

September 3, 1942

[International Student Assembly]

FDR Speech File

1428B

Because the future largely belongs to you and because upon you depends largely the victorious conclusion of the war, you will fight harder, you will more surely win, if you know for a certainty that your objectives are the objectives of your government, and of the peoples who fight by your side. Your objectives in the broadest sense are, to reestablish lost peace and equity in the world. But they are more than that. Your objectives are based upon a conviction that in that world of peace, men should be freed from want and insecurity, freed from exploitation - that men should enjoy equal opportunities without regard to race, religion, or color - that they have a right to enjoy the finer things of life, including family life, companionship, good health, play, the arts, the sciences and ^{leisure.} religion. These objectives are shared by all those who make up the on-coming generations of the nations now joined together against the aggressors in this war. These are the objectives of your government. These have been the objectives of our people since we became a Nation. We are well on our way toward a reasonable accomplishment of these things, and we do not mean to allow this war to destroy the gains we have so securely established. Nor do we mean to be turned aside from these historical goals for which we have been striving since the beginning of our Nation.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

The answers that we have thus far been able to write have not been fully adequate. In many places they have not made for justice. They have not given our people that security which the natural wealth and resources and manpower of our country and the countries of our Allies entitle their people to enjoy. They have in many instances been the best answers yet written, but we know that they are not good enough. The answers in the future must be better. You have a right to expect something better in the world for whose existence and future you are fighting and you have a right to expect something better.

The pattern of our enemy is one in which only a master race will be important. It is a millennium that offers ninety per cent of the people of the world nothing but a thousand years of slavery.

You will wish to learn out of experience, for that is the only way in which you can learn, how future wars are to be avoided. You must not make the mistake of thinking that in the democracies men have not given profound thought to this same problem before. They have, but obviously they have not arrived at a solution. That does not mean the task is hopeless. It means only that full success has not yet been achieved. In the United Nations there is agreement on many matters - on the Atlantic Charter, on the Four Freedoms. You must understand the background, the bases, the urgent living necessities which in our in-



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dustrial societies have convinced the world that there was no escape from becoming a part of this conflict. The conditions in which such conflicts have their origin are old and very complicated. The political and the economic advances of the past have played their roles in creating this present. Not all of this was evil or completely avoidable. The dangers which have their origin in the past you must expect to continue to find in the future.

Life is far more important than its dangers. It is not true that all that is necessary is merely to avoid them. You must devote time and energy and the best that is in you to find ways for looking to that other side, the side which seeks to achieve the good life. You must make up your minds about what constitutes the good life.

There never was a time when it was not the duty of citizens to think profoundly about their own and the public interests - their interests now and the interests of their children in the time to come. But now especially because the dangers are very great and are crowding upon us we must think rapidly.

We are engaged now in facing our fate and our future - not for today and tomorrow alone but for as long as the Democratic way of life represents the gleam we have decided to follow and the reality we are determined to achieve.



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Samuel I. Rosenberg

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.



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FIRST DRAFT

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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".



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FIRST DRAFT

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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



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FIRST DRAFT

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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.



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FIRST DRAFT

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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 short-sighted 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, of 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



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FIRST DRAFT

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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.



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FIRST DRAFT

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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 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.



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FIRST DRAFT

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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



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FIRST DRAFT

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means, passive or active. Lissened, 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.



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FIRST DRAFT

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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, Jr.s., 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



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TEST DRAFT

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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:



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FIRST DRAFT

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"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.



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FIRST DRAFT

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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 sly words to millions of your fellow countrymen. The men 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 -- that 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."



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FIRST DRAFT

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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



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FIRST DRAFT

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from want, freedom from fear.

Only on those terms can we gain total victory.



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SECOND DRAFT

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

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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.

Whereas -- 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 -- for a new life that can be lived in freedom, and justice, and decency.



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SECOND DRAFT

- 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
a consistent mental drilling based on false facts
and imposed upon youth by the guns of the Gestapo. *and the terrible*
many hundreds of
thousands of youth
are being fed
up by

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, but *they are only movements of youth* 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".



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SECOND DRAFT

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Youth in a democracy is not decadent youth. It is 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 ^{entity} part of a larger community.

You should ~~enact~~ ^{enact} 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.



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SECOND DRAFT

- 3 -

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.



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SECOND DRAFT

- 4 -

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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SECOND DRAFT

- 3 -

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.



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SECOND DRAFT

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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 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 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. A

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 --



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SECOND DRAFT

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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. B

What I have said to our American soldiers and sailors 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 their freedom or to regain their freedom.

In Norway and Holland, Belgium and France, Czecho-slovakia 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. 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



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SECOND DRAFT

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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 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 development of historic importance. It means that the old term "Western Civilization", no longer applies. 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.



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SECOND DRAFT

- 8 A -

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. This time we must know how to make full use of victory -- and how not to misuse it.



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From the Papers of
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SECOND DRAFT

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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.

They say: first, we can't do it, and, secondly, that most of the nations of the world other than their own do not ^{desire} ~~desire~~ 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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SECOND DRAFT

- 9 -

We know that we cannot achieve these goals easily.

We cannot attain the fullness 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 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 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



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SECOND DRAFT

- 10 -

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

Only on those terms can we gain total victory.



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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 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 -- 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.



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From the Papers of
General I. ROOSEVELT

THIRD DRAFT

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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.



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THIRD DRAFT

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

Berlin reports that four French youth organizations have protested by 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.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

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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THIRD DRAFT

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

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



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THIRD DRAFT

- 5 -

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 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".



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THIRD DRAFT

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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 youth is independent and free. He thinks of 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 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 better and a more peaceful world.



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THIRD DRAFT

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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 crisis 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, ~~for~~ for 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



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THIRD DRAFT

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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. They followed the philosophy of 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 ~~next~~ 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 -- millions of them -- to take arms and to fight until the forces of aggression shall be utterly destroyed.

What I am saying her 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,



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THIRD DRAFT

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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.

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



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THIRD DRAFT

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to the Red Sea, or to the coast of France, is in fact an extension of your own local 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.

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, 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 responsibility continues after the war. And when you come home, we do not propose to provide you, as last time, with our 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 --



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THIRD DRAFT

- 11 -

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.

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 lay aside your duty to the future when you lay aside your gun at the end of the war.

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. For there is a unanimity of spirit among all the youth of all kinds and kindreds who fight to preserve or regain their freedom.



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THIRD DRAFT

- 12 -

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 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, a world civilization.



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THIRD DRAFT

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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 are now doing if they thought that in another twenty years their own sons would be fighting still another war on distant deserts or seas or in jungles.

This time we must know how to make full use of victory — and how not to misuse it.

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 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 deny our determination to implement the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. These men are quoted with gleeful approval by the Nazi press.



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THIRD DRAFT

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. 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.

We know that we cannot achieve these 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



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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 keep their inalienable rights to freedom

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

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



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FOURTH 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.

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 ^{the world} America.



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AMERICAN LEADER

- 2 -

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

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 — worklings — playboys — spoiled by jazz music and Hollywood pictures.

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 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.

On the other hand,
~~In contrast to this~~ 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



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From the Papers of
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FOURTH DRAFT

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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 rule, 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



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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".

The Nazis say that youth in a democracy is decadent, because they are incapable of understanding the character of youth that is independent and free. Democratic youth thinks for ^{it} himself and acts for ^{it} himself. No amount of regimentation makes ^{it} him an inanimate cog in an overwhelming machine. ^{They} He takes ^{his} place in the community as ^{an} intelligent partner ^S 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 esult in the thought that it is you young, free men and women, and not the thoughtless, witless robots of the slave states, who



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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. 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; 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



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FOURTH DRAFT

- 6 -

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 theory 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,



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FOURTH DRAFT

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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. 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 1876, 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



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General I. Roosevelt

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 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. These are things which cannot be left 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 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,



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General T. Roosevelt

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 unflinching 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 unanimity of spirit among all the youth of all kinds and kindreds who fight to preserve or regain their freedom.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

FOURTH DRAFT

- 10 -

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 ^{the numerous 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 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. 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 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 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 jungles *for many in jungles or seas* *A*

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 our fighting forces will not be lost by political cynicism and timidity and incompetence.

And 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 them have the financial power to give our enemies the false impression that they have a large following among our citizenry. They defy our determination to implement the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. And the words of these men of little faith are quoted with gleeful approval in the Nazi press and on the radio of our enemies.



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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.

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.

with divine guidance
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, 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



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FOURTH DRAFT

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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.



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DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
CIVIL AERONAUTICS ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON

September 1, 1942

Judge Samuel I. Rosenman
White House
Northwest Gate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sam:

Enclosed you will find a short statement of the Pre-Flight Training Program inaugurated by the Civil Aeronautics Administration in cooperation with the U. S. Office of Education. This program becomes part of the curriculum of the elementary and secondary schools this fall.

From the information we have received from the field it looks like well over 60 per cent of all schools will include these courses in this year's studies. This is the most revolutionary step our school system has taken in many years, and I believe, that the President might want to mention it in his Thursday night's address to the International Students Assembly.

I haven't seen you in months and hope that when you find a moment you will give me a ring, in order that we might have a good old-fashion bull session.

Yours,

Pig
Paul H. Warburg



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Having learned from the bitter experience of Europe that only a "nation on wings" can survive, we in the United States have undertaken a program to "air-condition" our young people. The youth of this country, and of all the United Nations, must be saturated in aviation skills if we are to win the war, and if we are to keep the peace.

To this end, we have taken a revolutionary step in our educational system. When American high schools open next week, they will offer courses in pre-flight aeronautics, made possible through the efforts of the Civil Aeronautics Administration in cooperation with the U. S. Office of Education. Their instructors will be equipped for this new field with courses given by the Civil Aeronautics Administration and teachers' colleges this summer, and their students will have a brand new set of textbooks, prepared for a generation which is living in an Air Age. Faced with the challenge to "Fly or Die," our youth must "Fly and Live!"

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Youth
Speech

9/3/42 - YOUTH

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YOUTH
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9/3/42 - Youth

Address at International Student Assembly

First Draft - original - 5 pages - corrections by S.I.R.

First Draft - carbon - uncorrected.

Second Draft - carbon - 10 pages - corrections by S.I.R. and Sherwood.

Third Draft - carbon - 15 pages - question, etc. on p. 13.

Fourth Draft - carbon - 13 pages - corrections by S.I.R.

A Draft - pages 3-9. With S.I.R. corrections throughout.

A Draft - 5 pages. With S.I.R. corrections throughout.

A memo from Dept. of Commerce - Paul Warburg.



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GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rodmans

Students and young people, like the rest of us, must protect their own concerns, whether for purposes of war or for those of peace, and must weigh their role as members of our vast community. But remember this: every person in every class, as part of the community, has responsibilities he or she owes to the nation; contrariwise, the community as a whole must give consideration to the special interests of each group. It would be a simple matter to dwell insistently on what younger people need and to point out to them what they have a right to expect under the most favorable circumstances. Before the first World War no one stopped to do this. It was not necessary. Ours was an easy world; a living was not too difficult to come by. Actually many persons, especially young people, met difficulties in earning a living but these were not great enough to interfere seriously with the general conduct of our national life. Then came the Great War, the apparent easy prosperity of the 1920's and the serious disturbances of the 1930's. Many of us, and especially younger people, suffered severely. We were tempted to think that somehow some relatively simple remedy could be applied to solve all our problems. We listened to siren voices from abroad - both the extreme right and the extreme left professed to know the answers to all questions. It is true when we listened we listened doubtfully but many of our young people were captured temporarily by these easy promises.

In the years past much hope and much thought have been centered on enticing schemes. Fortunately we live in a world where people in different walks of life have many different kinds of experience. We can borrow, as people in democracies have long done, from many ways of thought. The old physicians, for example, used to study the ways of nature in disease, to try to discover there how nature does the work of healing. And other scientists, when they set about making discoveries move along close to the ground to see how the forces of nature actually work. They

call what they do, experimenting. They carry out their experiments, taking great care whenever they can, to do nothing in violation of the usual behavior of nature. They do not sit down and decide how nature is to work. Instead they study how that work is actually carried out. That is what we in the democracies have tried to do. We do not say we know, because we know we do not know the answer to every question. In this Republic and in other republics the record shows that some things work and other things do not. We rely on that experience and in time we call it wisdom. We know now too that if we go counter to it we court disaster.

It is a hard saying for everybody, and a saying especially hard for young people to appreciate, that for them, as for the rest of us, easy answers to difficult questions cannot be made to roll glibly off the tongue. You must not misunderstand: It is right to ask the questions. They must be asked. And the best thought and the best energy of all of us must be devoted to finding the answers. But if we do not find them at once, you cannot expect to find them through violence. Violence gets answers to nothing. With violence you may perhaps compel reluctant persons to pay attention, but violence begets no answers. We must study, you and everybody else, whose responsibility it is, and in democracies it is the responsibility of all citizens. We must study and experiment with the questions which lie before you. You must remember that the whole history of our society is a short affair - there have not been many civilizations - there have been very few proposals for political organization. There is relatively very little experience to tell us how to manage. That is why we cannot afford to be ignorant of the lives and efforts and experiences of the men and women who have gone before us.

Just here students and young people in general have an especial obligation. It is a complete commonplace to say that you will soon be exercising responsibility



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for the conduct of government in this Republic and for the conduct of the governments of the United Nations. You are now met in a Student's Assembly convened by the United States Committee of the International Students Service. You have come to Washington because you yourselves have appreciated the need to become conversant with the present state of affairs, to inform yourselves of the past, and of the events which have compelled all of us to fight this war. You will wish to learn out of experience, for that is the only way in which you can learn, how future wars are to be avoided. You must not make the mistake of thinking that in the democracies men have not given profound thought to this same problem before. They have, but obviously they have not arrived at a solution. That does not mean the task is hopeless. It means only that full success has not yet been achieved. In the United Nations there is agreement on many matters - on the Atlantic Charter, on the Four Freedoms. ~~What~~ ^{You must understand} you learn here and what you will continue to learn when you return to your homes and your studies must be made to serve you in comprehending the background, the bases, the urgent living necessities which in our industrial societies have convinced the world that there was no escape from becoming ^{a fair bit} precipitated in this conflict. ~~You must study~~ the conditions in which such conflicts have their origin. You will see that they are old and very complicated. You will see, in your study of history, that the political and the economic advances of the past have played their roles in creating this present. ~~You~~ ^{Not} would be deceiving yourselves if you concluded that all of this was evil or was completely avoidable. The dangers which have their origin in the past you must expect to continue to find in the future. In your deliberations in this Assembly you will pick out at least some of the faults in the structure of our world. When you return to your homes and to your seats of learning

you will continue to think about them and with experienced men try to see which ones, with the means at your disposal, need not continue to disturb our peace.

But life is far more important than its dangers. It is not enough to think that all that is necessary is merely to avoid them. You must devote time and energy and the best that is in you to find ways for looking to that other side, the side which seeks to achieve the good life. You must make up your minds about what constitutes the good life.

In making plans for the future serious obligations rest upon you. These are obligations which are inalienably yours. If the future is to be known in terms of the past you must become thoroughly familiar and imbued with, the promises with which America started. Those promises must become your very own - and you must struggle to fulfill them. In no other way can the high hopes with which this Republic was founded be realized. There never was a time when it was not the duty of citizens to think profoundly about their own and the public interests - their interests now and the interests of their children in the time to come. But now especially because the dangers are very great and are crowding upon us we must think rapidly.

I am told that your elders must be easy on you - that what you need is to be provided for - that you must not be shaken out of your self-indulgent, self-confidence. I do not believe that that kind of softness was ever true of young Americans and I do not believe that it is true of young Americans now. As students you have your dangers to face and your difficulties to overcome just as have your fellows who are facing their difficulties and their dangers in the field of battle. There is no easy way for them and you cannot wish it for yourselves. If they are making life safe and decent



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for you by combat you must make it possible for them and yourselves, by conceiving and contriving what that life is to be.

You, who have come here, will go with the leaders in the discussions to your round tables and will examine the various important problems each one of which is part of the total problem which confronts us. It is the duty of us, your elders, because of our experience, to point out these problems in their various aspects. It is for you to test them and in the heat of debate attempt to find how they can be solved. And those of you who cannot be here, but who everywhere hear my voice - it is for you to range yourselves on the side of your fellows whose duty has brought them to this Assembly. The debate which will be joined here cannot avoid being extended to the remote ~~remotest~~ corners of the earth. It will go on long after our voices, raised here in Washington, have become still. We are engaged now in facing our fate and our future - not for today and tomorrow alone but for as long as the Democratic way of life represents the gleam we have decided to follow and the reality we are determined to achieve.



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INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ASSEMBLY

American University

Washington, D. C.

September 2 - 5, 1942

Chairman of the Assembly: The Honorable Robert H. Jackson

(Tentative Program)

Wednesday, September 2nd, 1942

9:00 a.m.	Registration at American University	
11:30 a.m.	Luncheon	
12:45 p.m.	Organizing Session	American University
	Presiding: Trude W. Pratt, General Secretary of the International Student Service in the United States	
2:00 p.m.	<u>Universities in the War</u>	American University
	Chairman: Dr. Stephen Duggan (?)	
	Welcoming Address on behalf of American University President Paul Douglass	
	Sponsors: Dr. Frank Aydelotte Dr. John Studebaker	
3:30 p.m.	Meeting of the National Delegations	American University
5:00 p.m.	Election of the Presiding Committee	American University
6:15 p.m.	Dinner	Labar ICC Cafeteria
7:30 p.m.	Meeting of the Presiding Committee	Conference Room Departmental Auditorium
8:00	Opening Session	Departmental Auditorium
	Chairman: The Honorable Robert H. Jackson	
	Welcoming Address on behalf of International Student Service Dr. Alvin Johnson	
	Welcoming Address on behalf of the State Department (?)	
	Welcoming Address on behalf of American Students	
	Student reports from various countries on <u>Students in the War</u>	



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Thursday, September 3rd, 1942

9:00 a.m. Meeting of Presiding Committee - Conference Room
Departmental Auditorium

10:00 a.m.

Plenary Session

"The End of Imperialism"

Chairman: Mr. Edward G. Carter

Speakers: President Manuel Quezon
The Honorable T. V. Soong (?)

1:15 p.m. Luncheon - Commerce Cafeteria

2:00 p.m. Round Tables

All Round Tables will meet in the Departmental Auditorium of the Labor Bldg. and will be assigned to specific conference rooms. A student chairman will be selected to lead the discussion for each Round Table.

"The End of Imperialism"

I. Origin and History

Discussion Leaders: Dr. Louis Hacker

II. Politics of Imperialism

Discussion Leaders: Mr. Louis Fischer

III. Economics of Imperialism

Discussion Leaders: Sir Norman Angell
Dr. Ramon Beteda (?)

IV. Nationalism, Minorities and Racial Theories

Discussion Leaders: Prof. Oscar Janowsky (?)



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Thursday, September 3rd, 1942

2:00 p.m. Round Tables (Continued)

V. Education and Culture

Discussion Leaders: Prof. W. M. Kotschnig
Mr. Hugo Fernandez D'Artusio(?)

5:15 p.m. Dinner - Labor - ICG Cafeteria

8:00 p.m.

Plenary Session

The Peoples' Century

Chairman: ?

Speakers: Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Mr. Wendell Willkie (?)

Friday, September 4th, 1942

9:00 a.m.

Meeting of Presiding Committee

Conference Room
Departmental Auditorium

10:00 a.m.

Round Tables

All Round Tables will meet in the Departmental Auditorium of the Labor Bldg. and will be assigned to specific conference rooms. A student chairman will be selected to lead the discussion for each Round Table

"The Peoples' Century"

I. Political Systems

Interrelations among the United Nations

Discussion Leaders: Pryson Wilde ?
Louis Delivet ?

II. Problems of Production

New Materials
Less Production

Discussion Leaders: Prof. C. K. Loith
Mr. Walter Bruther ?



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Friday, September 4th, 1942

10:00 a.m. Round Tables (Continued)

III. Living Standards

Employment, Labor and Social Security

Discussion Leaders: Dr. Lewis Lorwin
Miss Katherine Lemroot

IV. Education and Peoples' Culture

Discussion Leaders: Evan Davis ?

1:00 p.m. Luncheon Commerce Cafeteria

2:15 p.m. Continuation of Round Tables

"The Peoples' Century"

I. Finance

Lend-Lease

Discussion Leaders: Mr. Randolph Paul
The Hon. Paul von Zoonland ?

II. Problems of Production

Agriculture

Discussion Leaders: Dr. M. L. Wilson
Mr. Frank McDougall

III. Living Standards

Health and Nutrition

Discussion Leaders: Dr. Ludwick Rajchman

IV. Education and Peoples' Culture

Discussion Leaders: Prof. Ralph Barton Perry

5:00 p.m.

Plenary Session

"The Fence of Interdependence"

Chairman: ?

Speaker: The Hon. Henry A. Wallace

6:30 p.m. Dinner - Commerce Cafeteria

9:30 p.m. Dance at the American University



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... Saturday, September 5th, 1942

9:30 a.m. Meeting of Presiding Committee - Conference Room
Departmental Auditorium

10:00 a.m. Round Tables

All Round Tables will meet in the Departmental Auditorium of the Labor Bldg. and will be assigned to specific conference rooms. A student chairman will be selected to lead the discussion for each Round Table.

"The Pence of Interdependence"

I. International Political Organization

Problem of Limitation of Sovereignty

Discussion Leaders: Mr. Arthur Sweetser
Major G. F. Eliot

II. International Economic Organization

Discussion Leaders: Mr. Rifat Tirona
Miss Barbara Ward

III. Standards of Living and Social Security

Discussion Leaders: Mr. Ernesto Galarza
Prof. Lindsay Rogers

IV. Transition from War to Peace

Discussion Leaders: Miss Craig McDonchy
Prof. Clyde Eagleton

V. Education in the Period from War to Peace

Discussion Leaders: Mr. Malcolm Davies
Prof. O. Odiorilik

1:00 p.m. Luncheon -

Commerce Cafeteria

4:00 p.m.

Plenary Session
Reports of Round Tables by Student Reporters

6:30 p.m.

Dinner

Labor ICC Cafeteria

8:00 p.m.

Plenary Session

Departmental Auditorium

The United Nations

Chairman: The Hon. Robert H. Jackson

Speakers: Representatives of:
Russia -
Great Britain - Harold Butler
China - Ambassador Hu Shih
United States -

Adjournment



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- 3 -

It is a goal that is at the same time the basis of our will to win and the assurance that throughout the world we have allies that will make for victory and a lasting peace.

I do not need to remind you, who make up this vast army of young people in all parts of the world who are joined together under the flags of the United Nations, that whether or not you be in the armed forces or in the munition production plants or whatsoever sphere of effort you are now engaged in, that the period in which you have come of age is not the pleasantly secure world of "becoming good" that Gladstone saw and trusted in. I do not need to tell you that that world has vanished; and that in its stead there has come crashing in on measured steps a world of murderous aggres-

(A)

sors bringing ruin, famine, disease, enslavement, and death.

~~I do not need to remind you that~~ ^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 -

~~and why more upon you than upon others?~~ ^Why? ~~Precisely,~~ ^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.

Because the future largely belongs to you and because

upon you depends largely the victorious conclusion of the war,

you will fight harder, you will more surely win, if you know for

a certainty that your objectives are the objectives of your

government, and of the peoples who fight by your side. Your



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objectives in the broadest sense are, to reestablish ^{last and equity} peace in

the world. But they are more than that. Your objectives ^{are} ~~are~~ ^{based upon a conviction} held that in that world of peace, ~~men~~ ^{men} generally should be

freed from want and insecurity, freed from exploitation -

that men generally should enjoy equal opportunities without

regard to race, ^{religion} ~~sex~~ or color - that they have a right to and

~~should be enabled to~~ enjoy the finer things of life, including

family life, companionship, good health, play, the arts, the

sciences and religion. These objectives are, I believe,

shared ~~in~~ ^{active} by all those who make up the on-coming generations of the nations now joined together against the aggressors

in this war. These are the objectives of your government.



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You and I in America know that ^TThese have been the objectives of our people since we became a Nation. ~~You~~ and I know that the vigor of our people comes largely from the fact that we have been truly trying to find the best possible answers to the age-old evils of exploitation, discrimination, poverty and insecurity. You and I know that ~~we~~ are well on our way toward a reasonable accomplishment of these things, and ~~you and I know~~ we do not mean to allow this war to destroy the gains we have so securely established. ~~For~~ do we mean to be turned aside from ~~the~~ accomplishment of ~~further advances toward~~ these historical goals for which we have been striving since the beginning of our Nation.

~~Moreover, you know and I also know - and those of other lands know - that~~ ^TThe answers that we have thus far been able to write have not been fully adequate - ~~that~~ ^{In} many

places they have not made for justice. ^TThey have not given ~~our~~ ^{people} that security ^{which} ~~that~~ the natural wealth ^{and resources and manpower of} ~~which~~ our country and



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the countries of our Allies entitled their people to enjoy.

They have in many instances been the best answers yet written.

but we know that they are not good enough. ~~We know that the~~

answers in the future must be better. ^{have a right to} You expect something

better in the world whose ^{for persistence and} future you are fighting for and you

have a right to expect something better. ~~I believe that your~~

~~expectations will be fulfilled.~~

In this struggle the enemy is offering a pattern that is older than civilization itself - the age-old pattern of tyranny and absolutism. If they win, we are assured that the pattern of world organization will be determined for a thousand years.

^{The} ~~is a~~ pattern ^{of our enemy is one} in which only a master race will be

important. ~~All other people will be permitted only a sub-~~

~~servient role. It is a millennium that offers ninety per cent~~

of the people of the world nothing but a thousand years of

slavery. ~~On the other hand, we believe that the other line some~~



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when man's conquest over the forces of nature for the first time in human history makes possible a lasting peace based upon equality, cooperation and understanding.

The defeatist and the faint-hearted are even now saying that when the war is over we will have vast unemployment - that we will have this huge war production plant on our hands with nothing for it to do - that what we know as civilization will have been wiped out for a hundred years in great parts of the world. I do not for a minute believe this nor does your government believe this - nor do I think that our comrades in arms of the United Nations believe this. I do not minimize the difficulty that lies ahead of us but we fight for a new world - a peoples' world dedicated to the peoples' well-being, to the common day-by-day happiness of the people. Ten years ago our income was less than a third of what it is today. We have not yet reached the limit of our capacity to produce. Who is there to say that we cannot if we determined to do so, produce for purposes of peace as we now produce for the purposes of war.



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We shall not be content with the winning of the war; we must also win the peace. To work in unity toward this goal constitutes a primary objective of the United Nations. But that day must, in the main, wait upon the successful conclusion of the war, and I would be less than frank if I did not tell you that with all possible success a long road of suffering and toil lies ahead of us. In saying this, I am keenly aware, deeply so, that the advanced guard establishing the bridgeheads must be the young men. They must lead out; they must make the advance. We must give them a firing power greater than the enemies' firing power. Whatever is necessary of our materials and goods must be made available. Whatever is necessary of our manpower must be made available to them. There can be no holding back. There can be no shading of devotion. There can be no limitation to our sacrifice, in their support.

This war is larger than any struggle between contending nations, larger than this or that nation's freedom. It has become a world-wide struggle for human freedom.



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