full use of victory. This time the achievements of our fighting forces will not be thrown away by political cynicism and timidity and incompetence.

There is still a handful of men and women, in the United States and elsewhere, who mock and sneer at the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. They are few in number; but some of them have the financial power to give our enemies the false impression that they have a large following among our citizenry. They play petty politics in a world crisis. They fiddle with many sour notes while civilization burns. These puny prophets decry our determination to implement our high concepts and sound principles. And the words of these little men of little faith are quoted with gleeful approval by the press and radio of our enemies.

We are deeply aware that we cannot achieve our goals easily. We cannot attain the fullness of all our ideals overnight. We know that this is to be a long and hard and bitter fight -- and that there will still be an enormous job for us to do long after the last German, Japanese and Italian bombing planes have been shot to earth.

But we do believe that, with divine guidance, we can make -- in this dark world of today, and in the new post-war world -- a steady progress toward the highest goals that men have ever imagined.

We of the United Nations have the technical means, the physical resources, and, most of all, the adventurous courage and the vision and the will that are needed to build and sustain the kind of world order which alone can justify the tremendous sacrifices now being made by our youth.

But we must keep at it -- we must never relax, never falter, never fear -- and we must keep at it together.

We must maintain the offensive against evil in all its forms. We must work and we must fight to ensure that our children shall have and shall enjoy in peace their inalienable rights to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

Only on those bold terms can this total war result in total victory.

(30)

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Original reading copy

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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SEPTEMBER 3, 1942

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be broadcast in connection with the International Student Assembly, must be held in confidence until released.

NOTES: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 12:30 P.M., E.W.T., today, September 3, 1942. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

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Our listening stations have picked up an increasing volume of Axis broadcasts, including controlled stations in France, Hungary, the Netherlands and elsewhere, referring to this meeting of the younger generation from all the United Nations in terms of growing hate and, of course, complete falsehood. Our listening stations report that they expect that at this moment the air in all Axis-dominated nations will be thoroughly jammed — blacked out — in order that no sound of what I am saying, either in English or in translation, will be heard by any restless young people who are under Hitler's heel.

The Nazi radio in Paris, for example, tells the youth of France that Roosevelt was solely responsible for the defeat of France; that Roosevelt is not qualified to address a message to the youth of the world because America is a nation that has done nothing for youth.

Berlin reports that four French youth organizations have protested in advance against this speech, since Roosevelt must be blamed for the death of more than one hundred thousand young Frenchmen. Incidentally, it would be interesting to know how many real Frenchmen there are in these so-called French Youth organizations.

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The reason for this hysterically defensive attitude toward this gathering is not hard to find. For many years they have made their hypocritical appeal to youth — they have tried, with all their blatant publicity, to represent themselves as the champions of youth.

But now the world knows that the Nazis, the Fascists and the militarists of Japan have nothing to offer to youth — except death.

On the other hand, the cause of the United Nations is the cause of youth itself. It is the hope of the new generation — and the generations that are to come — hope for a new life that can be lived in freedom, and justice, and decency.

This fact is becoming clearer every day to the young people of Europe, where the Nazis are trying to create youth organizations built on the Nazi pattern. It is not a pattern devised by youth for youth. It is a pattern devised by Hitler and imposed upon youth by a form of mental forcible feeding -- a diet of false facts, distortions, and prohibitions -- all backed up by the guns of the Gestapo.

If you have any doubt as to what the decent youth of Europe think about the false promises the Axis masters make to the young people of the world, look to the brave young men of France and all the occupied countries who prefer to face the firing squads rather than a lifetime of slavery and degradation under Hitler.

In such unfortunate countries as Finland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Italy, whose Governments have found it necessary to submit to Hitler and do his bidding, the quislings have organized youth movements too -- but these are only movements of youth by the tens of thousands to the slaughter of the Eastern front, where the Nazis need cannon-fodder in their desperate attempts to shatter the stalwart Russian Army.

In China, heroic youth has stood steadfast for more than five years against all of Japan's attempts to seduce and disarm them with such transparent lies as the promise of "Asia for the Asiatics". For the Chinese know that this only means "All of creation enslaved by the Japanese".

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We have learned much since then. We know that wisdom does not come necessarily with years; that old men may be foolish, and young men may be wise. But in every war, it is the younger generation which bears the burden of combat and inherits all the ills that war leaves in its wake.

In the economic crises that followed the false prosperity after the first World War, many young men and women suffered even more than did their elders. For they were denied the primary opportunities for education, for training, for work, or even for food enough to build up healthy bodies. As a result, they were tempted to seek some simple remedy not only for their own individual problems, but for all the problems that beset the world. Some listened to alien, siren voices which offered glib answers to all the questions. "Democracy is dead", said these voices. "Follow us, and we will teach you efficiency. We will lead you to world conquest. We will give you power over inferior races. And all that we ask you to give in return is -- your freedom".

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No pilgrims who landed on the uncharted New England Coast, no pioneers who forced their way through the trackless wilderness, showed greater fortitude, greater determination, than you are showing now.

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We are deeply aware that we cannot achieve our goals easily. We cannot attain the fullness of all our ideals overnight. We know that this is to be a long and hard and bitter fight — and that there will still be an enormous job for us to do long after the last German, Japanese and Italian bombing planes have been shot to earth.

But we do believe that, with divine guidance, we can make — in this dark world of today, and in the new post-war world — a steady progress toward the highest goals that men have ever imagined.

We of the United Nations have the technical means, the physical resources, and, most of all, the adventurous courage and the vision and the will that are needed to build and sustain the kind of world order which alone can justify the tremendous sacrifices now being made by our youth.

But we must keep at it — we must never relax, never falter, never fear — and we must keep at it together.

We must maintain the offensive against evil in all its forms. We must work and we must fight to ensure that our children shall have and shall enjoy in peace their inalienable rights to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

Only on these bold terms can this total war result in total victory.

*First Rough
Draft*

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

ASSEMBLY [REDACTED] THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT SERVICE.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1942

It may interest the members of this Assembly of the International Student Service [REDACTED] a meeting that represents very nearly all of the Nations seeking to regain mental and physical health against that dread disease known as Hitlerism or Nazism or Mussolinism or Fascism or Japanese militarism [REDACTED] that your Assembly in the United States has given great [REDACTED] cause for [REDACTED] concern to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] among the Axis Powers. This concern relates not merely to your actual meeting but goes deeper than that. I say this because [REDACTED] during the past [REDACTED] has given one week ago the Axis radio gave [REDACTED] unusual comment to your sessions and to the speech [REDACTED] of the President of the United States [REDACTED] which you are hearing at this moment.

[REDACTED] The Axis Powers have been driven to the defensive by this gathering. The Axis Powers are afraid of you. That is the logical deduction, based on the amount of space and the [REDACTED]

(A)

(A)

whose Governments have found it necessary
to submit to Hitler and do his bidding, they
~~the youth movement is all~~ ^{now} at the
Russian front, where the Nazis need cannon-
fodder in their interminable attempts
to shatter the stalwart Red Army.

In China, ^{now} youth has stood steadfast
against all of Japan's attempts to seduce
them with such transparent lies as the
promise of "Asia for the Asians." The Chinese
~~also have endured greatly~~ know that this
means "All of China for the Japanese."

I have organized youth movements, but these
only take the form of moving tens of thousands
of youths to

(A)

The Axis propagandists have taken an almost hysterically defensive attitude toward this gathering. And the reason ~~it~~ for is not hard to find. For many years they made their hypocritical appeal to youth — they tried, with all their efficient publicity, to represent themselves as the champions of youth.

But now the world knows that the Nazis, the Fascists and the militarists of Japan have nothing to offer to youth except death.

Whereas — on the side of the United Nations is all the hope of the here generation — and the generations that are to come — for a better, freer, safer future.

This fact is ~~not~~ becoming clearer every day to the young people of Europe, ~~eg Germany, Holland, France~~ where the Nazis are trying to create youth organizations built on the Nazi pattern. But this is not a pattern devised by youth for youth. It is a pattern devised by Hitler and ~~imposed~~ by the guns of the Gestapo.

In such unfortunate countries as Finland, ~~and~~ Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Italy,

[vitriolic comments they are using about you and about me.

For example, a few days ago they had a fifteen minute program in French from Paris directed to the French, not merely in occupied France, but in unoccupied France as well. Every day they give more and more time to it.

For some curious reason this meeting seems to be a very touchy point with them; it seems to get under their skin. That they are on the defensive is proved by the fact that they are saying that they too have youth organizations built on the Nazi pattern, which by the way is not a pattern designed by youth in the Nazi and Nazi-dominated countries, but is a pattern superimposed on youth, whether youth likes it or not, by the powers that be that have the physical -- not just the mental -- but the physical police power to enforce their programs on the youth of Germany and the youth of the many Nations which Germany has overrun. They say that Holland has

its youth organization and they are seeking to use that imposed youth organization and to use similar organizations in Poland and Czechoslovakia and Norway and Belgium and France to ridicule us of the free Nations by broadcasting deliberate untruths for ^{befogging} the purpose of fogging the issue and trying to make young people all over the world believe that youth as a whole has its voice in the Fascist system.

And in addition to this they seek by ridicule and falsity to show to the youth of those unfortunate nations like Finland and Hungary and Rumania and Belgium, that the younger generations in those countries, whose Governments have found it necessary to submit to the Axis and do their bidding, that Nazism has some respect for the aspirations and legitimate recognition of the coming generations.

I wonder sometimes what the young soldiers and their brothers and sisters left at home in Hungary, in Rumania, and in Belgium.

think of the fact that they are thought of as gun-fodder on the Russian front; what they think of tens of thousands of dead out of their own Nations, who are slaughtered at the behest of the Austrian paperhanger.

So you good people who are assembled here in Washington -- no matter what you have done in the past three days or what you will do in the next two days of your sessions -- before you ever met you had caused consternation in the ranks of the dictators. For that reason, if for no other, your International Meeting is a success.

[I am told that] the delegates to this International Student Assembly represent all the twenty-eight United Nations. They also represent in spirit at least the younger generation of many other nations who are not at war on our side [now actually no matter what the reasons may be] - but who [in ideals] for a better and a more peaceful world, [are one] for the freedoms which apply to the younger generation, as well as to the older, belong at heart with us rather than with the enemies of those ideals.

Before the first World War, very few people in any country believed that youth had the right to speak for itself as a group or to participate in councils of state [expected anything in the form of thought or community responsibility from men and women, boys and girls, under let us say, twenty-five or thirty. Responsibility came with age based on experience. When young people were asked to war, they went, without asking why.] Much has happened since 1914. Millions of young men, ten or twelve million [as I remember it,] were killed in the first World War. And even greater number of young men and young women

~~6~~ 6

were wounded or physically ~~&~~ mentally ~~hurt by~~ that four-year

struggle. [Those that survived were left with scars.]

In the economic ~~shambles~~ crises that came after the peace, [they] many young men and women even more than did

suffered at least equally with their elders. Some finding ~~for they were denied the primary~~

~~small opportunity for education, for training, for work and of~~
as a result, they even for food enough to build up healthy bodies, were tempted

only ~~their own~~ to seek some simple remedy not for one ~~small~~ individual problem,

but for all the problems ~~that beset~~ the world. Some listened to ~~aliens~~

siren voices [from many lands] which offered glib answers to "Democracy is dead," said those voices. "Follow all the questions. Panaceas -- 'get-rich-quick' schemes -- us, and we will teach you efficiency. We will lead you to world unrealistic problems. Young people darted hither and yon in congruent. We will give you power over inferior races. And all the false prosperity of the twenties. That we ask you to give in return is your freedom."

Some listened with doubt and reservation. Some became

cynics; some were bitter, some ate, drank and were merry on the

theory that what came after them did not affect them.

A few

6 1/2

too many

others of our youth listened to goads
of despair. They took refuge in cynicism
and bitterness on the theory that what was
to come after them did not particularly
matter.

We may take the case of any ordinary
American boy. ~~and~~ Let us ^{say} ~~assume~~ That
his name is John Jones, Jr. He comes from
Nashville, Tennessee.

John was born in 1920. His father

- 7 -

For example, some among our youth believed that all the world could follow them in the doctrine of Pacifism in appeasement, forgetting entirely that Nazis and Fascists and Japanese were sneering at them, they were sufficient millions in the world who were rejoicing in the expansion of Pacifism and appeasement because they knew that that doctrine made for [] Here lay the way to weakness and flatness, feebleness, inability to take up arms in ^{our} own defense, and that by that token the victory of military aggression would be so much the easier.

There were other reasons too which strengthened the ranks of Pacifists and appeasers apart from the undoubtedly genuine and honest ideals which had their part in the spreading of the group. Many of the young people in the twenties were, perhaps subconsciously, bitten by the then prevailing objective of material prosperity in the pursuit of the thought of every man for himself, of the opportunity to get rich at the expense of his neighbors.

This resulted in a wave of pacifism among our youth — which misled our enemies into the belief that we would never fight. When the Nazis and the Japanese sneered at us — when they declared war on us — they did so under the conviction that we were flabby and feeble and unable to take up arms in our own defense.

[It is not difficult for us to understand why our enemies should have been so completely mistaken about the character of our youth.] ^{But} The masters of Germany and Japan simply can not comprehend the ways of free men and women.

Specifically, they can not comprehend a young American named John ~~Smith~~, Jr., who comes from — let us say — Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

[Let us consider the case of John ~~Smith~~, Jr. ¹⁹¹⁸. ^{He} was born in 1920.] His father, John ~~Smith~~, Sr., had fought at Chateau Thierry and in the Argonne in 1918. [He had fought] with the sincere belief that he was fighting to make the world safe for democracy, ^{He} knew that ^{that} was a good cause and a just cause.

John ~~Smith~~, Sr., and his comrades in arms of all the Allies won their fight on the field of battle — but their cause was lost in the post-war period of cynical and short-sighted political betrayal.

So John ~~Smith~~, Jr., grew up in an atmosphere of disillusionment and skepticism. Nothing mattered but material prosperity — and in the pursuit of that prosperity it was "every man for himself".

The old ideals of patriotism, of loyalty, of religion itself were considered spurious — as spurious as bootleg liquor.

When John ~~Smith~~, Jr., was in grammar school he saw the destruction of the greatest illusion of all — the illusion of unlimited paper profits. The ~~Smith~~ family had to learn the bitter lesson that life, liberty and happiness can not be purchased with easy payments on the installment plan.

In 1938, young John [E] was working his way through college.

[He] read in newspapers about the occupation of Austria, and the Munich ^{and his} pact, and the fall of the Spanish Republic. He ^{talked about these} things to his fellow students [and they] scoffed at their fathers who had been gullible enough to believe that such a world as this could ever be made safe for democracy.

It was small wonder that, when war broke out in Europe, three years ago, John [Smith] was all for keeping this country out of it at all costs. [He wrote vehement letters to the press, he organised meetings, he took part in political campaigns. He signed his name to numberless petitions which were sent to the President of the United States, protesting against lifting the arms embargo, against spending billions for defense, against all aid to the Allies, against Selective Service.]

And in Berlin and Tokyo the war leaders shuddered with satisfaction, and they said, "America can never accomplish anything without ^{John} Jones, Jr." And in that respect they were exactly one-hundred percent right.

But where is John Smith today?

We know where he is — and so do the Nazis and the Japanese.

He is storming the beaches of the Solomon Islands, he is manning a gun on a destroyer in the North Atlantic, he is plunging his plane at an enemy aircraft carrier in the Coral Sea, he is testing a ^{new type of} tank in action against the enemy on the Egyptian desert, he is in a prison camp in Japan, remembering the fight that ^{he} put up on Wake or Bataan, and watching the skies for the inevitable day of deliverance.

As I talk now to American youth, I am supremely conscious of the fact that I am talking specifically to John Smith, Jr. And I should like to say this to him:

But John came to ~~know~~ know that this war was not just a localized, European brawl. It was his war, and he would fight it with all the courage and strength and skill that he possessed. And so today John Jones, Jr., is

(A)

You are doing first things first —
Fighting to win this war. As far as for
what comes you know that ~~unless the war~~ —
~~now, it is futile to~~ ~~say~~ ~~a~~ ~~plan and~~
~~postponed the peace to follow~~
~~Victory is easy, but it is~~

Showed this war to lost, ^{into}
~~would be futile our plans~~
for the peace to follow
~~now~~ ^{in meaning less} ~~is essential~~; but it is
P Victory

9

You are today conducting yourself in a manner that is
worthy of the highest, proudest traditions of our country.

No pilgrim who landed on the uncharted New England Coast,
no pioneer who forced his way through the trackless wilderness, showed
greater fortitude, greater determination, than you are showing now.

Neither your own father, in 1918, nor your father's fathers,
in 1863 or 1776, fought with greater gallantry or more selfless
devotion to duty than you are now displaying on battle-fields far
from home.

And what is more, John ~~Schlesinger~~, you know why you are
fighting. With your eyes open you have seen that the road that has
led you to the Solomans or to the Red Sea, or to the coast of France,
is in fact an extension of Main Street in ~~New Bedford, Massachusetts~~,
and that when you fight, anywhere along the road, you are fighting in
the defense of your own home, your own free school, your own church.

~~But mere defense is not good enough for you, John Schlesinger.~~

A You must be sure that when you have won victory, you will not have
to tell your children that you fought in vain -- that you were betrayed,
as your father was before you. You must be sure that in your home
there will not be want -- that in your school the living truth will
be taught -- that in your church there may be preached a faith in
which men may deeply believe.

When we here at home confront John ~~Schlesinger~~, on his return
from war we had better be certain that we can look him in the eye
and tell him that we have not let him down.

C We shall not be able to face him if we doubt our own ability
to see this job through -- if we listen to those puny prophets who
~~for the future~~ say that there is no hope that the Atlantic Charter is nothing but

In 1938, young John [was working his way through college. He] read in newspapers about the occupation of Austria, and the Munich pact, and the fall of the Spanish Republic. He [talked about these things to his fellow students, and they scoffed at their fathers who had been gullible enough to believe that such a world as this could ever be made safe for democracy.]

B61
It was small wonder that, when war broke out in Europe, three years ago, John Smith, Jr., was all for keeping this country out of it at all costs. [He wrote vehement letters to the press, he organized meetings, he took part in political campaigns. He signed his name to numberless petitions which were sent to the President of the United States, protesting against lifting the arms embargo, against spending billions for defense, against all aid to the Allies, against Selective Service.]

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As I talk now to American youth, I am supremely conscious of the fact that I am talking specifically to John Smith, Jr. And I should like to say this to him:

There is a unanimity of spirit among all the youth of all the nations fighting to preserve their freedom or to regain their freedom.

(In Russia and China, which contains almost a third of the population of this earth, we can see the emergence of a new age of historic significance. The grand-dildus)

In Norway and Holland, Belgium and France, Czechoslovakia and Poland, ~~and~~ Serbia and Greece, ~~those who have been by~~ there is a fighting spirit that defies the ~~German~~ that the Nazis in their bumptious cruelty and terrorism of the Nazis. These unconquerable peoples are resisting by every possible means, passive or active. Disarmed, they still strike at their oppressors. ~~and~~ Denied all access to the truth, they still live ~~to~~ At the risk of their lives, they listen to radio broadcasts from afar and ~~they~~ by word of mouth and secret newspapers, they still spread the truth. When the time comes for these peoples to rise, we shall see ~~the death~~ ^{the death} accompanying Hitler has been in convincing his ^{and} well be destroyed by victims of the virtues of his New Order, ~~the~~ ^{its} ~~brutality~~ its victims.

Russia and China, two nations which
have emerged from with almost a third of
the world's population, have emerged from
the darkness of ancient oppression only within
this present century. But today, among the
embattled youth of Russia and China, we
~~may see the dawn of a great new era of~~
~~men and women who fight as~~
~~these great peoples have fought and will fight~~
are realizing a new individual dignity, casting
off the last links of the chains which had
bound them for centuries. This is a
world development of historic importance.

[I understand that] What I am saying here in Washington,
[at about 12.45 P.M. Washington time,] is being heard by
several million American soldiers, sailors and marines,
not only within the continental limits of the United States,
but in far distant points -- in Central and South America,
in the Islands of the Atlantic, in Britain and Ireland, on
the West Coast of Africa, in Egypt, in Iraq and Iran, in
Russia, in India, in China, in Australia, in New Zealand,
and in very many Islands of the Pacific. *There in all those places —*
and in our fighting men.

And, in addition, what I am saying is being heard by

the men fighting under the other Flags of the United

Nations in every part of the world — side by side with our
own. Shoulders to shoulder are all the John Jones Jr.s of all
You are the John Dees of the world.

And I think I speak for the overwhelming majority of

P all determination and the courage and the strength
you when I tell you that we have the ability and the expectation
to see this job through for our own sakes and for the sakes of
the homes from which we come. And I speak for them when I say
that not one of us has any respect for those puny prophets who
hold forth from time to time in
~~small in number~~ ^{with a belated day} ~~in almost any one of~~ ^{you all} our Nations -- who
say, or who insinuate [by spoken word or written word] that
there is no hope for the future; [those puny prophets who, I
regret to say, seek to whisper in the ears of millions of their
fellow citizens] that the Atlantic Charter is nothing but empty
words -- that the Four Freedoms do not mean what they say;
that because a better world cannot be achieved overnight
it is useless to [favor] ^{try to get} any better world at all.
— Those disciples of disaster —
Those puny prophets whose words you read or whose voices
you hear had ^{for} prototypes who said the same things about Magna
Carta, who opposed the clipping of the wings of the robber
barons in the Middle Ages, who [indulged in cynical laughter]
[sneered or laughed]

when a starving French nation rose up against a Queen who suggested that they had better eat cake; who [in our own American history] shrugged their shoulders at the Declaration of Independence ^{could see} and ~~saw~~ only an unconstitutional act in the Proclamation of Emancipation.

Their words are echoes of
Note well what the puny prophets have said through thousands of years [in regard to the idealism of] the great

founders of all the great religions of the world.
Their words are echoes of those who have divided and ruled
Note well that every forward step taken by the human race

in religion, in science, in self-government, and in the quest for peace, [has been derided, ridiculed and set back by the]
This words are echoes of a long line of
professional cynics who ~~said~~ "This is starry-eyed idealism.
... how always said of progress:
It is not practical. It will not work". *For these cynics --* ^{To}

these puny prophets who sit at home with little knowledge and less good-will, I, in behalf of the armed forces everywhere who are seeking the preservation of our liberties, our equities

and our opportunities, say this:

"Not one of us objects to your right to free speech and free criticism. You yourselves, when you] cry out for the right of free speech and freedom of the press, ^{but at the same time} [show a certain illogic, for while you are crying thus you] sneer at the Four Freedoms^{is itself}, one of which ~~is~~ freedom of speech[and criticism]. You sneer at the thought that such an ideal is in the least practical except in a country like the United States. You may give it lip-service here but what you deny is that it is an attainable ideal elsewhere -- in other words, that out of two billion people in the world, one million eight hundred and seventy million [are silly to work for]^{I am no longer to expect} it.

***** *W.M.* *****

Bmt
5

(continue Insert C)

You [professional cynics some times for party political reasons] sneer at the thought ^{behind} of another of the four freedoms — that aggression in the world can be brought under control. You are willing to set up a Maginot Line around the continental United States. You ~~and~~ would let the rest of the world go hang -- stew in their own juices -- fight each other -- kill each other -- destroy art and culture ^{and} religion, -- [ignoring ^{forgetting} ~~of~~ the primary lessons of this war, with petty deliberation that that kind of a Maginot Line would not make even ^{near} ~~make~~ this great nation safe if a dictator-led world ganged up on us again.

You professional cynics [-- you] have the financial power to bring your slimy words to millions of your fellow countrymen, [you must realize one thing more that] ^J the man ^{in the front} and the men on shipboard will applaud me for saying in their behalf.

"You may call yourselves patriots, you may mouth the words that you hope we will crush the Axis, but [remember well that]

Insert C - 6

you are doing to stir up trouble to drag red herrings across
the trail to victory, what you are doing to raise doubts in
~~our own nation and the~~
~~our own nation and~~ in the minds of people of nations who are
fighting side by side with us, [constitutes acts and actions
on your part which] are slowing up the war.

Because you are slowing up the war, you are playing
into the hands of Hitler and his illegality.

[No sensible human being asserts that more than a
few of you puny profits of evil are on the side of Hitler and
his ilk, but we do accuse you in slowing up the war by aid to
Hitler. That is simple and indisputable logic.]

[We -- and I truly believe] the overwhelming majority
of the young people of the world are seeking two objectives;
[for humanity:] one of them is ~~the winning of~~ this war and ~~the~~ to
~~ending~~ ^{and} a philosophy which may have had its place in history
in the dim and ugly past, but has no place today, [-- rooting the

Insert C - 7

philosophy of force, aggression and slavery out of our world
system root and branch.]

[And on the fourth of the Freedoms -- freedom from want --
if you trace back to its origin the sly insinuations from want
you will find that those origins are definitely opposed to the
very thought of freedom from want, lest such freedom should have
a maligned influence on their own pocketbooks.

And that when this first objective is attained [the
sooner the better -- we shall seek to establish the principles
and objectives for which we fight. We know we cannot attain the
fullness of those principles overnight. But we do believe that
we can make in the new post-war world a steady progress toward
their attainment.

We have the vision. We have the will.

We of the United Nations have the technical means, the

Insert C - 8

resources, and the courage, that are needed to build and sustain
the kind of world order which alone can justify the tremendous
sacrifices now being made by our youth.

(Last three paragraphs O.K.)

9

empty words, that the Four Freedoms don't mean what they say, that because a better world cannot be achieved over night it is useless to attempt any reform at all.

Let us remember that the same puny prophets said the same things about the Declaration of Independence and the Emancipation Proclamation. Every forward step ever taken by the human race has been derided, at the time, by professional cynics who said: "This is starry-eyed idealism. It is unpractical. It will not work."

I say to you now -- I say it to John Smith, Jr., wherever he may be -- that the principles for which we fight are practical -- that they will work -- if we will only have the vision and the will to realize them.

We have of the United Nations have all the technical means all the resources, needed to build and to sustain the kind of world order which alone can justify the tremendous sacrifices now being made by our youth.

But -- we must keep at it -- we must keep at the job to which we have set ourselves until the war is won and after the war is won --
at
and we must keep it together.

We must sustain the offensive against evil in all its forms. We must fight on to the destruction of injustice and inequality. We must see to it that our children inherit a world in which there is freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

Only on those terms can we gain total victory.

FIRST DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ASSEMBLY
SEPTEMBER 3, 1942

It may interest the members of this Assembly of the International Student Service that your Assembly in the United States has given great concern to the Axis Powers. During the past week the Axis radio has given unusual comment to your sessions and to the speech which you are hearing at this moment.

The Axis propagandists have taken an almost hysterically defensive attitude toward this gathering. And the reason is not hard to find. For many years they made their hypocritical appeal to youth -- they tried, with all their efficient publicity, to represent themselves as the champions of youth.

But now the world knows that the Nazis, the Fascists and the militarists of Japan have nothing to offer to youth except death.

Whereas -- on the side of the United Nations is all the hope of the new generation -- and the generations that are to come -- for a better, freer, safer future.

This fact is becoming clearer every day to the young people of Europe, where the Nazis are trying to create youth organizations built on the Nazi pattern. But this is not a pattern devised by youth for youth. It is a pattern devised by Hitler and imposed upon the youth of Germany by the guns of the Gestapo.

In such unfortunate countries as Finland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Italy, whose Governments have found it necessary to submit to Hitler and do his bidding, they have organized youth movements, but these only take the form of moving tens of thousands of youths to the Russian front, where the Nazis need cannon-fodder in their interminable attempts to shatter the stalwart Red Army.

In China heroic youth has stood steadfast against all of Japan's attempts to seduce them with such transparent lies as the promise of "Asia for the Asiatics". The Chinese know that this means "All of creation for the Japanese".

The delegates to this International Student Assembly represent all the twenty-eight United Nations. They also represent in spirit at least the younger generation of many other nations who, are not now actively at war on our side, but who are our companions in aspiration for a better and a more peaceful world.

Before the first World War, very few people in any country believed that youth had the right to speak for itself as a group or to participate in councils of state. Responsibility was thought to come with age based on experience. When young people were ordered to war, they went, without asking why.

Much has happened since 1914. Millions of young men -- twelve million -- were killed in the first World War. An even greater number of young men and young women were physically wounded or mentally scarred in that four-year struggle.

In the economic crises that followed the false prosperity after the peace, many young men and women suffered even more than did their elders. For they were denied the primary opportunity for education, for training, for work, or even for food enough

to build up healthy bodies. As a result, they were tempted to seek some simple remedy not only for their own individual problems, but for all the problems that beset the world. Some listened to alien, siren voices which offered glib answers to all the questions. "Democracy is dead", said these voices. "Follow us, and we will teach you efficiency. We will lead you to world conquest. We will give you power over inferior races. And all that we ask you to give in return is your freedom."

Others of our youth listened to gospels of despair. They took refuge in cynicism and bitterness on the theory that what was to come after them did not particularly matter.

[We may take the case of any ordinary American boy. Let us say that his name is John Jones, Jr. He comes from Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

John was born in 1920. His father, John Jones, Sr., had fought at Chateau Thierry and in the Argonne in 1918 -- with the sincere belief that he was fighting to make the world safe for democracy. He knew that that was a good cause and a just cause.

John Jones, Sr., and his comrades in arms of all the Allies won their fight on the field of battle -- but their cause was lost in the post-war period of cynical and shortsighted political betrayal.

So John Jones, Jr., grew up in an atmosphere of disillusionment and skepticism. Nothing mattered but material prosperity -- and in the pursuit of that prosperity it was "every man for himself".

The old ideals of patriotism, of loyalty, or religion itself were considered spurious -- as spurious as bootleg liquor.

When John Jones, Jr., was in grammar school he saw the destruction of the greatest illusion of all -- the illusion of unlimited paper profits. The Jones family had to learn the bitter lesson that life, liberty and happiness cannot be purchased with easy payments on the installment plan.

In 1938, young John read in newspapers about the occupation of Austria, and the Munich Pact, and the fall of the Spanish Republic. He and his fellow students

scoffed at their fathers who had been gullible enough to believe that such a world as this could ever be made safe for democracy.

It was small wonder that, when war broke out in Europe, three years ago, John was all for keeping this country out of it at all costs.

And in Berlin and Tokyo the war leaders chuckled with satisfaction, and they said, "America can never accomplish anything without John Jones, Jr." And in that respect they were exactly one-hundred per cent right.

But John came to know that this war was not just a localized, European brawl. It was his war, and he would fight it with all the courage and strength and skill that he possessed. And so today John Jones, Jr., is storming the beaches of the Solomon Islands. He is manning a gun on a destroyer in the North Atlantic. He is plunging his plane at an enemy aircraft carrier in the Coral Sea. He is testing a new type of tank in action against the enemy on the Egyptian desert. He is in a prison camp in Japan, remembering the fight that he put up on Wake or Bataan, and watching the skies for the inevitable day of deliverance.

As I talk now to American youth, I am supremely conscious of the fact that I am talking specifically to John Jones, Jr. And I should like to say this to him:

You are today conducting yourself in a manner that is worthy of the highest, proudest traditions of our country.

No pilgrim who landed on the uncharted New England Coast, no pioneer who forced his way through the trackless wilderness, showed greater fortitude, greater determination, than you are showing now.

Neither your own father, in 1918, nor your father's fathers, in 1863 or 1776, fought with greater gallantry or more selfless devotion to duty than you are now displaying on battlefields far from home.

And what is more, you know why you are fighting. With your eyes open you have seen that the road that has led you to the Solomons or to the Red Sea, or to the coast of France, is in fact an extension of Main Street and that when you fight, anywhere along the road, you are fighting in the defense of your own home, your own free school, your own church.

You are doing first things first -- fighting to win this war. For you know that should this war be lost, our plans for the peace to follow would be meaningless.

Victory is essential; but it is not enough for you. You must be sure that when you have won victory, you will not have to tell your children that you fought in vain -- that you were betrayed, as your father was before you. You must be sure that in your home there will not be want -- that in your school the living truth will be taught -- that in your church there may be preached a faith in which men may deeply believe.

When we here at home confront John Jones, Jr., on his return from war we had better be certain that we can look him in the eye and tell him that we have not let him down.

There is a unanimity of spirit among all the youth of all the nations fighting to preserve their freedom or to regain their freedom.

In Norway and Holland, Belgium and France, Czechoslovakia and Poland, Serbia and Greece, there is a fighting spirit that defies the barbarous cruelty and terrorism of the Nazis. These unconquerable peoples are resisting by every possible

means, passive or active. Disarmed, they still strike at their oppressors. At the risk of their lives, they listen to radio broadcasts from afar, and by word of mouth and secret newspapers, passed from one patriot to another, they still spread the truth. When the time comes for these peoples to rise, Hitler's New Order will be destroyed by its victims.

Russia and China, two nations with almost a third of the world's population, have emerged from the darkness of ancient oppression only within this present century. But today the embattled youth of Russia and China are realizing a new individual dignity, casting off the last links of the chains which had bound them for countless centuries. This is a world development of historic importance.

What I am saying here in Washington is being heard by several million American soldiers, sailors and marines, not only within the continental limits of the United States, but in far distant points -- in Central and South America, in the Islands of the Atlantic, in Britain and Ireland, on the West Coast of Africa, in Egypt, in Iraq and Iran, in Russia, in India, in China, in Australia, in New Zealand, and in very many Islands of the Pacific. There -- in all those places -- are our fighting men.

And, in addition, what I am saying is being heard by the men fighting under the other flags of the United Nations in every part of the world -- side by side with our own. Shoulder to shoulder are all the John Jones, Jrs., of all the world.

I tell you all that we have the determination and the courage and the strength to see this job through -- for our own sakes and for the sakes of the homes from which we come. And I speak for you all when I say that not one of us will be deterred by those few puny prophets who hold forth from time to time in any one of our Nations -- who say, or who insinuate that there is no hope for the future; that the Atlantic Charter is nothing but empty words -- that the Four Freedoms do not mean what they say; that because a better world cannot be achieved overnight it is useless to try to get any better world at all.

Those puny prophets -- those disciples of disaster -- whose words you read or whose voices you hear had their prototypes centuries ago -- who said the same things about Magna Carta, who opposed the clipping of the wings of the robber barons in the Middle Ages, who sneered or laughed when a starving French nation rose up against a Queen who

suggested that they had better eat cake; who shrugged their shoulders at the Declaration of Independence and could see in the Proclamation of Emancipation only an unconstitutional act.

Their words are echoes of what the puny prophets have said through thousands of years about the great founders of all the great religions of the world.

Their words are echoes of those who have derided and ridiculed every forward step taken by the human race in religion, in science, in self-government, and in the quest for peace.

Their words are echoes of a long line of professional cynics who have always said of progress: "This is starry-eyed idealism. It is not practical. It will not work". To these cynics who sit at home with little knowledge and less good-will, I, in behalf of the armed forces everywhere who are seeking the preservation of our liberties, our equities and our opportunities, say this:

"Not one of us objects to your right to free speech and free criticism. You yourselves cry out for the right of free speech and freedom of the press, but at the same time sneer at the Four Freedoms -- one of which is still freedom of speech. You sneer at the thought that such an ideal is in the least practical except in a country like the United States. You may give it lip-service here but what you deny is that it is an attainable ideal elsewhere -- in other words, that out of two billion people in the world, one million eight hundred and seventy million have no right to expect it.

You sneer at the thought behind another of the four freedoms -- that aggression in the world can be brought under control. You are willing to set up a Maginot Line around the continental United States. You would let the rest of the world go hang -- stew in their own juice -- fight each other -- kill each other -- destroy art and culture and religion -- forgetting one of the primary lessons of this war, that that kind of a Maginot Line would never make this great nation safe if a dictator-led world ganged up on us again.

You professional cynics have the financial power to bring your slimy words to millions of your fellow countrymen. The man at the front and the men on shipboard will applaud me for saying in their behalf.

"You may call yourselves patriots, you may mouth the words that you hope we will crush the Axis, but what you are doing to stir up trouble and to drag red herrings across the trail to victory -- what you are doing to raise doubts in the minds of people of our own nation and the nations who are fighting side by side with us, are slowing up the war.

"Because you are slowing up the war, you are playing into the hands of Hitler and his gang."

The overwhelming majority of the young people of the world are seeking two objectives: one of them is to win this war and to end a philosophy which may have had its place in history in the dim and ugly past, but has no place today.

They seek to establish the principles and objectives for which we fight. We know we cannot attain the fullness of those principles overnight. But we do believe that we can make in the new post-war world a steady progress toward their attainment.

We have the vision. We have the will. We of the United Nations have the technical means, the resources, and the courage, that are needed to build and sustain the kind of world order which alone can justify the tremendous sacrifices now being made by our youth.

But we must keep at it -- we must keep at the job to which we have set ourselves until the war is won and after the war is won -- and we must keep at it together.

We must sustain the offensive against evil in all its forms. We must fight on to the destruction of injustice and inequality. We must see to it that our children inherit a world in which there is freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom

FIRST DRAFT

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from want, freedom from fear.

Only on those terms can we gain total victory.

SECOND DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ASSEMBLY
SEPTEMBER 3, 1942

It may interest the members of this Assembly of the International Student Service that, during the past week, the Axis radio has given unusual comment to your sessions and to the speech which you are hearing at this moment.

The Axis propagandists have taken an almost hysterically defensive attitude toward this gathering. And the reason is not hard to find. For many years they made their hypocritical appeal to youth -- they have tried, with all their efficient publicity, to represent themselves as the champions of youth.

But now the world knows that the Nazis, the Fascists and the militarists of Japan have nothing to offer to youth except death.

In contrast distinction
~~What~~ -- the cause of the United Nations is the cause of youth. It is the hope of the new generation -- and the *hope* generations that are to come -- for a new life that can be lived in freedom, and justice, and decency.

~~THREE~~

(2)

This fact is becoming clearer every day to the young people of Europe, where the Nazis are trying to create youth organizations built on the Nazi pattern. It is not a pattern devised by youth for youth. It is a pattern devised by Hitler and imposed upon youth by a constant mental drilling, based on false facts and the ~~withholding~~ ^{all} ~~forbidding~~ of any knowledge of true facts -- ~~and this is~~ backed up by the guns of the Gestapo. The young people of the Axis Powers are the unconscious victims of mental forceful feeding.

[That this is true is shown by the following simple story in regard to what I am saying at this moment. We have, as you know, a number of special stations whose duty it is to listen to Axis radio broadcasts, including the broadcasts to Axis countries and other countries now under their heel.] For a week our ^{listening} stations have picked up an increasing volume of Axis broadcasts, including controlled France, and elsewhere, stations in Hungary and the Netherlands, referring in terms ^{and, of course, complete falsehood,} of growing hate to this meeting of the younger generation from all the United Nations. [They seem to be having a sort of panic over the mere existence of this relatively small gathering in the White House.] Our listening stations report

that they expect that the air in all Axis-dominated nations will be quite thoroughly jammed at this moment -- blacked out -- in order that no sound of what I am saying, either in English or in translation, will be heard by any young people who are under Hitler's heel.

[Our listening stations have picked up various examples of their own broadcasts which prove my point rather conclusively -- that youth in those countries is fed on untrue facts and is not allowed to hear true facts.]

The Nazi radio in Paris, for example, tells the youth of France [that the President should not make such a speech;] that Roosevelt was solely responsible for the defeat of France; that Roosevelt is not qualified to address a message [even] to the youth of America because America is a nation that has done nothing for youth.

[For a whole week Rome, Berlin, Tokyo, Budapest and the Dutch station have all joined in -- proving the panic they are in.] Berlin reports that four French youth organizations have protested my making a speech at all -- that Roosevelt must be blamed for the death of more than one hundred thousand young Frenchmen.

A radio in Tokyo [joins in the clamor in a broadcast in English entitled "Roosevelt talks to himself". Tokyo anticipates the very language of the speech -- and did so at least three days ago, before I had put down on paper one word of what I thought of talking about. Tokyo quotes me as saying to you at this moment "He pulled the strings behind Chiang-Kai-shek to make the Japanese mad. I drove the Japanese into such a tight corner that they had no choice but to strike. Tokyo says that I am admitting to you at this moment that my people are decadent -- weaklings -- playboys -- ^{spoiled} by jazz music and Hollywood pictures. [Japan says that I am at this moment]

[Let you of the younger generation in many parts of the world, in uniform and out, get a glimpse of this particular scene in the White House. In the dining room of a hotel in Washington are gathered three or four hundred delegates to the International Student Conference. They have come from twenty-eight Nations in the world. This is no new organization. It goes back nearly twenty years and it had its origin in a world-wide effort to exchange students between the various nations of the world, giving them opportunities for education and for knowledge of the lives and hopes of young people in]

[other countries.]

no Gestapo
of the assembly

No ruler, no Government, ordered these representatives to come to this meeting. The whole thing goes forward in a spirit of voluntary co-operation -- a spirit of democracy and a spirit of free speech. The delegates are here to learn and to help. [- to help mightily in helping all peoples who abhor the philosophy of the Axis, in order first to win the war and then, when it is won, to prevent any such horror occurring again in this world, at least during their own life-time.]

[It is perhaps worth noting that] None of the Nations with which we Americans are affiliated [are, or ever have been] have ever engaged in jamming the broadcasting [of even an Axis youth meeting. We are not afraid what they say -- but they are much afraid obviously very ~~fascist~~ of having their youth hear what we say.

If you have any doubts as to what the decent youth of Europe think about ~~Anglo-American~~ the ~~false~~ promises Hitler makes to ~~the young~~ the young people of the world,

SECOND DRAFT

6

[This fact is becoming clearer every day to the young people of Europe, where the Nazis are trying to create youth organizations built on the Nazi pattern. It is not a pattern devised by youth for youth. It is a pattern devised by Hitler and imposed upon youth by the guns of the Gestapo.]

[Those who doubt this should look to the brave young men of France and other occupied countries, who prefer to face the firing squads rather than face a lifetime of slavery and degradation under Hitler.]

// In such unfortunate countries as Finland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Italy, whose Governments have found it necessary to submit to Hitler and do his bidding, they have organized youth movements, too. ^{the Quisling} [are only movements of] but these take the form of moving tens of thousands of youths to the Eastern front, where the Nazis need cannon-fodder in their desperate attempts to shatter the stalwart Russian Army.

In China heroic youth has stood steadfast against all of Japan's attempts to seduce them with such transparent lies as the promise of "Asia for the Asiatics". The Chinese know that this only means "All of creation for the Japanese".

SECOND DRAFT

(7)

The Nazis lie when they say that
youth in a democracy is not decadent youth. It is
are mentally and morally decadent and degenerated.
the Nazi and Fascist youth who are decadent. Democratic youth
is independent and free. He thinks for himself and acts for
himself. No regimentation makes him an inanimate cog in an
overwhelming machine. He takes his place in the community as
an intelligent partner in the enterprise of government. Not
so the brown-shirted or black-shirted goose-stepper. Others
think for him, act for him, plan for him. He has lost the
ability to function as an integral part of a larger community.

You should exist in the thought that it is you
young, free men and women, and not the thoughtless, witless
robots of the slave states, who will mold the shape of the
new world.

8

SECOND DRAFT

The delegates to this International Student Assembly represent the twenty-nine United Nations. They also represent in spirit at least the younger generation of many other nations who, though they are not now actively at war on our side, are with us heart and soul in aspiration for a better and a more peaceful world.

Before the first World War, very few people in any country believed that youth had the right to speak for itself as a group or to participate in councils of state. Responsibility was thought to come with age based on experience. When young people were ordered to war, they went, without asking why.

We have learned much since then. We know that wisdom does not come necessarily with years; neither is wisdom the characteristic of youth. Old men may be foolish and young men may be wise. But in every war, it is the younger generation which bears the burden of combat and inherits all the ills that war may leave in its wake.

Millions of young men -- twelve million -- were killed in the first World War. An even greater number of young men and young women were physically wounded or mentally scarred in that four-year struggle.

In the economic crises that followed the false prosperity after the peace, many young men and women suffered even more than did their elders. For they were denied the primary opportunities for education, for training, for work, or even for food enough to build up healthy bodies. As a result, they were tempted to seek some simple remedy not only for their own individual problems, but for all the problems that beset the world. Some listened to alien, siren voices which offered glib answers to all the questions. "Democracy is dead", said these voices. "Follow us, and we will teach you efficiency. We will lead you to world conquest. We will give you power over inferior races. And all that we ask you to give in return is your freedom."

Others of our youth listened to gospels of despair. They took refuge in cynicism and bitterness. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ They followed the philosophy of "eat, drink and be merry" on the theory that what was to come after them did not particularly matter.

However, the day came when theory must give way to fact -- the terrible, visible fact of the dive bombers, the panzer divisions, the actual threat to the security of every home and every family in every free country in the world. And when that

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(10)

fact became clear to our youth they rose up -- millions of them -- to take arms and to fight until the forces of aggression shall be utterly destroyed.

I realize that what I am saying here in Washington is being heard by several million American soldiers, sailors and marines, not only within the continental limits of the United States, but in far distant points -- in Central and South America, in the Islands of the Atlantic, in Britain and Ireland, on the West Coast of Africa, in Egypt, in Iraq and Iran, in Russia, in India, in China, in Australia, in New Zealand, and in very many Islands of the Pacific. There -- in all those places -- are our fighting men.

And to them I should like to deliver a special message, from their Commander-in-Chief, and from the very hearts of their countrymen:

You young Americans today are conducting yourselves in a manner that is worthy of the highest, proudest traditions of our nation.

No pilgrims who landed on the uncharted New England Coast, no pioneers who forced their way through the trackless wilderness, showed greater fortitude, greater determination, than you are showing now.

SECOND DRAFT

Neither your own fathers, in 1918, nor your fathers' fathers, in 1863 or 1776, fought with greater gallantry or more selfless devotion to duty ^{and Country} than you are now displaying on battlefields far from home.

And what is more, you know why you are fighting. [With your eyes open you have seen] You know which ^{your own local} road ~~that~~ has led you to the Solomons or to the Red Sea, or to the coast of France, is in fact an extension of Main Street, and that when you fight, anywhere along that road, you are fighting in the defense of your own homes, your own free schools, your own churches.

We here at home are supremely conscious of our obligations to you, now and in the future. We will not let you down.

You are doing first things first -- fighting to win this war. For you know that should this war be lost, our plans for the peace to follow would be meaningless.

victory
Victory is essential; but ~~it~~ is not enough for you ^{or for us.} We must be sure that when you have won victory, you will not have to tell your children that you fought in vain --

INSERT A Page 6

back without payment

We know that in the minds of many of you are thoughts of interrupted careers, broken up university courses, chances of getting a job when you get back. These are things which cannot be left to mere chance as they were last time. Ever since 1933 this Government has accepted the responsibility for seeing to it that wherever possible work was provided for those who tried but could not find work. That

*And when you come home, we do
responsibility continues after the war. Where private industry fails
not propose to provide you, as last time, with one economic
mess of our own making.*

SECOND DRAFT

— 12 —

that you were betrayed, ~~as your father was before you.~~ We
must be sure that in your home there will not be want --
that in your school ^{only} the living truth will be taught -- that
in your church there may be preached a ^{without fear} faith in which men
may deeply believe. ← (B)

INSERT

B 17.

That better world will not come merely because we shall have won the war. It will not come merely because we wish very hard that it would come. It will be made possible only by grim determination, intelligent planning, and bold vision. It cannot be brought about overnight; but only by years of effort and work and perseverance. You young soldiers and sailors, farmers and factory workers, who are fighting our way to victory now, will have to take your part in shaping that world. You ^{will} earn it by what you do now; but you will not attain it if you leave the job for others to do alone. You cannot ~~do~~ ^{lay aside your} duty to the future when you
Pay aside
~~your gun~~ at the end of the war.

SECOND DRAFT

- 12 -

that you were betrayed, ~~as your father was before you.~~ ^{for} We must be sure that in your home there will not be want -- that in your school ^{only} the living truth will be taught -- that in your church there may be preached a faith in which men ^{without fear} may deeply believe. ← (B)

What I have said to our American soldiers and sailors ^{applies} can be said to all the young men and women of the United Nations who are facing our common enemies. There is a unanimity of spirit among all the youth of all kinds and kindreds who fight to preserve ^{or regain} their freedom, ~~or to regain~~ ~~their freedom.~~

In Norway and Holland, Belgium and France, Czechoslovakia and Poland, Serbia and Greece, there is a fighting spirit that defies the harsh oppression, the barbarous cruelty and terrorism of the Nazis. These unconquerable peoples are continuing to resist their would-be masters by every possible means, passive or active. ^{Although} Disarmed, they still strike at their oppressors. Although forbidden to know the truth, ^{at the risk of their lives} they listen to radio broadcasts from afar, and by word of mouth and secret

newspapers, passed from one patriot to another, they still spread the truth. When the time comes for these peoples to rise, Hitler's New Order will be destroyed by the hands of its victims.

Russia and China, two nations with almost a third of the world's population, have emerged from the darkness of ancient ways, ~~ways~~ only within this present century. ~~But~~ Today the embattled youth of Russia and China are realizing a new individual dignity, casting off the last links of the chains which had bound them ~~for countless centuries~~.

This is a development of historic importance. It means that the old term "Western Civilization", no longer applies. ~~has meaning~~. ~~World~~ ~~Russia~~ ~~and~~ ~~China~~ are joining the culture of Asia with the culture of Europe and of the Americas to form, for the first time, a world civilization.

In the conception of the Four Freedoms, in the basic principles of the Atlantic Charter, we have set for ourselves high goals, unlimited objectives.

These conceptions and these principles are designed to form a world in which men, women and children can live in freedom in equity and in enduring peace. No soldiers or sailors in any of our forces would so willingly do what they are now doing if they thought that in another twenty years their sons would be fighting another war on distant deserts or seas or in jungles. ^{still} ^P This time we must know how to make full use of victory -- and how not to misuse it.

15

SECOND DRAFT

There are a handful of men and women in the United States and elsewhere who mock and sneer at these conceptions and principles. These few puny prophets have the financial power which enables them to get their unAmerican news in print and on the air -- to give our enemies the false impression that they have a large following among our citizenry. They decry our determination to implement the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. *These men are quoted with gloeful approval by the Nazi press.* They say: first, we can't do it, and, secondly, that most of the nations of the world, other than their own, ^{id} ~~do not deserve~~ ~~disturb~~ it.

But even if we do not do it overnight, we will eventually do it. And eventually it will be done everywhere in the world. Everytime these disciples of disaster say that we cannot or should not, they are definitely playing into the hands of Hitler and his gang. No one knows it better than you who are fighting and working to make those principles come true; and I know that you would want me to say it for you and in your behalf.

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We know that we cannot achieve these goals easily.

We cannot attain the fullness of our ideals overnight. We know all that this is to be a long and hard and bitter fight -- and that there will still be an enormous job for us to do long after the last German, Japanese and Italian bombing plane has been shot to earth.

But we do believe that we can make in this dark world of today, and in the new post-war world a steady progress toward the highest goals that men ever have imagined.

We of the United Nations have the technical means, the physical resources, and the courage, that are needed to build and sustain the kind of world order which alone can justify the tremendous sacrifices now being made by our youth.

More than this, we have the vision, and we have the will.

But we must keep at it -- we must never relax, never falter, never fear -- and we must keep at it together.

We must maintain the offensive against evil in all its forms. We must work and we must fight to ensure that our children shall have and shall keep their inalienable rights to freedom of

SECOND DRAFT

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speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

this total war must in

Only on those terms can ~~we~~ ^Atotal victory.

THIRD DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ASSEMBLY
SEPTEMBER 3, 1942

It may interest the members of this Assembly of the International Student Service that, during the past week, the Axis radio has given unusual comment to your sessions and to the speech which you are hearing at this moment.

The Axis propagandists have taken an almost hysterically defensive attitude toward this gathering. And the reason is not hard to find. For many years they ^{have} made their hypocritical appeal to youth -- they have tried, with all their efficient publicity, to represent themselves as the champions of youth.

But now the world knows that the Nazis, the Fascists and the militarists of Japan have nothing to offer to youth -- except death.

In contra-distinction, ~~to~~ the cause of the United Nations is the cause of youth. It is the hope of the new generation -- and the generations that are to come -- hope for a new life that can be lived in freedom, and justice, and decency.

This fact is becoming clearer every day to the young people of Europe, where the Nazis are trying to create youth organizations built on the Nazi pattern. It is not a pattern devised by youth for youth. It is a pattern devised by Hitler and imposed upon youth by a constant mental drilling, based on false facts and the withholding of any knowledge of true facts -- all backed up by the guns of the Gestapo. The young people of the Axis Powers are the unconscious victims of mental forceful feeding.

For a week our listening stations have picked up an increasing volume of Axis broadcasts, including controlled stations in France, Hungary, the Netherlands and elsewhere, referring in terms of growing hate and, of course, complete falsehood, to this meeting of the younger generation from all the United Nations. Our listening stations report that they expect that the air in all Axis-dominated nations will be quite thoroughly jammed at this moment -- blacked out -- in order that no sound of what I am saying, either in English or in translation, will be heard by any young people who are under Hitler's heel.

The Nazi radio in Paris, for example, tells the youth of France that Roosevelt was solely responsible for the defeat of France; that Roosevelt is not qualified to address a message to the youth of America because America is a nation that has done nothing for youth.

B Berlin reports that four French youth organizations have protested my making a speech at all -- that Roosevelt must be blamed for the death of more than one hundred thousand young Frenchmen.

A radio in Tokyo says that I am admitting to you at this moment that my people are decadent -- weaklings -- playboys -- spoiled by jazz music and Hollywood pictures.

No ruler, no Government, no Gestapo ordered the representatives of this Assembly to come to this meeting. The whole thing goes forward in a spirit of voluntary cooperation -- a spirit of democracy and a spirit of free speech. The delegates are here to learn and to help.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
None of the Nations with which we Americans are affiliated have ever engaged in jamming the broadcast of even an Axis

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-4-

our enemies
youth meeting. We are not afraid of what ~~they~~ say -- but they
are obviously very much afraid of having their ~~people~~ people hear what
we say.

If you have any doubt as to what the decent youth of
and Asia ^{the Axis masters}
Europe think about the false promises Hitler makes to the
young people of the world, look to the brave young men of France and
all
the occupied countries who prefer to face the firing squads
rather than a lifetime of slavery and degradation under
Hitler.

Our people are free to listen to the
Axis racket as much as they
please, and as long as they can
stand the sheer nonsense of it - and
the boredom

In such unfortunate countries as Finland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Italy, whose Governments have found it necessary to submit to Hitler and do his bidding, the Quislings have organized youth movements too, but these are only movements [of tens of thousands] ^{by tens of thousands} to the Eastern front, where the Nazis need cannon-fodder in their desperate attempts to shatter the stalwart Russian Army.

In China, heroic youth has stood steadfast against all of Japan's attempts to seduce them with such transparent lies as the promise of "Asia for the Asiatics". The Chinese know that this only means "All of creation ^{and division} ^{for} ^{more than five years} ^{and} ^{the Japanese".}

amount of

The Nazis [lie when they] say that youth in a democracy is decadent [youth]. It is the Nazi and Fascist youth who are mentally and morally decadent -- bound and gagged. Democratic because they are incapable of understanding the character of youth is independent and free. He thinks of himself and acts that [it] Democratic youth thinks for himself. No regimentation makes him an inanimate cog in an overwhelming machine. He takes his place in the community as an intelligent partner in the enterprise of government. Not so the brown-shirted or black-shirted goose-stepper. Others think for him, act for him, plan for him. He has lost the ability to function as an integral part of a larger community. individual human being.

You should exult in the thought that it is you young, free men and women, and not the thoughtless, witless robots of the slave states, who will mold the shape of the new world.

The delegates to this International Student Assembly represent the twenty-nine United Nations. They also represent in spirit at least the younger generation of many other nations who, though they are not now actively at war on our side, are with us heart and soul in aspiration for a *sicure and better and a more* peaceful world.

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We have learned much since then. We know that wisdom does not come necessarily with years; [neither is wisdom the characteristic of youth] Old men may be foolish and young men may be wise. But in every war, it is the younger generation which bears the burden of combat and inherits all the ills that war may leave in its wake.

Millions of young men -- twelve million -- were killed in the first World War. An even greater number of young men and young women were physically wounded or mentally scarred in that four-year struggle.

In the economic crises that followed the false prosperity after the peace, many young men and women suffered even more than did their elders. For they were denied the primary opportunities for education, for training, for work, ~~and~~ or even for food enough to build up healthy bodies. As a result, they were tempted to seek some simple remedy not only for their own individual problems, but for all the problems

that beset the world. Some listened to alien, siren voices which offered glib answers to all the questions. "Democracy is dead", said these voices. "Follow us, and we will teach you efficiency. We will lead you to world conquest. We will give you power over inferior races. And all that we ask you to give in return is -- your freedom".

young people in the democracies
Others ~~of~~ ^A listened to gospels of despair.

They took refuge in cynicism and bitterness. They followed the philosophy of "eat, drink and be merry" on the theory that what was to come after them did not particularly matter.

However, the day came when theory ~~maxxit~~ had to give way to fact -- the terrible, visible fact of the dive bombers, the panzer divisions, the actual threat to the security of every home and every family in every free country in the world.

And when that fact became clear to our youth they rose up --
many millions of them -- to take arms and to fight until the
forces of aggression shall be utterly destroyed.

What I am saying here in Washington is being heard by several million American soldiers, sailors and marines, not only within the continental limits of the United States, but in far distant points -- in Central and South America,

in the Islands of the Atlantic, in Britain and Ireland, on
the West Coast of Africa, in Egypt, in Iraq and Iran, in
Russia, in India, in China, in Australia, in New Zealand,
and on all the seas.
~~and~~ in ~~many~~ many Islands of the Pacific. There -- in all
those places -- are our fighting men.

And to them I should like to deliver a special message,
from their Commander-in-Chief, and from the very hearts of
their countrymen:

You young Americans today are conducting yourselves in
a manner that is worthy of the highest, proudest traditions
of our nation.

No pilgrims who landed on the uncharted New England
Coast, no pioneers who forced their way through the trackless
wilderness, showed greater fortitude, greater determination,
than you are showing now.

Neither your own fathers, in 1918, nor your fathers'
fathers, in 1863 or 1776, fought with greater gallantry
or more selfless devotion to duty and country than you
are now displaying on battlefields far from home.

And what is more, you know why you are fighting. You
know that the road which has led you to the Solomons, or

to the Red Sea, or to the coast of France, is in fact an extension of ~~Europe~~ Main Street, and that when you fight, anywhere along that road, you are fighting in the defense of your own home, your own free schools, your own churches, your own ideals.

We here at home are supremely conscious of our obligations to you, now and in the future. We will not let you down.

We know that in the minds of many of you are thoughts of interrupted careers, broken up university courses, ~~opportunities for~~ getting a job, ~~when you get back~~. These are things which cannot be left to mere chance as they were last time. Ever since 1933 this Government has accepted the responsibility for seeing to it that wherever possible work was provided for those who ^{were willing and capable} ~~were~~ but could not find work. That responsibility ^{will} continue after the war. And when you come home, we do not propose to provide you, as last time, with ^{a domestic} ~~an~~ economic mess of our own making.

You are doing first things first -- fighting to win this war. For you know that should this war be lost, our plans for the peace to follow would be meaningless.

Victory is essential; but victory is not enough for you -- or for us. We must be sure that when you have won victory, you will not have to tell your children that you fought in vain --

that you were betrayed. We must be sure that in your home there will not be want — that in your school only the living truth will be taught — that in your church there may be preached without fear a faith in which men may deeply believe.

The ~~for~~ for which you fight, and for which some of you give your lives, better world will not come merely because we shall have won the war. It will not come merely because we wish very hard that it would come. It will be made possible only by ~~grim determination~~ intelligent and hard work. planning, ~~and~~ It cannot be brought about overnight; but

only by years of effort and ~~and~~ perseverance, and unfaltering faith. artists and scholars, You young soldiers and sailors, farmers and factory workers, who

are fighting our way to victory now, will have to take your part in shaping that world. You will earn it by what you do now; but you will not attain it if you leave the job for others to do alone. ~~You cannot lay aside your duty to the future~~ When you lay aside your gun at the end of the war, ~~you can not at the same time lay aside your duty to the future~~.

What I have said to our American soldiers and sailors applies to all the young men and women of the United Nations who are facing our common enemies. ~~Now~~ There is a unanimity of spirit among all the youth of all kinds and kindreds who fight to preserve or regain their freedom.

In Norway and Holland, Belgium and France, Czechoslovakia and Poland, Serbia and Greece, there is a fighting spirit that defies and will always defy, the harsh oppression, the barbarous cruelty and terrorism of the Nazis. These unconquerable peoples - young and old - are continuing to resist their would-be masters by every possible means, passive or active. Although disarmed, they still strike at their oppressors. Although forbidden to know the truth, they listen at the risk of their lives to radio broadcasts from afar, and by word of mouth and secret newspapers, passed from one patriot to another, they still spread the truth. When the time comes for these peoples to rise, Hitler's New Order will be destroyed by the hands of its own victims.

Today the embattled youth of Russia and China are realizing a new individual dignity, casting off the last links of the ^{ancient} chains which had bound them so long.

This is a development of historic importance. It means that the old term, "Western Civilization", no longer has meaning. World events are joining the culture of Asia with the culture of Europe and of the Americas to form, for the first time, ^{real} a world civilization.

and the common needs of all humanity

In the conception of the Four Freedoms, in the basic principles of the Atlantic Charter, we have set for ourselves high goals, unlimited objectives.

These conceptions and these principles are designed to form a world in which men, women and children can live in freedom and in equity and, above all, without fear of the horrors of war. For no soldiers or sailors in any of our forces would so willingly endure ~~what they now know~~ if they thought that in another ⁿ twenty years their own sons would be fighting still another war on distant deserts or seas or in jungles.

~~we have profited by our past mistakes.~~ ^{This time}
~~This time we~~ ^{I shall} ~~know how to make full use of factory,~~
The gains achieved by our fighting forces will not be lost by political cynicism and timidity and incompetence.

There are a handful of men and women, in the United States and elsewhere, who mock and sneer at these conceptions and principles. They are few in number, but some of ^{these} ~~these few young prophets~~ have the financial power ^{which enables them} to get their un-American news in print and on the air ^{to give our} enemies the false impression that they have a large following among

our citizenry. They decry our determination to implement the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. ^{And the words of These men of little faith} ~~These men~~ are quoted with gleeful

ⁱⁿ approval ⁱⁿ the Nazi press, and on the radio of our enemies.

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They say first, we cannot do it, and, secondly, that most of the nations of the world, other than their own, did not deserve it.

But even if we do not do it overnight, we will eventually

do it. And eventually it will be done everywhere in the world.

When these puny prophets Everything these disciples of disaster say that we cannot or should make good our promises to humanity, The Nazi, Fascist, Japanese not, they are definitely playing into the hands of ~~the~~ militair

militair This A gang, No one knows better than you who are fighting and working

to make those principles come true; and I know that you would want me to say it for you and in your behalf.

are fully aware We know that we cannot achieve our goals easily. We cannot

attain the fullness of all our ideals overnight. We know

that this is to be a long and hard and bitter fight — and that

there will still be an enormous job for us to do long after the

last German, Japanese and Italian bombing plane has been shot

to earth.

But we do believe that we can make — in this dark world of today, and in the new post-war world — a steady progress toward the highest goals that men have ever imagined.

We of the United Nations have the technical means, the physical resources, ~~and the courage~~ that are needed to build and sustain

the kind of world order which alone can justify the tremendous ^{The adventurous courage and} and, most of all, ^{The vision and The will}

THIRD DRAFT

sacrifices now being made by our youth.

[More than this, we have the vision, and we have the will.]

But we must keep at it -- we must never relax, never falter, never fear -- and we must keep at it together.

We must maintain the offensive against evil in all its forms. We must work and we must fight to ensure that our children shall have and shall ^{enjoy in peace} ~~have~~ their inalienable rights to freedom

of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

^{told}
Only on those ^A terms can this total war result in total victory.

FOURTH DRAFTSPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
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SEPTEMBER 3, 1942

It may interest the members of this Assembly of the International Student Service that, during the past week, the Axis radio has given unusual comment to your sessions and to the speech which you are hearing at this moment.

[For a week] our listening stations have picked up an increasing volume of Axis broadcasts, including controlled stations in France, Hungary, the Netherlands and elsewhere, referring in terms of growing hate and, of course, complete falsehood, to this meeting of the younger generation from all the United Nations. Our listening stations report that they expect that the air in all Axis-dominated nations will be quite thoroughly jammed ~~at this moment~~ — blacked out — in order that no sound of what I am saying, either in English or in translation, will be heard by any young people who are under Hitler's heel.

The Nazi radio in Paris, for example, tells the youth of France that Roosevelt was solely responsible for the defeat of France; that Roosevelt is not qualified to address a message to the youth of America. *The world*

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because America is a nation that has done nothing for youth.

Berlin reports that four French youth organizations have pro-
posed to advance against this speech, since
they tested my making a speech at all — that Roosevelt must be blamed

for the death of more than one hundred thousand young Frenchmen. *(And we
wonder a bit whether the Nazis ever were able to set up the regime,*
A radio in Tokyo says that I am admitting to you at this moment *that they did*
anywhere *was true*

that my people are decadent — weaklings — playboys — spoiled by
jazz music and Hollywood pictures. *Of course, this broadcast* *did not originate from*
any of the Japanese *who brought* *in the playboys* *in the United States*

The reason for this hysterically defensive attitude toward
this gathering is not hard to find. For many years they ^{have} made their
hypocritical appeal to youth — they have tried, with all their
^{blatant} ^{effete} publicity, to represent themselves as the champions of
youth.

But now the world knows that the Nazis, the Fascists and the
militarists of Japan have nothing to offer to youth — except death.

On the other hand
In contrast, the cause of the United Nations is the
cause of youth itself. It is the hope of the new generation — and
the generations that are to come — hope for a new life that can
be lived in freedom, and justice, and decency.

This fact is becoming clearer every day to the young people
of Europe, where the Nazis are trying to create youth organizations

(A) p 2

Inidentally, it would be interesting to
know how many real Frenchmen there
are in these so-called French Youth Organizations.

built on the Nazi pattern. It is not a pattern devised by youth for youth. It is a pattern devised by Hitler and imposed upon youth by a constant mental drilling, based on false facts and the withholding of any knowledge of true facts — all backed up by the guns of the Gestapo. The young people of the Axis Powers are the unconscious victims of mental forceful feeding.

No ruler, no Government, no Gestapo ordered the representatives of this Assembly to come to this meeting. The whole thing goes forward in a spirit of voluntary cooperation — a spirit of democracy and a spirit of free speech. The delegates are here to learn and to help.

None of the Nations with which we Americans are affiliated.

(W) ^{During} have ever engaged in jamming the broadcast of even an Axis

built on the Nazi pattern. It is not a pattern devised by youth

for youth. It is a pattern devised by Hitler and imposed upon

form of mental forceful feeding — a diet of
youth by a constant mental drilling based on false facts, and the
distortions, and prohibitions —
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guns of the Gestapo. [The young people of the Axis Powers are the
unconscious victims of mental forceful feeding.]

[No ruler, no Government, no Gestapo ordered the representatives
of this Assembly to come to this meeting. The whole thing goes
forward in a spirit of voluntary cooperation — a spirit of democracy
and a spirit of free speech. The delegates are here to learn and to
help.

We have never engaged in jamming enemy broadcasts. Our people
are free to listen to the Axis radio, as much as they please, and
as long as they can stand the sheer nonsense of it — and the boredom.
We are not afraid of what our enemies say — but they are obviously
very much afraid of having their people hear what we say.]

If you have any doubt as to what the decent youth of Europe,

[And Asia] think about the false promises the Axis masters make to the
young people of the world, look to the brave young men of France and,
all the occupied countries who prefer to face the firing squads rather
than a lifetime of slavery and degradation
under Hitler.

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In such unfortunate countries as Finland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Italy, whose Governments have found it necessary to submit to Hitler and do his bidding, the Quislings have organized youth movements too, but these are only movements of youth by the tens of thousands to the slaughter of the Eastern front, where the Nazis need cannon-fodder in their desperate attempts to shatter the stalwart Russian Army.

In China, heroic youth has stood steadfast for more than five years against all of Japan's attempts to seduce and disarm them with such transparent lies as the promise of "Asia for the Asiatics". For the Chinese know that this only means "All of creation enslaved by the Japanese".

[Our enemies] The Nazis say that youth in a democracy is decadent, because they [the Fascist mind is] incapable of understanding the [mental processes of] young people who are [independent of] it and free. Democratic youth thinks for himself and acts for himself. No amount of regimentation makes him an inanimate cog in an overwhelming machine. [He takes his place in the community as] intelligent partners in the enterprise of government. Not so the brown-shirted or black-shirted goose-stepper. Others think for him, act for him, plan for him. He has lost the ability to function as an individual human being.

[You should] admit in the thought that it is you young, free men and women [of the United Nations], and not the thoughtless, witless robots of the slave states, who

will mold the shape of the new world.

The delegates to this International Student Assembly represent the twenty-nine United Nations. They also represent, in spirit at least, the younger generation of many other nations who, though they are not now actively at war on our side, are with us heart and soul in aspiration for a secure and peaceful world.

Before the first World War, very few people in any country believed that youth had the right to speak for itself as a group or to participate in councils of State. [Responsibility was thought to come with age based on experience.] ~~young people were considered too young, they were not allowed to speak~~

We have learned much since then. We know that wisdom does not necessarily go with years; old men may be foolish and young men may be wise. But in every war, it is the younger generation which bears the burden of combat and inherits all the ills that war ~~leaves~~ leaves in its wake.

~~Millions of young men — twelve million — were killed in the first World War. An even greater number of young men and young women were physically wounded or mentally scarred in that four-year struggle.~~

In the economic crises that followed the ~~false prosperity after the peace~~ first World War, many young men and women suffered even more than did their elders. For they were denied the primary opportunities for education, for training, for work, or even for food enough to build up healthy bodies. As a result, they were tempted to seek some simple remedy not only for their own individual problems, but for all the problems

that beset the world. Some listened to alien, siren voices which offered glib answers to all the questions. "Democracy is dead", said these voices. "Follow us, and we will teach you efficiency. We will lead you to world conquest. We will give you power over inferior races. And all that we ask you to give in return is -- your freedom".

Other young people in the democracies listened to gospels of despair. They took refuge in cynicism and bitterness. [They followed the philosophy of "eat, drink and be merry" on the theory that what was to come after them did not particularly matter.]

However, the day came when ^{finely} ~~all~~ theory had to give way to ^{tangible} fact -- the terrible, ~~terrible~~ fact of [the] dive bombers, [the] panzer divisions, the actual threat to the security of every home and every family in every free country in the world. And when that fact became clear to our youth they ^{rose up} ~~answering the call to arms~~ ^{to-day they are determined} many millions of them ~~#~~ ^{have been} and to fight until the forces of aggression ~~utterly~~ utterly destroyed.

What I am saying here in Washington is being heard by several million American soldiers, sailors and marines, not only within the continental limits of the United States, but in far distant points -- in Central and South America,

in the Islands of the Atlantic, in Britain and Ireland, on
the ~~West~~ Coast of Africa, in Egypt, in Iraq and Iran, in
Russia, in India, in China, in Australia, in New Zealand,
in many Islands of the Pacific and on all the ~~seas~~^{of the world.} There --
in all those places -- are our fighting men.

And to them I should like to deliver a special message,
from their Commander-in-Chief, and from the very hearts of
their countrymen:

You young Americans today are conducting yourselves in
a manner that is worthy of the highest, proudest traditions
of our nation.

✓ No pilgrims who landed on the uncharted New England
Coast, no pioneers who forced their way through the trackless
wilderness, showed greater fortitude, greater determination,
than you are showing now.

Neither your own fathers, in 1918, nor your fathers'
fathers, in 1863 or 1776, fought with greater gallantry
or more selfless devotion to duty and country than you
are now displaying on battlefields far from home.

And what is more, you know why you are fighting. You
know that the road which has led you to the Solomons^A or
^{Jamaica,}

to the Red Sea, or to the coast of France, is in fact an extension of Main Street, and that when you fight, anywhere along that road, you are fighting in the defense of your own homes, your own free schools, your own churches, your own ideals.

We here at home are supremely conscious of our obligations to you, now and in the future. We will not let you down.

We know that in the minds of many of you are thoughts of interrupted education, interrupted careers, ~~broken~~, opportunities delayed. The solution of such problems for getting a job. These are things which cannot be left, as it was last time, to mere chance, ~~as they were last time~~. This Government has accepted the responsibility for seeing to it that, wherever possible, work ~~was~~ provided for those who were willing and able, capable but who could not find work. That responsibility will continue after the war. And when you come home, we do not propose to provide you, as last time, with a domestic economic mess of our own making.

You are doing first things first -- fighting to win this war. For you know that should this war be lost, our plans for the peace to follow would be meaningless.

Victory is essential; but victory is not enough for you -- or for us. We must be sure that when you have won victory,

FOURTH DRAFT

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you will not have to tell your children that you fought in vain --
that you were betrayed. We must be sure that in your home there will
not be want -- that in your school only the living truth will be taught --
that in your church there may be preached without fear a faith in which
men may deeply believe.

The better world for which you fight, and for which some of you
give your lives, will not come merely because we shall have won the war.
It will not come merely because we wish very hard that it would come.
It will be made possible only by bold vision, intelligent planning and
hard work. It cannot be brought about overnight; but only by years of
effort and perseverance and unfaltering faith.

You young soldiers and sailors, farmers and factory workers, artists
and scholars, who are fighting our way to victory now, will have to take
your part in shaping that world. You will earn it by what you do now; but
you will not attain it if you leave the job for others to do alone. When
you lay aside your gun at the end of the war you can not at the same time
lay aside your duty to the future.

What I have said to our American soldiers and sailors applies to
all the young men and women of the United Nations who are facing our
common enemies. There is a ^{Common} ~~Unanimity~~ of spirit among all the youth
of all kinds and kindreds who fight to preserve or regain their freedom.

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In Norway and Holland, Belgium and France, Czechoslovakia and Poland, Serbia and Greece, there is a fighting spirit that defies ~~and~~
~~will always defy~~ the harsh oppression, the barbarous cruelty and terrorism of the Nazis. These unconquerable peoples — young and old — are continuing to resist their would-be masters by every possible means, passive or active. Although disarmed, ^{The unconquerable people} they still strike at their oppressors. Although forbidden to know the truth, they listen at the risk of their lives to radio broadcasts from afar; and by word of mouth ^{by} and secret newspapers, passed from one patriot to another, they still spread the truth. When the time comes for these peoples to rise, Hitler's New Order will be destroyed by the hands of its own victims.

Today the embattled youth of Russia and China are realizing a new individual dignity, casting off the last links of the ancient chains of imperial despotism which had bound them so long.

This is a development of historic importance. It means that the old term, "Western Civilization", no longer ~~has meaning~~ applies. World events and the common needs of all humanity are joining the culture of Asia with the culture of Europe and of the Americas to form, for the first time, a real world civilization.

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In the conception~~s~~ of the Four Freedoms, in the basic principles of the Atlantic Charter, we have set for ourselves high goals, unlimited objectives.

These conception~~s~~ and these principles are designed to form a world in which men, women and children can live in freedom and in equity and, above all, without fear of the horrors of war.

For no soldiers or sailors in any of our forces would so willingly endure the rigors of battle if they thought that in another twenty years their own sons would be fighting still another war on distant

deserts or seas or jungles or hills.

We have profited by our past mistakes. This time we shall know how to make full use of victory. This time the [gains achieved by] achievements of our fighting forces will not be lost by political cynicism and timidity and incompetence.

There are a handful of men and women, in the United States and elsewhere, who mock and sneer at ^{still} the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter.

They are few in number; but some of them have the financial power to give our enemies the false impression that they have a large following

among our citizenry; ^(A) they ~~try~~ ^{try to} ~~to implement~~ ^{the} ~~life~~ ^{the} ~~and principles to~~ ^{the} ~~have subscribed~~ ^{by} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Four Freedoms~~ ^{the} ~~Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms~~ And the words of these men

of little faith are quoted with gleeful approval in the ~~most~~ press and ~~possible~~ radio of our enemies.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT A -- PAGE #11

They play petty politics in
a world crisis. They fiddle with
many sour notes while ~~the world~~
^{curtains}
burns. ~~These~~^{penny prophets} decay our
determination to implement
our high concepts and sound
principles.

[When these puny prophets of disaster say that we cannot or
should not make good our promises to humanity, they are definitely
playing into the hands of the Nazi, Fascist, Japanese militarist
gangs. No one knows this better than you who are fighting and working
to make those principles come true; and I know that you would want
me to say it for you and in your behalf.]

[deeply]
We are ~~fully~~ aware that we cannot achieve our goals easily. We
cannot attain the fullness of all our ideals overnight. We know
that this is to be a long and hard and bitter fight — and that there
will still be an enormous job for us to do long after the last
German, Japanese and Italian bombing plane has been shot to earth. 1/1
But we do believe that we can make — in this dark world of
[A]
today, and in the new post-war world — a steady progress toward the
highest goals that man have ever imagined.

We of the United Nations have the technical means, the physical
resources, and, most of all, the adventurous courage and the vision
and the will that are needed to build and sustain the kind of world
order which alone can justify the tremendous

sacrifices now being made by our youth.

But we must keep at it — we must never relax, never falter, never fear -- and we must keep at it together.

We must maintain the offensive against evil in all its forms. We must work and we must fight to ensure that our children shall have and shall enjoy in peace their inalienable rights to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

Only on those bold terms can this total war result in total victory.

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FIFTH DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ASSEMBLY
SEPTEMBER 3, 1942

It may interest the members of this Assembly of the International Student Service that, during the past week, the Axis radio has given unusual comment to your sessions and to the speech which you are hearing at this moment.

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The Nazi radio in Paris, for example, tells the youth of France that Roosevelt was solely responsible for the defeat of France; that Roosevelt is not qualified to address a message to the youth of the world because America is a nation that has done nothing for youth.

Berlin reports that four French youth organizations have protested in advance against this speech, since Roosevelt must be blamed for the death of more than one hundred thousand young Frenchmen. Incidentally, it would be interesting to know how many real Frenchmen there are in these so-called French Youth Organizations.

A radio in Tokyo says that I am admitting to you at this moment that my people are decadent -- weaklings -- playboys -- spoiled by jazz music and Hollywood pictures. Of course, this broadcast did not originate from any of the Japanese who bumped into our playboys in the Southwest Pacific.

The reason for this hysterically defensive attitude toward this gathering is not hard to find. For many years they have made their hypocritical appeal to youth --

they have tried, with all their blatant publicity, to represent themselves as the champions of youth.

But now the world knows that the Nazis, the Fascists and the militarists of Japan have nothing to offer to youth -- except death.

On the other hand, the cause of the United Nations is the cause of youth itself. It is the hope of the new generation -- and the generations that are to come -- hope for a new life that can be lived in freedom, and justice, and decency.

This fact is becoming clearer every day to the young people of Europe, where the Nazis are trying to create youth organizations built on the Nazi pattern. It is not a pattern devised by youth for youth. It is a pattern devised by Hitler and imposed upon youth by a form of mental forceful feeding -- a diet of false facts, distortions, and prohibitions -- all backed up by the guns of the Gestapo.

If you have any doubt as to what the decent youth of Europe think about the false promises the Axis masters make to the young people of the world, look to the brave young men of France and all the occupied countries who prefer to face the firing squads rather than a lifetime of slavery and degradation under Hitler.

In such unfortunate countries as Finland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Italy, whose Governments have found it necessary to submit to Hitler and do his bidding, the Quislings have organized youth movements too -- but these are only movements of youth by the tens of thousands to the slaughter of the Eastern front, where the Nazis need cannon-fodder in their desperate attempts to shatter the stalwart Russian Army.

In China, heroic youth has stood steadfast for more than five years against all of Japan's attempts to seduce and disarm them with such transparent lies as the promise of "Asia for the Asiatics". For the Chinese know that this only means "All of creation enslaved by the Japanese".

We exult in the thought that it is the young, free men and women of the United Nations, and not the ~~united~~, ^{Wound - up} ~~wildless~~ robots of the slave states, who will mold the shape of the new world.

The delegates to this International Student Assembly represent the twenty-nine United Nations. They also represent, in spirit at least, the younger generation of many other nations who, though they are not now actively at war on our side, are with us heart and soul in aspiration for a secure and peaceful world.

Before the first World War, very few people in any country believed that youth had the right to speak for itself as a group or to participate in councils of State.

We have learned much since then. We know that wisdom does not come necessarily with years; that old men may be foolish, and young men may be wise. But in every war, it is the younger generation which bears the burden of combat and inherits all the ills that war leaves in its wake.

In the economic crises that followed the false prosperity after the first World War, many young men and women suffered even more than did their elders. For they were denied the primary opportunities for education, for training, for work, or even for food enough to build up healthy bodies. As a result, they were tempted to seek some simple remedy not only for their own individual problems, but for all the problems that beset the world. Some listened to alien, siren voices which offered glib answers to all the questions. "Democracy is dead", said these voices. "Follow us, and we will teach you efficiency. We will lead you to world conquest. We will give you power over inferior races. And all that we ask you to give in return is -- your freedom".

Other young people in the democracies listened to gospels of despair. They took refuge in cynicism and bitterness.

However, the day finally came when all theory had to give way to fact -- the terrible, tangible fact of dive bombers, panzer divisions, the actual threat to the security of every home and every family in every free country in the world.

And when that fact became clear to our youth they answered the call to arms -- many millions of them; and, today, they are determined to fight until the forces of aggression have been utterly destroyed.

What I am saying here in Washington is being heard by several million American soldiers, sailors and marines, not only within the continental limits of the United States, but in far distant points -- in Central and South America, in the Islands of the Atlantic, in Britain and Ireland, on the Coasts of Africa, in Egypt, in Iraq and Iran, in Russia, in India, in China, in Australia, in New Zealand, in many Islands of the Pacific and on all the seas of the world. There -- in all those places -- are our fighting men.

And to them I should like to deliver a special message, from their Commander-in-Chief, and from the very hearts of their countrymen:

You young Americans today are conducting yourselves in a manner that is worthy of the highest, proudest traditions of our nation.

No pilgrims who landed on the uncharted New England Coast, no pioneers who forced their way through the trackless wilderness, showed greater fortitude, greater determination, than you are showing now.

Neither your own fathers, in 1918, nor your fathers' fathers, in 1863 or 1776, fought with greater gallantry or more selfless devotion to duty and country than you are now displaying on battlefields far from home.

And what is more, you know why you are fighting. You know that the road which has led you to the Solomon Islands, or to the Red Sea, or to the coast of France, is in fact an extension of Main Street, and that when you fight, anywhere along that road, you are fighting in the defense of your own homes, your own free schools, your own churches, your own ideals.

We here at home are supremely conscious of our obligations to you, now and in the future. We will not let you down.

We know that in the minds of many of you are thoughts of interrupted education, interrupted careers, delayed opportunities for getting a job. The solution of such problems cannot be left, as it was last time, to mere chance. This Government has accepted the responsibility for seeing to it that, wherever possible, work has been provided for those who were willing and able, but who could not find work. That responsibility will continue after the war. And when you come home, we do not propose to provide you, as last time, with a domestic economic mess of our own making.

You are doing first things first -- fighting to win this war. For you know that should this war be lost, all our plans for the peace to follow would be meaningless.

Victory is essential; but victory is not enough for you -- or for us. We must be sure that when you have won victory, you will not have to tell your children that you fought in vain -- that you were betrayed. We must be sure that in your home there will not be want -- that in your school~~s~~only the living truth will be taught -- that in your church there may be preached without fear a faith in which men may deeply believe.

The better world for which you fight -- and for which some of you give your lives -- will not come merely because we shall have won the war. It will not come merely because we wish very hard that it would come. It will be made possible only by bold vision, intelligent planning and hard work. It cannot be brought about overnight; but only by years of effort and perseverance and unfaltering faith.

You young soldiers and sailors, farmers and factory workers, artists and scholars, who are fighting our way to victory now, all of you will have to take your part in shaping that world. You will earn it by what you do now; but you will not attain it if you leave the job for others to do alone. When you lay aside your gun at the end of the war, you cannot at the same time lay aside your duty to the future.

What I have said to our American soldiers and sailors applies to all the young men and women of the United Nations who are facing our common enemies. There is a complete unanimity of spirit among all the youth of all kinds and kindreds who fight to preserve or to regain their freedom.

In Norway and Holland, Belgium and France, Czechoslovakia and Poland, Serbia and Greece, there is a fighting spirit that defies the harsh oppression, the barbarous cruelty and terrorism of the Nazis. Although disarmed, the unconquerable people still strike at their oppressors. Although forbidden to know the truth, they listen at the risk of their lives to radio broadcasts from afar; and, by word of mouth and by secret newspaper passed from one patriot to another, they still spread the truth. When the time comes for these peoples to rise, Hitler's New Order will be destroyed by the hands of its own victims.

Today the embattled youth of Russia and China are realizing a new individual dignity, casting off the last links of the ancient chains of imperial despotism which had bound them so long.

This is a development of historic importance.

It means that the old term, "Western Civilization", no longer applies. World events and the common needs of all humanity are joining the culture of Asia with the culture of Europe and of the Americas to form, for the first time, a real world civilization.

In the concept of the Four Freedoms, in the basic principles of the Atlantic Charter, we have set for ourselves high goals, unlimited objectives.

These concepts and these principles are designed to form a world in which men, women and children can live in freedom and in equity and, above all, without fear of the horrors of war. For no soldiers or sailors in any of our forces today, would so willingly endure the rigors of battle, if they thought that in another twenty years their own sons would be fighting still another war on distant deserts or seas or in far-away jungles or skies.

We have profited by our past mistakes. This time we shall know how to make full use of victory. This time the achievements of our fighting forces will not be thrown away by political cynicism and timidity and incompetence.

There are still a handful of men and women, in the United States and elsewhere, who mock and sneer at the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. They are few in number; but some of them have the financial power to give our enemies the false impression that they have a large following among our citizenry. They play petty politics

in a world crisis. They fiddle with many sour notes while civilization burns. These puny prophets decry our determination to implement our high concepts and sound principles. And the words of these ^{little} men of little faith are quoted with gleeful approval by the press and radio of our enemies.

We are deeply aware that we cannot achieve our goals easily. We cannot attain the fullness of all our ideals overnight. We know that this is to be a long and hard and bitter fight -- and that there will still be an enormous job for us to do long after the last German, Japanese and Italian bombing plane ~~had~~ been shot to earth.

But we do believe that, with divine guidance, we can make -- in this dark world of today, and in the new post-war world -- a steady progress toward the highest goals that men have ever imagined.

We of the United Nations have the technical means, the physical resources, and, most of all, the adventurous courage and the vision and the will that are needed to build and sustain the kind of world order which alone can justify the tremendous sacrifices now being made by our youth.

But we must keep at it -- we must never relax,
never falter, never fear -- and we must keep at it together.

We must maintain the offensive against evil in
all its forms. We must work and we must fight to ensure that
our children shall have and shall enjoy in peace their
inalienable rights to freedom of speech, freedom of religion,
freedom from want, freedom from fear.

Only on those bold terms can this total war result
in total victory.

HOLD FOR RELEASE

P.P.T.
1-3

HOLD FOR RELEASE

F.

HOLD FOR RELEASE

SEPTEMBER 3, 1942

CAUTION:

The following address of the President, to be broadcast in connection with the International Student Assembly, must be held in confidence until released.

NOTE:

Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 12:30 P.M., E.W.T., today, September 3, 1942. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ASSEMBLY
SEPTEMBER 3, 1942

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Our listening stations have picked up an increasing volume of Axis broadcasts, including controlled stations in France, Hungary, the Netherlands and elsewhere, referring to this meeting of the younger generation from all the United Nations in terms of growing hate and, of course, complete falsehood. Our listening stations report that they expect that at this moment the air in all Axis-dominated nations will be thoroughly jammed -- blacked out -- in order that no sound of what I am saying, either in English or in translation, will be heard by any restless young people who are under Hitler's heel.

The Nazi radio in Paris, for example, tells the youth of France that Roosevelt was solely responsible for the defeat of France; that Roosevelt is not qualified to address a message to the youth of the world because America is a nation that has done nothing for youth.

Berlin reports that four French youth organizations have protested in advance against this speech, since Roosevelt must be blamed for the death of more than one hundred thousand young Frenchmen. Incidentally, it would be interesting to know how many real Frenchmen there are in these so-called French Youth Organizations.

A radio in Tokyo says that I am admitting to you at this moment that my people are decadent -- weaklings -- playboys -- spoiled by jazz music and Hollywood pictures. Of course, this broadcast did not originate from any of the Japanese who bumped into our playboys in the Southwest Pacific.

The reason for this hysterically defensive attitude toward this gathering is not hard to find. For many years they have made their hypocritical appeal to youth -- they have tried, with all their blatant publicity, to represent themselves as the champions of youth.

But now the world knows that the Nazis, the Fascists and the militarists of Japan have nothing to offer to youth -- except death.

On the other hand, the cause of the United Nations is the cause of youth itself. It is the hope of the new generation -- and the generations that are to come -- hope for a new life that can be lived in freedom, and justice, and decency.

This fact is becoming clearer every day to the young people of Europe, where the Nazis are trying to create youth organizations built on the Nazi pattern. It is not a pattern devised by youth for youth. It is a pattern devised by Hitler and imposed upon youth by a form of mental ~~forceful~~ feeding --

a dist of false facts, distortions, and prohibitions -- all backed up by the guns of the Gestapo.

If you have any doubt as to what the decent youth of Europe think about the false promises the Axis masters make to the young people of the world, look to the brave young men of France and all the occupied countries who prefer to face the firing squads rather than a lifetime of slavery and degradation under Hitler.

In such unfortunate countries as Finland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Italy, whose Governments have found it necessary to submit to Hitler and do his bidding, the quislings have organized youth movements too -- but these are only movements of youth by the tens of thousands to the slaughter of the Eastern front, where the Nazis need cannon-fodder in their desperate attempts to shatter the stalwart Russian Army.

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We exult in the thought that it is the young, free men and women of the United Nations, and not the wound-up robots of the slave states, who will mold the shape of the new world.

The delegates to this International Student Assembly represent the twenty-nine United Nations. They also represent, in spirit at least, the younger generation of many other nations who, though they are not now actively at war on our side, are with us heart and soul in aspiration for a secure and peaceful world.

Before the first World War, very few people in any country believed that youth had the right to speak for itself as a group or to participate in councils of State.

We have learned much since then. We know that wisdom does not come necessarily with years; that old men may be foolish, and young men may be wise. But in every war, it is the younger generation which bears the burden of combat and inherits all the ills that war leaves in its wake.

In the economic crises that followed the false prosperity after the First World War, many young men and women suffered even more than did their elders. For they were denied the primary opportunities for education, for training, for work, or even for food enough to build up healthy bodies. As a result, they were tempted to seek some simple remedy not only for their own individual problems, but for all the problems that beset the world. Some listened to alien, siren voices which offered glib answers to all the questions. "Democracy is dead", said these voices. "Follow us, and we will teach you efficiency. We will lead you to world conquest. We will give you power over inferior races. And all that we ask you to give in return is -- your freedom".

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However, the day finally came when all theory had to give way to fact -- the terrible, tangible fact of dive bombers, panzer divisions, the actual threat to the security of every home and every family in every free country in the world. And when that fact became clear to our youth they answered the call to arms -- many millions of them; and, today, they are determined to fight until the forces of aggression have been utterly destroyed.

What I am saying here in Washington is being heard by several million American soldiers, sailors and marines, not only within the continental limits of the United States, but in far distant points -- in Central and South America, in the Islands of the Atlantic, in Britain and Ireland, on the Coasts of Africa, in Egypt, in Iraq and Iran, in Russia, in India, in China, in Australia, in New Zealand,

in many Islands of the Pacific and on all the seas of the world.

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Neither your own fathers, in 1918, nor your fathers' fathers, in 1863 or 1776, fought with greater gallantry or more selfless devotion to duty and country than you are now displaying on battlefields far from home.

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We here at home are supremely conscious of our obligations to you, now and in the future. We will not let you down.

We know that in the minds of many of you are thoughts of interrupted education, interrupted careers, delayed opportunities for getting a job. The solution of such problems cannot be left, as it was last time, to mere chance. This Government has accepted the responsibility for seeing to it that, wherever possible, work has been provided for those who were willing and able, but who could not find work.

That responsibility will continue after the war. And when you come home, we do not propose to involve you, as last time, in a domestic economic mess of our own making.

You are doing first things first -- fighting to win this war. For you know that should this war be lost, all our plans for the peace to follow would be meaningless.

Victory is essential; but victory is not enough for you -- or for us. We must be sure that when you have won victory, you will not have to tell your children that you fought in vain -- that you were betrayed. We must be sure that in your homes there will not be want -- that in your schools only the living truth will be taught -- that in your churches there may be preached without fear a faith in which men may deeply believe.

The better world for which you fight -- and for which some of you give your lives -- will not come merely because we shall have won the war. It will not come merely because we wish very hard that it would come. It will be

made possible only by bold vision, intelligent planning and hard work. It cannot be brought about overnight; but only by years of effort and perseverance and unfaltering faith.

You young soldiers and sailors, farmers and factory workers, artists and scholars, who are fighting our way to victory now, all of you will have to take your part in shaping that world. You will earn it by what you do now; but you will not attain it if you leave the job for others to do alone. When you lay aside your gun at the end of the war, you cannot at the same time lay aside your duty to the future.

What I have said to our American soldiers and sailors applies to all the young men and women of the United Nations who are facing our common enemies. There is a complete unanimity of spirit among all the youth of all kinds and kindreds who fight to preserve or to regain their freedom.

In Norway and Holland, Belgium and France, Czechoslovakia and Poland, Serbia and Greece, there is a fighting spirit that defies the harsh oppression, the barbarous cruelty and terrorism of the Nazis. Although disarmed, the unconquerable people still strike at their oppressors. Although forbidden to know the truth, they listen at the risk of their lives to radio broadcasts from afar; and, by word of mouth and by secret newspaper passed from one patriot to another, they still spread the truth. When the time comes for these peoples to rise, Hitler's New Order will be destroyed by the hands of its own victims.

Today the embattled youth of Russia and China are realizing a new individual dignity, casting off the last links of the ancient chains of imperial despotism which had bound them so long.

This is a development of historic importance.

It means that the old term, "Western Civilization", no longer applies. World events and the common needs of all humanity are joining the culture of Asia with the culture of Europe and of the Americas to form, for the first time, a real world civilization.

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We have profited by our past mistakes. This time we shall know how to make full use of victory. This time the achievements of our fighting forces will not be thrown away by political cynicism and timidity and incompetence.

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We are deeply aware that we cannot achieve our goals easily. We cannot attain the fullness of all our ideals overnight. We know that this is to be a long and hard and bitter fight -- and that there will still be an enormous job for us to do long after the last German, Japanese and Italian bombing planes have been shot to earth.

But we do believe that, with divine guidance, we can make -- in this dark world of today, and in the new post-war world -- a steady progress toward the highest goals that men have ever imagined.

We of the United Nations have the technical means, the physical resources, and, most of all, the adventurous courage and the vision and the will that are needed to build and sustain the kind of world order which alone can justify the tremendous sacrifices now being made by our youth.

But we must keep at it -- we must never relax, never falter, never fear -- and we must keep at it together.

We must maintain the offensive against evil in all its forms. We must work and we must fight to ensure that our children shall have and shall enjoy in peace their inalienable rights to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

Only on those bold terms can this total war result in total victory.

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

SEPTEMBER 3, 1942

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be broadcast in connection with the International Student Assembly, must be held in confidence until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 12:30 P.M., E.W.T., today, September 3, 1942. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

It may interest the members of this Assembly of the International Student Service that, during the past week, the Axis radio has given unusual comment to your sessions and to the speech which you are hearing at this moment.

Our listening stations have picked up an increasing volume of Axis broadcasts, including controlled stations in France, Hungary, the Netherlands and elsewhere, referring to this meeting of the younger generation from all the United Nations in terms of growing hate and, of course, complete falsehood. Our listening stations report that they expect that at this moment the air in all Axis-dominated nations will be thoroughly jammed — blacked out — in order that no sound of what I am saying, either in English or in translation, will be heard by any restless young people who are under Hitler's heel.

The Nazi radio in Paris, for example, tells the youth of France that Roosevelt was solely responsible for the defeat of France; that Roosevelt is not qualified to address a message to the youth of the world because America is a nation that has done nothing for youth.

Berlin reports that four French youth organizations have protested in advance against this speech, since Roosevelt must be blamed for the death of more than one hundred thousand young Frenchmen. Incidentally, it would be interesting to know how many real Frenchmen there are in these so-called French Youth Organizations.

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But now the world knows that the Nazis, the Fascists and the militarists of Japan have nothing to offer to youth — except death.

On the other hand, the cause of the United Nations is the cause of youth itself. It is the hope of the new generation — and the generations that are to come — hope for a new life that can be lived in freedom, and justice, and decency.

This fact is becoming clearer every day to the young people of Europe, where the Nazis are trying to create youth organizations built on the Nazi pattern. It is not a pattern devised by youth for youth. It is a pattern devised by Hitler and imposed upon youth by a form of mental forcible feeding -- a diet of false facts, distortions, and prohibitions -- all backed up by the guns of the Gestapo.

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These concepts and these principles are designed to form a world in which men, women and children can live in freedom and in equity and, above all, without fear of the horrors of war. For no soldiers or sailors, in any of our forces today, would so willingly endure the rigors of battle if they thought that in another twenty years their own sons would be fighting still another war on distant deserts or seas or in far-away jungles or skies.

We have profited by our past mistakes. This time we shall know how to make full use of victory. This time the achievements of our fighting forces will not be thrown away by political cynicism and timidity and incompetence.

There is still a handful of men and women, in the United States and elsewhere, who mock and sneer at the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. They are few in number; but some of them have the financial power to give our enemies the false impression that they have a large following among our citizenry. They play petty politics in a world crisis. They fiddle with many sour notes while civilization burns. These puny prophets decry our determination to implement our high concepts and sound principles. And the words of these little men of little faith are quoted with gleeful approval by the press and radio of our enemies.

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We of the United Nations have the technical means, the physical resources, and, most of all, the adventurous courage and the vision and the will that are needed to build and sustain the kind of world order which alone can justify the tremendous sacrifices now being made by our youth.

But we must keep at it — we must never relax, never falter, never fear — and we must keep at it together.

We must maintain the offensive against evil in all its forms. We must work and we must fight to ensure that our children shall have and shall enjoy in peace their inalienable rights to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

Only on those bold terms can this total war result in total victory.

September 3, 1942

EXCERPTS FROM THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

SELECTED FOR THE NEWSREELS

What I am saying here in Washington is being heard by several million American soldiers, sailors and marines, not only within the continental limits of the United States, but in far distant points -- in Central and South America, in the Islands of the Atlantic, in Britain and Ireland, on the Coasts of Africa, in Egypt, in Iraq and Iran, in Russia, in India, in China, in Australia, in New Zealand, in many Islands of the Pacific and on all the seas of the world. There -- in all those places -- are our fighting men.

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RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT,
IN CONNECTION WITH
THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ASSEMBLY,
BROADCAST IN THE DIPLOMATIC ROOM
AT THE WHITE HOUSE,
SEPTEMBER 3, 1942,
AT 12.30 P.M., E.W.T.

(60 delegates representing the 29 United Nations were present to hear the President's address. The rest of the Assembly heard the address at American University)

MRS. ROOSEVELT: Secretary Early wants me to remind everybody that there must be no applause while the President is speaking at all. He is to go through before there is any applause. At the end, that's different.

THE PRESIDENT: And don't sneeze. (laughter)

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

It may interest the members of this Assembly of the International Student Service to know that during the past week the Axis radio has given unusual comment to your sessions, and to the speech which you are hearing at this moment.

Our listening stations have picked up an increasing volume of Axis broadcasts, including controlled stations in France, and Hungary, The Netherlands and elsewhere, referring to this meeting of the younger generation from all the United Nations in terms that are not complimentary, in terms of growing hate and, of course, complete falsehood. Our listening stations report that they expect that at this moment the air in all Axis-dominated nations will be thoroughly jammed -- blacked out -- in order that no sound of what I am saying, either in English or in translation, will be heard by any restless young people who are under Hitler's heel.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.

The Nazi radio in Paris, for example, tells the youth of France that this man Roosevelt was solely responsible for the defeat of France; that Roosevelt is not qualified to address a message to the youth of the world because America is a nation that has done nothing for youth.

Berlin reports that four French youth organizations have protested in advance against this speech, since this man Roosevelt must be blamed for the death of more than one hundred thousand young Frenchmen. Incidentally, it would be interesting to know how many real Frenchmen there are in these so-called French Youth Organizations.

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The reason for this hysterically defensive attitude toward this gathering is not hard to find. For many years they have made their hypocritical appeal to youth -- they have tried, with all their blatant publicity, to represent themselves as the champions of youth.

But now the world knows that the Nazis, the Fascists and the militarists of Japan have nothing to offer to youth -- except death.

On the other hand, the cause of the United Nations is the cause of youth itself. It is the hope of the new generation -- and the generations that are to come -- hope for a new life that can be lived in freedom, and justice, and decency.

This fact is becoming clearer every day to the young people of Europe, where the Nazis are trying to create youth organizations built on the Nazi pattern. It is not a pattern devised by youth for youth. It is a

pattern devised by Hitler and imposed upon youth by a form of mental forcible feeding -- a diet of false facts, distortions, (and) prohibitions -- all backed up by the guns of the Gestapo.

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that youth had the right to speak for itself as a group or to participate in councils of State.

We have learned much since then. We know that wisdom does not come necessarily with years; that old men may be foolish, and young men may be wise. But in every war, it is the younger generation which bears the burden, the burden of combat and inherits all the ills that war leaves in its wake.

In the economic crises that followed the false prosperity after the first World War, many young men and women suffered even more than did their elders. For they were denied the primary opportunities for education, for training, for work, (or) and even for food enough to build up healthy bodies. As a result, they were tempted to seek some simple remedy not only for their own individual problems, but for all of the problems that beset all of the world. Some listened to alien, siren voices (which) that offered glib answers to all the questions they asked. "Democracy is dead," said these voices. "Follow us, and we will teach you efficiency. We will lead you to world conquest. We will give you power over inferior races. And all that we ask you to give in return is -- your freedom."

Other young people in the democracies listened to gospels of despair. They took refuge in cynicism, (and) in bitterness.

However, the day finally came when all theory had to give way to fact -- the terrible, tangible fact of dive bombers, and panzer divisions, the actual threat to the security of every home and every family in every free country in the world. And when that fact became clear to our youth they answered the call to arms -- many millions of them; and, today, they are determined to fight until the forces of aggression have been utterly destroyed.

What I am saying here in Washington is being heard by several million American soldiers, and sailors and marines, not only within the continental limits of the United States, but in far distant points -- in Central and South America, in the Islands of the Atlantic, in Britain and Ireland, on the Coasts of Africa, in Egypt, in Iraq and Iran, in Russia, in India, in China, in Australia, in New Zealand, in many Islands of the Pacific and on all the seas of the world. There -- in (all) those distant places -- are our fighting men.

And to them I should like to deliver a special message, from their Commander-in-Chief, and from the very hearts of their countrymen:

You young Americans today are conducting yourselves in a manner that is worthy of the highest, proudest traditions of our nation.

No pilgrims who landed on the uncharted New England Coast, no pioneers who forced their way through the trackless wilderness, showed greater fortitude, greater determination, than you are showing now.

Neither your own fathers, in 1918, nor your fathers' fathers, in 1863 or 1776, fought with greater gallantry or more selfless devotion to duty and country than you are now displaying on battlefields far from home.

And what is more, you know why you are fighting. You know that the road (which) that has led you to the Solomon Islands, or to the Red Sea, or to the coast of France, is in fact an extension of Main Street, and that when you fight, anywhere along that road, you are fighting in the defense of your own homes, your own free schools, your own churches, your own ideals.

We here at home are supremely conscious of our obligations to you, now and in the future. We will not let you down.

We know that in the minds of many of you are thoughts of interrupted education, interrupted careers, delayed opportunities for getting a

a job. The solution of such problems cannot be left, as it was the last time, to mere chance. This Government has accepted the responsibility for seeing to it that, wherever possible, work has been provided for those who were willing and able, but who could not find work. That responsibility will continue after the war. And when you come home, we do not propose to involve you, as last time, in a domestic economic mess of our own making.

You are doing first things first -- fighting to win this war. For you know that should this war be lost, all our plans for the peace to follow would be meaningless.

Victory is essential; but victory is not enough for you -- or for us. We must be sure that when you have won victory, you will not have to tell your children that you fought in vain -- that you were betrayed. We must be sure that in your homes there will not be want -- that in your schools only the living truth will be taught -- that in your churches there may be preached without fear a faith in which men may deeply believe.

The better world for which you fight -- and for which some of you give your lives -- will not come merely because we shall have won the war. It will not come merely because we wish very hard that it would come. It will be made possible only by bold vision, intelligent planning and hard work. It cannot be brought about overnight; but only by years of effort and perseverance and unfaltering faith.

You young soldiers and sailors, farmers and factory workers, artists and scholars, who are fighting our way to victory now, all of you will have to take your part in shaping that world. You will earn it by what you do now; but you will not attain it if you leave the job for others to do alone. When you lay aside your gun at the end of the war, you cannot at the same time lay aside your duty to the future.

What I have said to our American soldiers and sailors just now, applies to all the young men and women of the United Nations who are facing our common enemies. There is a complete unanimity of spirit among all the youth of all kinds and kindreds who fight to preserve or to regain their freedom.

In Norway and Holland, Belgium and France, Czechoslovakia and Poland, Serbia and Greece, there is a fighting spirit that defies the harsh oppression, the barbarous cruelty and terrorism of the Nazis. Although disarmed, the unconquerable people still strike at their oppressors. Although forbidden to know the truth, they listen at the risk of their lives to radio broadcasts from afar; and, by word of mouth and by secret information and newspapers passed from one patriot to another, they still spread the truth. When the time comes for these peoples to rise, Hitler's New Order will be destroyed by the hands of its own victims.

Today the embattled youth of Russia and China are realizing a new individual dignity, casting off the last links of the ancient chains of imperial despotism which had bound them so long.

This is a development of historic importance. It means that the old term, "Western Civilization," no longer applies. World events and the common needs of all humanity are joining the culture of Asia with the culture of Europe and the culture of the Americas to form, for the first time, a real world civilization.

In the concept of the Four Freedoms, in the basic principles of the Atlantic Charter, we have set for ourselves high goals, unlimited objectives.

These concepts, (and) these principles, are designed to form a world in which men, women and children can live in freedom and in equity

and, above all, without fear of the horrors of war. For no soldiers or sailors, in any of our forces today, would so willingly endure the rigors of battle if they thought that in another twenty years their own sons would be fighting still another war on distant deserts or seas or in far-away jungles or in the skies.

We have profited by our past mistakes. This time we shall know how to make full use of victory. This time the achievements of our fighting forces will not be thrown away by political cynicism and timidity and incompetence.

There is still, however, a handful of men and women, in the United States and elsewhere, who mock and sneer at the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. They are few in number; but some of them have the financial power to give our enemies the false impression that they have a large following among our citizenry. They play petty politics in a world crisis. They fiddle with many sour notes while civilization burns. These puny prophets decry our determination to implement our high concepts and our sound principles. And the words of these little men of little faith are quoted with gleeful approval by the press and the radio of our enemies.

We are deeply aware that we cannot achieve our goals easily. We cannot attain the fullness of all of our ideals overnight. We know that this is to be a long and hard and bitter fight -- and that there will still be an enormous job for us to do long after the last German, Japanese and Italian bombing planes have been shot to earth.

But we do believe that, with divine guidance, we can make -- in this dark world of today, and in the new post-war world of tomorrow -- a steady progress toward the highest goals that men have ever imagined.

We of the United Nations have the technical means, the physical

resources, and, most of all, the adventurous courage and the vision and the will that are needed to build and sustain the kind of world order which alone can justify the tremendous sacrifices now being made by our youth.

But we must keep at it -- we must never relax, never falter, never fear --and we must keep at it together.

We must maintain the offensive against evil in all its forms. We must work, (and) we must fight to ensure that our children shall have and shall enjoy in peace their inalienable rights to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

Only on those bold terms can this total war result in total victory.

{loud applause}

THE PRESIDENT: Am I off the air?

MR. EARLY: Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Now that I am off the air, I can say "How do you do" to all of you. {laughter}

And I want to say "How do you do" to each one of you. And when you go through here, I think you will have to go out, because I have to put this on again for the movies.

(the President then met each one of the delegates, saying a few words to many of them)

(after the delegates had left, the President made three more 'runs' for the newsreels, having made two before the Address)

PPF-1F
~~STATEMENTS FILE~~

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Mr. Dugling

This is the copy that
was used for the
microfilm excerpts.

MW

P.P.F
I-7

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ASSEMBLY
SEPTEMBER 3, 1942

It may interest the members of this Assembly of the International Student Service that, during the past week, the Axis radio has given unusual comment to your sessions and to the speech which you are hearing at this moment.

Our listening stations have picked up an increasing volume of Axis broadcasts, including controlled stations in France, Hungary, the Netherlands and elsewhere, referring to this meeting of the younger generation from all the United Nations in terms of growing hate and, of course, complete falsehood. Our listening stations report that they expect that at this moment the air in all Axis-dominated nations will be thoroughly jammed -- blacked out -- in order that no sound of what I am saying, either in English or in translation, will be heard by any restless young people who are under Hitler's heel.

The Nazi radio in Paris, for example, tells the youth of France that Roosevelt was solely responsible for the defeat of France; that Roosevelt is not qualified to address a message to the youth of the world because America is a nation that has done nothing for youth.

Berlin reports that four French youth organizations have protested in advance against this speech, since Roosevelt must be blamed for the death of more than one hundred thousand young Frenchmen. Incidentally, it would be interesting to know how many real Frenchmen there are in these so-called French Youth Organizations.

A radio in Tokyo says that I am admitting to you at this moment that my people are decadent -- weaklings -- playboys -- spoiled by jazz music and Hollywood pictures. Of course, this broadcast did not originate from any of the Japanese who bumped into our playboys in the Southwest Pacific.

The reason for this hysterically defensive attitude toward this gathering is not hard to find. For many years they have made their hypocritical appeal to youth -- they have tried, with all their blatant publicity, to represent themselves as the champions of youth.

But now the world knows that the Nazis, the Fascists and the militarists of Japan have nothing to offer to youth -- except death.

On the other hand, the cause of the United Nations is the cause of youth itself. It is the hope of the new generation -- and the generations that are to come -- hope for a new life that can be lived in freedom, and justice, and decency.

This fact is becoming clearer every day to the young people of Europe, where the Nazis are trying to create youth organizations built on the Nazi pattern. It is not a pattern devised by youth for youth. It is a pattern devised by Hitler and imposed upon youth by a form of mental forcefeeding --

a diet of false facts, distortions, and prohibitions -- all backed up by the guns of the Gestapo.

If you have any doubt as to what the decent youth of Europe think about the false promises the Axis masters make to the young people of the world, look to the brave young men of France and all the occupied countries who prefer to face the firing squads rather than a lifetime of slavery and degradation under Hitler.

In such unfortunate countries as Finland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Italy, whose Governments have found it necessary to submit to Hitler and do his bidding, the Quislings have organized youth movements too -- but these are only movements of youth by the tens of thousands to the slaughter of the Eastern front, where the Nazis need cannon-fodder in their desperate attempts to shatter the stalwart Russian Army.

In China, heroic youth has stood steadfast for more than five years against all of Japan's attempts to seduce and disarm them with such transparent lies as the promise of "Asia for the Asiatics". For the Chinese know that this only means "All of creation enslaved by the Japanese".

We exult in the thought that it is the young, free men and women of the United Nations, and not the wound-up robots of the slave states, who will mold the shape of the new world.

The delegates to this International Student Assembly represent the twenty-nine United Nations. They also represent, in spirit at least, the younger generation of many other nations who, though they are not now actively at war on our side, are with us heart and soul in aspiration for a secure and peaceful world.

Before the first World War, very few people in any country believed that youth had the right to speak for itself as a group or to participate in councils of State.

We have learned much since then. We know that wisdom does not come necessarily with years; that old men may be foolish, and young men may be wise. But in every war, it is the younger generation which bears the burden of combat and inherits all the ills that war leaves in its wake.

In the economic crises that followed the false prosperity after the first World War, many young men and women suffered even more than did their elders. For they were denied the primary opportunities for education, for training, for work, or even for food enough to build up healthy bodies. As a result, they were tempted to seek some simple remedy not only for their own individual problems, but for all the problems that beset the world. Some listened to alien, siren voices which offered glib answers to all the questions. "Democracy is dead", said these voices. "Follow us, and we will teach you efficiency. We will lead you to world conquest. We will give you power over inferior races. And all that we ask you to give in return is -- your freedom".

Other young people in the democracies listened to gospels of despair. They took refuge in cynicism and bitterness.

However, the day finally came when all theory had to give way to fact -- the terrible, tangible fact of dive bombers, panzer divisions, the actual threat to the security of every home and every family in every free country in the world. And when that fact became clear to our youth they answered the call to arms -- many millions of them; and, today, they are determined to fight until the forces of aggression have been utterly destroyed.

What I am saying here in Washington is being heard by several million American soldiers, sailors and marines, not only within the continental limits of the United States, but in far distant points -- in Central and South America, in the Islands of the Atlantic, in Britain and Ireland, on the Coasts of Africa, in Egypt, in Iraq and Iran, in Russia, in India, in China, in Australia, in New Zealand,

in many Islands of the Pacific and on all the seas of the world.

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from their Commander-in-Chief, and from the very hearts of
their countrymen:

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in a manner that is worthy of the highest, proudest traditions
of our nation.

No pilgrims who landed on the uncharted New England
Coast, no pioneers who forced their way through the trackless
wilderness, showed greater fortitude, greater determination,
than you are showing now.

Neither your own fathers, in 1918, nor your fathers'
fathers, in 1863 or 1776, fought with greater gallantry or
more selfless devotion to duty and country than you are now
displaying on battlefields far from home.

And what is more, you know why you are fighting. You know that the road which has led you to the Solomon Islands, or to the Red Sea, or to the coast of France, is in fact an extension of Main Street, and that when you fight, anywhere along that road, you are fighting in the defense of your own homes, your own free schools, your own churches, your own ideals.

We here at home are supremely conscious of our obligations to you, now and in the future. We will not let you down.

We know that in the minds of many of you are thoughts of interrupted education, interrupted careers, delayed opportunities for getting a job. The solution of such problems cannot be left, as it was last time, to mere chance. This Government has accepted the responsibility for seeing to it that, wherever possible, work has been provided for those who were willing and able, but who could not find work.

That responsibility will continue after the war. And when you come home, we do not propose to involve you, as last time, in a domestic economic mess of our own making.

You are doing first things first -- fighting to win this war. For you know that should this war be lost, all our plans for the peace to follow would be meaningless.

Victory is essential; but victory is not enough for you -- or for us. We must be sure that when you have won victory, you will not have to tell your children that you fought in vain -- that you were betrayed. We must be sure that in your homes there will not be want -- that in your schools only the living truth will be taught -- that in your churches there may be preached without fear a faith in which men may deeply believe.

The better world for which you fight -- and for which some of you give your lives -- will not come merely because we shall have won the war. It will not come merely because we wish very hard that it would come. It will be

made possible only by bold vision, intelligent planning and hard work. It cannot be brought about overnight; but only by years of effort and perseverance and unfaltering faith.

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What I have said to our American soldiers and sailors applies to all the young men and women of the United Nations who are facing our common enemies. There is a complete unanimity of spirit among all the youth of all kinds and kindreds who fight to preserve or to regain their freedom.

In Norway and Holland, Belgium and France, Czechoslovakia and Poland, Serbia and Greece, there is a fighting spirit that defies the harsh oppression, the barbarous cruelty and terrorism of the Nazis. Although disarmed, the unconquerable people still strike at their oppressors. Although forbidden to know the truth, they listen at the risk of their lives to radio broadcasts from afar; and, by word of mouth and by secret newspaper passed from one patriot to another, they still spread the truth. When the time comes for these peoples to rise, Hitler's New Order will be destroyed by the hands of its own victims.

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This is a development of historic importance.

It means that the old term, "Western Civilization", no longer applies. World events and the common needs of all humanity are joining the culture of Asia with the culture of Europe and of the Americas to form, for the first time, a real world civilization.

In the concept of the Four Freedoms, in the basic principles of the Atlantic Charter, we have set for ourselves high goals, unlimited objectives.

These concepts and these principles are designed to form a world in which men, women and children can live in freedom and in equity and, above all, without fear of the horrors of war. For no soldiers or sailors, in any of our forces today, would so willingly endure the rigors of battle, if they thought that in another twenty years their own sons would be fighting still another war on distant deserts or seas or in far-away jungles or skies.

We have profited by our past mistakes. This time we shall know how to make full use of victory. This time the achievements of our fighting forces will not be thrown away by political cynicism and timidity and incompetence.

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There ~~are~~ still a handful of men and women, in the United States and elsewhere, who mock and sneer at the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. They are few in number; but some of them have the financial power to give our enemies the false impression that they have a large following among our citizenry. They play petty politics in a world crisis. They fiddle with many sour notes while civilization burns. These puny prophets decry our determination to implement our high concepts and sound principles. And the words of these little men of little faith are quoted with gleeful approval by the press and radio of our enemies.

We are deeply aware that we cannot achieve our goals easily. We cannot attain the fullness of all our ideals overnight. We know that this is to be a long and hard and bitter fight -- and that there will still be an enormous job for us to do long after the last German, Japanese and Italian bombing planes have been shot to earth.

But we do believe that, with divine guidance, we can make -- in this dark world of today, and in the new post-war world -- a steady progress toward the highest goals that men have ever imagined.

We of the United Nations have the technical means, the physical resources, and, most of all, the adventurous courage and the vision and the will that are needed to build and sustain the kind of world order which alone can justify the tremendous sacrifices now being made by our youth.

But we must keep at it -- we must never relax, never falter, never fear -- and we must keep at it together.

We must maintain the offensive against evil in all its forms. We must work and we must fight to ensure that our children shall have and shall enjoy in peace their inalienable rights to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

Only on those bold terms can this total war result in total victory.



RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, BROADCAST IN THE DIPLOMATIC ROOM AT THE WHITE HOUSE, SEPTEMBER 3, 1942, AT 12.30 P.M., E.W.T., IN CONNECTION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ASSEMBLY

(60 delegates representing the 29 United Nations were present to hear the President's address. The rest of the Assembly heard the address at American University)

MRS. ROOSEVELT: Secretary Early wants me to remind everybody that there must be no applause while the President is speaking at all. He is to go through before there is any applause. At the end, that's different.

THE PRESIDENT: And don't sneeze. (laughter)

(then follow with the Address)

THE PRESIDENT: Am I off the air?

MR. EARLY: Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Now that I am off the air, I can say "How do you do" to all of you. (laughter)

And I want to say "How do you do" to each one of you. And when you go through here, I think you will have to go out, because I have to put this on again for the movies.

(the President then met each one of the delegates, saying a few words to many of them)

(after the delegates had left, the President made three more 'runs' for the newsreels, having made two before the Address)

STATEMENTS FILE

STATEMENTS FILE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

SEPTEMBER 5, 1942

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be broadcast in connection with the International Student Assembly, must be held in confidence until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 12:30 P.M., E.W.T., today, September 3, 1942. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

Ladies and gentlemen: To know

It may interest the members of this Assembly of the International Student Service ~~that~~ during the past week, the Axis radio has given unusual comment to your sessions, and to the speech which you are hearing at this moment.

*that are not
complementary,
in teams*

Our listening stations have picked up an increasing volume of Axis broadcasts, including controlled stations in France, Hungary, The Netherlands and elsewhere, referring to this meeting of the younger generation from all the United Nations in terms of growing hate and, of course, complete falsehood. Our listening stations report that they expect that at this moment the air in all Axis-dominated nations will be thoroughly jammed — blacked out — in order that no sound of what I am saying, either in English or in translation, will be heard by any restless young people who are under Hitler's heel.

this man
The Nazi radio in Paris, for example, tells the youth of France that Roosevelt was solely responsible for the defeat of France; that Roosevelt is not qualified to address a message to the youth of the world because America is a nation that has done nothing for youth.

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Berlin reports that four French youth organizations have protested in advance against this speech, since Roosevelt must be blamed for the death of more than one hundred thousand young Frenchmen. Incidentally, it would be interesting to know how many real Frenchmen there are in these so-called French Youth organizations.

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And a radio in Tokyo says that I am admitting to you at this moment that my people are decadent — weaklings — playboys — spoiled by jazz music and Hollywood pictures. Of course, this broadcast did not originate from any of the Japanese who burst into our playboys in the Southwest Pacific.

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The reason for this hysterically defensive attitude toward this gathering is not hard to find. For many years they have made their hypocritical appeal to youth — they have tried, with all their blatant publicity, to represent themselves as the champions of youth.

But now the world knows that the Nazis, the Fascists and the militarists of Japan have nothing to offer to youth — except death.

On the other hand, the cause of the United Nations is the cause of youth itself. It is the hope of the new generation — and the generations that are to come — hope for a new life that can be lived in freedom, and justice, and decency.

This fact is becoming clearer every day to the young people of Europe, where the Nazis are trying to create youth organizations built on the Nazi pattern. It is not a pattern devised by youth for youth. It is a pattern devised by Hitler and imposed upon youth by a form of mental forcible feeding — a diet of false facts, distortions, ~~new~~ prohibitions — all backed up by the guns of the Gestapo.

If you have any doubt as to what the decent youth of Europe think about the false promises the Axis masters make to the young people of the world, look to the brave young men of France and all the occupied countries who prefer to face the firing squads rather than a lifetime of slavery and degradation under Hitler.

In such unfortunate countries as Finland, ^{and} Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Italy, whose Governments have found it necessary to submit to Hitler and to his bidding, the Quislings have organized youth movements too — but these are only movements of youth by the tens of thousands to the slaughter of the Eastern front, where the Nazis need cannon-fodder in their desperate attempts to shatter the stalwart Russian Army.

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We have learned much since then. We know that wisdom does not come necessarily with years; that old men may be foolish, and young men may be wise. But in every war, it is the younger generation which bears the burden of combat and inherits all the ills that war leaves in its wake, ~~the burden~~.

In the economic crises that followed the false prosperity after the first World War, many young men and women suffered even more than did their elders. For they were denied the primary opportunities for education, for training, for work, ~~or~~ even for food enough to build up healthy bodies. As a result, they were tempted to seek some simple remedy not only for their own individual problems, but for all the problems ~~that~~ beset the world. Some listened to alien, siren voices ~~which~~ offered glib answers to all the questions. "Democracy is dead", said these voices. "Follow us, and we will teach you efficiency. We will lead you to world conquest. We will give you power over inferior races. And all that we ask you to give in return is -- your freedom!"

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However, the day finally came when all theory had to give way to fact -- the terrible, tangible fact of dive bombers, panzer divisions, the actual threat to the security of every home and every family in every free country in the world. And when that fact became clear to our youth they answered the call to arms -- many millions of them; and, today, they are determined to fight until the forces of aggression have been utterly destroyed.

What I am saying here in Washington is being heard by several million American soldiers, sailors and marines, not only within the continental limits of the United States, but in far distant points -- in Central and South America, in the Islands of the Atlantic, in Britain and Ireland, on the Coasts of Africa, in Egypt, in Iraq and Iran, in Russia, in India, in China, in Australia, in New Zealand, in many Islands of the Pacific and on all the seas of the world. There -- in ~~all~~ those places -- are our fighting men.

M. deGolyer
And to them I should like to deliver a special message, from their Commander-in-Chief, and from the very hearts of their countrymen:

You young Americans today are conducting yourselves in a manner that is worthy of the highest, proudest traditions of our nation.

No pilgrims who landed on the uncharted New England Coast, no pioneers who forced their way through the trackless wilderness, showed greater fortitude, greater determination, than you are showing now.

Neither your own fathers, in 1918, nor your fathers' fathers, in 1863 or 1776, fought with greater gallantry or more selfless devotion to duty and country than you are now displaying on battlefields far from home.

And what is more, you know why you are fighting. You know that the road ~~which~~ has led you to the Solomon Islands, or to the Red Sea, or to the coast of France, is in fact an extension of Main Street, and that when you fight, anywhere along that road, you are fighting in the defense of your own homes, your own free schools, your own churches, your own ideals.

We here at home are supremely conscious of our obligations to you, now and in the future. We will not let you down.

We know that in the minds of many of you are thoughts of interrupted education, interrupted careers, delayed opportunities for getting a job. The solution of such problems cannot be left, as it was last time, to mere chance. This Government has accepted the responsibility for seeing to it that, wherever possible, work has been provided for those who were willing and able, but who could not find work. That responsibility will continue after the war. And when you come home, we do not propose to involve you, as last time, in a domestic economic mess of our own making.

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Victory is essential; but victory is not enough for you -- or for us. We must be sure that when you have won victory, you will not have to tell your children that you fought in vain -- that you were betrayed. We must be sure that in your homes there will not be want -- that in your schools only the living truth will be taught -- that in your churches there may be preached without fear a faith in which men say deeply believes.

The better world for which you fight -- and for which some of you give your lives -- will not come merely because we shall have won the war. It will not come merely because we wish very hard that it would come. It will be made possible only by bold vision, intelligent planning and hard work. It cannot be brought about overnight; but only by years of effort and perseverance and unfaltering faith.

You young soldiers and sailors, farmers and factory workers, artists and scholars, who are fighting our way to victory now, all of you will have to take your part in shaping that world. You will earn it by what you do now; but you will not attain it if you leave the job for others to do alone. When you lay aside your gun at the end of the war, you cannot at the same time lay aside your duty to the future. X

What I have said to our American soldiers and sailors applies to all the young men and women of the United Nations who are facing our common enemies. There is a complete unanimity of spirit among all the youth of all kinds and kindreds who fight to preserve or to regain their freedom. just now

In Norway and Holland, Belgium and France, Czechoslovakia and Poland, Serbia and Greece, there is a fighting spirit that defies the harsh oppression, the barbarous cruelty and terrorism of the Nazis. Although disarmed, the unconquerable people still strike at their oppressors. Although forbidden to know the truth, they listen at the risk of their lives to radio broadcasts from afar and, by word of mouth and by secret newspapers passed from one patriot to another, they still spread the truth. When the time comes for these peoples to rise, Hitler's New Order will be destroyed by the hands of its own victims.

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Today the embattled youth of Russia and China are realizing a new individual dignity, casting off the last links of the ancient chains of imperial despotism which had bound them so long.

This is a development of historic importance. It means that the old term, "Western Civilization", no longer applies. World events and the common needs of all humanity are joining the culture of Asia with the culture of Europe and of the Americas to form, for the first time, a real world civilization.

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These concepts, ~~and~~ these principles, are designed to form a world in which men, women and children can live in freedom and in equity and, above all, without fear of the horrors of war. For no soldiers or sailors, in any of our forces today, would so willingly endure the rigors of battle if they thought that in another twenty years their own sons would be fighting still another war on distant deserts or seas or in far-away jungles or skies.

in the

We have profited by our past mistakes. This time we shall know how to make full use of victory. This time the achievements of our fighting forces will not be thrown away by political cynicism and timidity and incompetence.

There is still a handful of men and women, in the United States and elsewhere, who mock and sneer at the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. They are few in number; but some of them have the financial power to give our enemies the false impression that they have a large following among our citizenry. They play petty politics in a world crisis. They fiddle with many sour notes while civilization burns. These puny prophets decry our determination to implement our high concepts and sound principles. And the words of these little men of little faith are quoted with gleeful approval by the press and radio of our enemies.

We are deeply aware that we cannot achieve our goals easily. We cannot attain the fullness of all our ideals overnight. We know that this is to be a long and hard and bitter fight — and that there will still be an enormous job for us to do long after the last German, Japanese and Italian bombing planes have been shot to earth.

But we do believe that, with divine guidance, we can make — in this dark world of today, and in the new post-war world — a steady progress toward the highest goals that men have ever imagined.

We of the United Nations have the technical means, the physical resources, and, most of all, the adventurous courage and the vision and the will that are needed to build and sustain the kind of world order which alone can justify the tremendous sacrifices now being made by our youth.

But we must keep at it — we must never relax, never falter, never fear — and we must keep at it together.

We must maintain the offensive against evil in all its forms. We must work, and we must fight to ensure that our children shall have and shall enjoy in peace their inalienable rights to freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

Only on those bold terms can this total war result in total victory.

(bold applause)

Jack Romagna

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

SEPTEMBER 3, 1942

9/3/42 H

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be broadcast in connection with the International Student Assembly, must be held in confidence until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 12:30 P.M., E.W.T., today, September 3, 1942. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

*Amv
for N 12 S-*

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

--H/H--C-----
It may interest the members of this Assembly of the International Student Service that, during the past week, the Axis radio has given unusual comment to your sessions and to the speech which you are hearing at this moment.

Our listening stations have picked up an increasing volume of Axis broadcasts, including controlled stations in France, Hungary, The Netherlands and elsewhere, referring to this meeting of the younger generation upon all the United Nations in terms of growing hate and, of course, complete falsehood. Our listening stations report that they expect that at this moment the air in all Axis-dominated nations will be thoroughly jammed — blacked out — in order that no sound of what I am saying, either in English or in translation, will be heard by any restless young people who are under Hitler's heel.

The *WEF* radio in Paris, for example, tells the youth of France that Roosevelt was solely responsible for the defeat of France; that Roosevelt is not qualified to address a message to the youth of the world because America is a nation that has done nothing for youth.

Berlin reports that four French youth organizations have protested in advance against this speech, since Roosevelt must be blamed for the death of more than one hundred thousand young Frenchmen. Incidentally, it would be interesting to know how many real Frenchmen there are in these so-called French Youth organizations.

A radio in Tokyo says that I am admitting to you at this moment that my people are decadent — weaklings — playboys — spoiled by jazz music and Hollywood pictures. Of course, this broadcast did not originate from any of the Japanese who bumped into our playboys in the Southwest Pacific.

The reason for this hysterically defensive attitude toward this gathering is not hard to find. For many years they have made their hypocritical appeal to youth — they have tried, with all their blatant publicity, to represent themselves as the champions of youth.

But now the world knows that the Nazis, the Fascists and the militarists of Japan have nothing to offer to youth — except death.

On the other hand, the cause of the United Nations is the cause of youth itself. It is the hope of the now generation — and the generations that are to come — hope for a new life that can be lived in freedom, and justice, and decency.

STATEMENTS FILE

Jack Romagna

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STATEMENTS FILE

This fact is becoming clearer every day to the young people of Europe, where the Nazis are trying to create youth organizations built on the Nazi pattern. It is not a pattern devised by youth for youth. It is a pattern devised by Hitler and imposed upon youth by a form of mental forcible feeding — a diet of false facts, distortions, ~~and~~ prohibitions — all backed up by the guns of the Gestapo.

If you have any doubt as to what the decent youth of Europe think about the false promises the Axis masters make to the young people of the world, look to the brave young men of France and all the occupied countries who prefer to face the firing squads rather than a lifetime of slavery and degradation under Hitler.

In such unfortunate countries as Finland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Italy, whose Governments have found it necessary to submit to Hitler and do his bidding, the Quislings have organized youth movements too — but these are only movements of youth by the tens of thousands to the slaughter of the Eastern front, where the Nazis need cannon-fodder in their desperate attempts to shatter the stalwart Russian Army.

In China, heroic youth has stood steadfast for more than five years against all of Japan's attempts to seduce and disarm them with such transparent lies as the promise of "Asia for the Asiatics". For the Chinese know that this only means "All of creation enslaved by the Japanese".

We exult in the thought that it is the young, free men and women of the United Nations, and not the wound-up robots of the slave states, who will mold the shape of the new world.

The delegates to this International Student Assembly represent the twenty-nine United Nations. They also represent, in spirit at least, the younger generation of many other nations who, though they are not now actively at war on our side, are with us heart and soul in aspiration for a secure and peaceful world.

Before the first World War, very few people in any country believed that youth had the right to speak for itself as a group or to participate in councils of state.

We have learned much since then. We know that wisdom does not come necessarily with years; that old men may be foolish, and young men may be wise. But in ~~every~~ war, it is the younger generation which bears the burden of combat and inherits all the ills that war leaves in its wake.

In the economic crises that followed the false prosperity after the first World War, many young men and women suffered even more than did their elders. For they were denied the primary opportunities for education, for training, for work, ~~and~~ even for food enough to build up healthy bodies. As a result, they were tempted to seek some simple remedy not only for their own individual problems, but for all the problems that beset the world. Some listened to alien, siren voices which offered glib answers to all the questions. "Democracy is dead", said these voices. "Follow us, and we will teach you efficiency. We will lead you to world conquest. We will give you power over inferior races. And all that we ask you to give in return is — your freedom".

Other young people in the democracies listened to gospels of despair. They took refuge in cynicism and bitterness.

However, the day finally came when all theory had to give way to fact -- the terrible, tangible fact of dive bombers, panzer divisions, the actual threat to the security of every home and every family in every free country in the world. And when that fact became clear to our youth they answered the call to arms -- many millions of them; and, today, they are determined to fight until the forces of aggression have been utterly destroyed.

What I am saying here in Washington is being heard by several million American soldiers, sailors and marines, not only within the continental limits of the United States, but in far distant points -- in Central and South America, in the Islands of the Atlantic, in Britain and Ireland, on the Coasts of Africa, in Egypt, in Iraq and Iran, in Russia, in India, in China, in Australia, New Zealand, in many Islands of the Pacific and on all the seas of the world. There -- in ~~all~~ those places -- are our fighting men.

And to them I should like to deliver a special message, from their Commander-in-Chief, and from the very hearts of their countrymen:

You young Americans today are conducting yourselves in a manner that is worthy of the highest, proudest traditions of our nation.

No pilgrims who landed on the uncharted New England Coast, no pioneers who forced their way through the trackless wilderness, showed greater fortitude, greater determination, than you are showing now.

Neither your own fathers, in 1918, nor your fathers' fathers, in 1863 or 1776, fought with greater gallantry or more selfless devotion to duty and country than you are now displaying on battlefields far from home.

And what ~~is~~ more, you know why you are fighting. You know that the road which has led you to the Solomon Islands, or to the Red Sea, or to the coast of France, is in fact an extension of Main Street, and that when you fight, anywhere along that road, you are fighting in the defense of your own homes, your own free schools, your own churches, your own ideals.

We here at home are supremely conscious of our obligations to you, now and in the future. We will not let you down.

We know that in the minds of many of you are thoughts of interrupted education, interrupted careers, delayed opportunities for getting a job. The solution of such problems cannot be left, as it was last time, to mere chance. This Government has accepted the responsibility for seeing to it that, wherever possible, work has been provided for those who were willing and able, but who could not find work. That responsibility will continue after the war. And when you come home, we do not propose to involve you, as last time, in a domestic economic mess of our own making.

You are doing first things first -- fighting to win this war. For you know that should this war be lost, all our plans for the peace to follow would be meaningless.

Victory is essential; but victory is not enough for you -- or for us. We must be sure that when you have won victory, you will not have to tell your children that you fought in vain -- that you were betrayed. We must be sure that in your homes there will not be want -- that in your schools only the living truth will be taught -- that in your churches there may be preached without fear a faith in which men may deeply believe.

The better world for which you fight -- and for which some of you give your lives -- will not come merely because we shall have won the war. It will not come merely because we wish very hard that it would come. It will be made possible only by bold vision, intelligent planning and hard work. It cannot be brought about overnight; but only by years of effort and perseverance and unfaltering faith.

You young soldiers and sailors, farmers and factory workers, artists and scholars, who are fighting our way to victory now, all of you will have to take your part in shaping that world. You will earn it by what you do now; but you will not attain it if you leave the job for others to do alone. When you lay aside your gun at the end of the war, you cannot at the same time lay aside your duty to the future.

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FIRST DRAFT

ADDRESS AT INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ASSEMBLY

The attendance at this Assembly, of student delegates representing all the twenty-eight United Nations, shows how closely knit are the aims and purposes of all those who fight today for freedom. It shows the interdependence of all of us in war; it forecasts the interdependence of all of us in the peace to come.

It is a natural thing for young people to meet and consider their special needs, their own concerns, and what they have a right from the future. It is also easy to point out that every person in every class as part of the general community has responsibilities which he irrespective of his own particular interests, owes to the nation but that the nation as a whole must consider the special interests of each group.

Before the first World War no one stopped much to consider these things. It was not necessary. There was an easy world; Making a living was not too difficult.

After the War, and after the days of false prosperity, came the hard 30's. Many of us suffered severely -- especially the younger people. For to them the struggle often meant not enough food for building healthy bodies, or no opportunity for education and training. Many were tempted to believe that in some way some simple remedy could be found for all our problems. We listened to siren voices from abroad



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Samuel I. Rosenman

which professed to know all the answers to all the questions. Some listened with doubt and reservation; but many of our younger people, burdened with the struggle against depression, were captured by these easy promises -- temporarily.

But now that the crash of hard reality has come, the mirage of the glib answer has disappeared. In its place has appeared the cold blunt fact that what we now have to struggle for is not the Utopia of the future but the civilization and freedom and decency which we had almost come to accept as the commonplace of the present.

To meet that challenge the young people of our generation — almost to a man — showed the stuff they were made of.

The old world has vanished, and in its stead there has come crashing in on measured steps a world of murderous aggressors bringing ruin, famine, disease, enslavement, and death. This enslaving death-borne monster has come crashing down upon all mankind all over the world — China, Europe, the continents of North and South America, Asia, the South Seas, the Arctic Region — old men, young men, children, all men, all women — none have escaped. Yet mainly, it has come down upon you, the younger generation. Why more upon you than upon others? Because your life lies ahead of you. You have more to lose, and, in victory, you have more to gain. You have more to bear but you, too, have more to give.



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