
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
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Series 3: “The Four Freedoms” and FDR in World War II

File No. 1440

1942 November 17

Radio Address to the Herald Tribune Forum

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

HERALD TRIBUNE FORUM

NOVEMBER 17, 1942

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I have always welcomed the opportunity to participate in the Herald Tribune Forum, because I have always been interested in the public presentation of all kinds of national problems.

In time of peace every variety of problem and issue is an interesting subject for public discussion.

But in time of war the American people know that the one all-important job before them is fighting and working to win. Therefore, of necessity, while long-range social and economic problems are by no means forgotten, they are a little like books which for the moment we have laid aside in order that we might get out the old Atlas to learn the geography of the battle areas.

In time of war your Government cannot always give spot news to the people. Nearly everybody understands that -- and the reason for it.

This means that those relatively few people who do have the facts from all over the world, not only every day but every hour of every day, are precluded from discussing these facts publicly, except in the most general of terms. If they did they would almost inevitably say things which would help the people who are trying to destroy us.

In reverse, those who are not in possession of all the news must almost inevitably speak from guesswork based on information of doubtful accuracy. They do not know the facts and, therefore, the value of their statements becomes greatly reduced. Nor must we, in the actual progress of the war, lend ears to the clamor of politics or to criticism from those who, as we know in our hearts, are actuated by political motives.

The fact that this type of criticism has done less harm in the United States than might be expected has been due to the good old horsesense of the American people. I know from a somewhat long experience -- in wartime as well as peacetime --

that the overwhelming majority of our people know how to discriminate in their reading and in their radio-listening between informed discussion and verbal thrusts in the dark.

I think you will realize that I have made a constant effort as Commander-in-Chief to keep politics out of the fighting of this war.

But I must confess that my foot slipped once. About ten days before Election Day one of our aircraft carriers was torpedoed in the Southwest Pacific. She did not sink at once, but it became clear that she could not make port. She was, therefore, destroyed by our own forces. We in Washington did not know whether the enemy was aware of her sinking -- for there were no Japanese ships near enough to see her go down. You will realize, of course, that the actual knowledge of the loss of enemy ships has a definite bearing on continuing naval operations for some time after the event. We, for instance, know that we have sunk a number of Japanese aircraft carriers and we know that we have bombed or torpedoed others. We would give a

King's ransom to know whether the latter were sunk or were saved, repaired and put back into commission.

However, when we got news of the sinking of this particular ship, a great issue was being raised in the Congress and in the public vehicles of information as to the suppression of news from the fighting fronts. There was a division of opinion among responsible authorities.

Here came my mistake. I yielded to the clamor. I did so partly in realization of the certainty that if the news of the sinking were given out two or three weeks later it would be publicly charged that the news had been suppressed by me until after the Election.

Shortly thereafter protests came from the Admirals in command in the Southwest Pacific and at our great base in Hawaii on the ground that, in all probability, the Japanese Navy had no information of the sinking and that handing them the information on a silver platter -- although we were careful not to reveal the name of this carrier -- gave them a military advantage which they would ~~have~~ otherwise not have had...

This confession of mine illustrates to the people of this country the fact that in time of war the conduct of that war, with the aim of victory, comes absolutely first. They know that not one of their inalienable rights is taken away through the failure to disclose to them, for a reasonable length of time, facts that Hitler and Mussolini and Tojo would give their eye teeth to learn. Facts therefore become paramount -- facts that cannot be told to the public at the time, as well as facts that can and should be told at all times.

The posters that tell you, "Loose Talk Costs Lives," do not exaggerate. Loose talk delays victory. Loose talk is the damp that gets into powder. We prefer to keep our powder dry.

We have a gigantic job to do -- all of us, together. Our battle lines today stretch from Kiska to Murmansk, from Tunisia to Guadalcanal. These lines will grow longer, as our forces advance.

We have had an uphill fight, and it will continue to be uphill, all the way. There can be no coasting to victory.

During the past two weeks we have had a great deal of good news and it would seem that the turning point of this war has at last been reached. But this is no time for exultation. There is no time now for anything but fighting and working to win.

A few days ago, as our Army advanced through North Africa, on the other side of the world our Navy was fighting what was one of the great battles of our history.

A very powerful Japanese force was moving at night toward our positions in the Solomon Islands. The spearhead of the force that we sent to intercept the enemy was under the command of Rear Admiral Daniel J. Callaghan. He was aboard the leading ship, the cruiser San Francisco.

The San Francisco sailed right into the enemy fleet -- right through the whole enemy fleet -- her guns blazing. She engaged and hit three enemy vessels, sinking one of them. At point-blank range, she engaged an enemy battleship -- heavily her superior in size and fire-power. She silenced this battleship's big guns and so disabled her that she could be sunk by torpedoes from our destroyers and aircraft.

The San Francisco herself was hit many times. Admiral Callaghan, my close personal friend, and many of his gallant officers and men gave their lives in this battle. But the San Francisco was brought safely back to port by a Lieutenant Commander, and she will fight again for our country.

The Commander of the task force of which the San Francisco was a part has recommended that she be the first of our Navy's vessels to be decorated for outstanding service.

But there are no citations, no medals, which carry with them such high honor as that accorded to fighting men by the respect of their comrades-in-arms.

The Commanding General of the Marines on Guadalcanal, General Vandergrift, yesterday sent a message to the Commander of the Fleet, Admiral Halsey, saying, "We lift our battered helmets in admiration for those who fought magnificiently against overwhelming odds and drove the enemy back to crushing defeat."

Let us thank God for such men as these. May our nation continue to be worthy of them, throughout this war, and forever.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
- the reading copy.

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
IN CONNECTION WITH THE
HERALD TRIBUNE FORUM
NOVEMBER 17, 1942
AT 10.30 P.M., E.W.T.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

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This means that those relatively few people who do have the facts from all over the world, not only every day but every hour of every day, are somewhat precluded from discussing these facts publicly, except in the most general of terms. If they did they would almost inevitably say things (which) that would help the people who are trying to destroy us.

In reverse, those who are not in possession of all the news must almost inevitably speak from guesswork based on information of doubtful accuracy. They do not know the facts and, therefore, the value of their statements becomes greatly reduced. Nor must we, in the actual progress of the war, lend ears to the clamor of politics or to criticism from those

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

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The fact that this type of criticism has done less harm in the United States than might be expected has been due to the good old horse sense of the American people. I know from a somewhat long experience -- in wartime as well as peacetime -- that the overwhelming majority of our people know how to discriminate -- how to discriminate in their reading and in their radio-listening between informed discussion and verbal thrusts in the dark.

I think you will realize that I have made a constant effort as Commander-in-Chief to keep politics out of the fighting of this war.

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in realization of the certainty that if the news of the sinking were given out two or three weeks later it would be publicly charged that the news had been suppressed by me until after the Election.

Then shortly thereafter protests came in -- protests from the Admirals in command in the Southwest Pacific and at our great base in Hawaii on the ground that, in all probability, the Japanese Navy had no information of the sinking and that handing them the information on a silver platter -- although we were careful not to reveal the name of (this) the carrier -- still gave to the Japanese (them) a military advantage which they would otherwise not have had.

This confession of mine illustrates to the people of this country the fact that in time of war the conduct of that war, with the aim of victory, comes absolutely first. They know that not one of their inalienable rights is taken away through the failure to disclose to them, for a reasonable length of time, facts -- facts that Hitler and Mussolini and Tojo would give their eye-teeth to learn. Facts therefore become paramount -- facts that cannot be told to the public at the time, as well as facts that can and should be told at all times.

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File



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November 17, 1942

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be broadcast in connection with the Herald Tribune Forum, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 10:30 O'CLOCK, P.M., E.W.T., Tuesday, November 17, 1942. The same release also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

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S.R.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 7, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE PRESIDENT

The attached was written by Ben Cohen and I think could furnish the basis of the speech for the Herald-Tribune Forum. It is a very specific statement of the kind of world we are fighting for.

In its present form, it is more of an essay than a speech, but I think it is an excellent draft for a speech.



SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN



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When we are engaged in the most critical and fateful war in our history and possibly in all history, there should be no doubt that first things come first. And the first thing that we have got to do is to win the war.

But physicians concerned only with the bodily health of their patients have found that in critical cases the ability of the patient to pull through depends not a little on the patient's will to live and his feeling that he has something to live for.

So in a war of survival it helps mightily not simply to know the evil things we are fighting against, but to know the good things we are fighting for. In a war of survival it helps mightily to feel that we are fighting not simply for a great past but for a great future, for a future which we are confident is ours, for a future that we know is worth fighting for.

There is no use blinking the fact that most of the peace-loving nations before they were forced into this war were so appalled by the thought of war that they came pretty close to feeling that war--win, lose, or draw--

would leave them very little future. Important and not unrepresentative leaders, both in this country and abroad, expressed doubt whether our way of life could survive another war. Those of a conservative bent of mind doubted the ability of our financial and economic structure to stand the stress and strain of debt and war. Those of more radical temperament feared the effect of war on social reform and on the social service functions of government.

As we gird our loins for actual battle, most of us are a little ashamed of our yesterday's doubts and fears. Most of us feel a desire and a need to tell ourselves and to tell the world that we are not afraid of the future. Most of us feel a desire and need to prove to ourselves and to prove to the world that we have confidence in ourselves, in one another and in our common future.

We reject as unworthy the suggestion that we have not the moral and intellectual stamina to organize a better world after the war is won than existed before it began. We reject as ignoble the suggestion that the men and material, the ingenuity and the resourcefulness, the capacity for working together, which will win the war against world tyranny cannot win



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the peace for world freedom.

The war has made us acutely aware that the historic period in which we are living requires not only heroic fighting but courageous thinking.

The four freedoms which have been proclaimed to the world as our fighting aims, are more than fighting slogans. In a sense, they are not new aspirations; they are deeply rooted in the hearts of men; they are the goals toward which mankind has struggled through the ages.

The story of civilization has been the story of the struggle of the individual to free himself from the tyranny of man and of nature—the struggle of the individual to be free to say what he thinks, to learn what other people think, to worship God as his conscience bids him, to overcome want that need not be and fear that should not be.

But in the centuries past, nature was a hard taskmaster. In most countries the degree to which common men and women could participate in the enjoyment of freedom was narrowly limited. To earn a meagre livelihood, they had to work long, hard hours. Many of them did not even have time to



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learn to read and write or the knowledge to teach their children to read and write. In most communities universal education did not exist, and equality of opportunity in the social, economic or political sphere was a patently unrealizable dream.

During the last two centuries, however, beginning slowly and proceeding with constantly accelerated speed, science and invention has given man the knowledge and understanding to make of nature an easy taskmaster. During the last two hundred years man has acquired greater knowledge and understanding of the material forces of the universe than he had acquired in all previous periods of recorded history.

It is almost impossible for us to grasp and appreciate the tremendous changes in the life of man and in his mode of living and making a living that this knowledge and understanding has made possible. Living and making a living in the America of the Founding Fathers resembled living and making a living in Biblical Palestine much more than living and making a living in the United States in the twentieth century. In the days of Washington and Jefferson nineteen persons had to labor on the farms to produce enough food and fiber to support one person in the towns and cities, while in our own



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times, nineteen persons on the farms furnish food and fiber enough to feed and clothe 56 persons in urban America and ten people abroad.

True industrialization has not proceeded as rapidly everywhere as in America, but all over the world men instinctively sense the tremendous changes that have occurred and are in the process of occurring. And it is these changes wrought by man's technological conquest of nature that gives new significance to man's age-long quest for the four freedoms. Mankind almost everywhere has become conscious of the possibilities of making inroads on economic want in a manner and degree inconceivable to the mind of their grandfathers and even visionary in the eyes of their own fathers.

Great movements in human history usually carry with them possibilities of great evil as well as great good, and the period through which we are passing is not an exception. But our task is not to applaud or to deplore but to understand these tremendous upsurges in the life of humanity and to do what we can to direct them for the good of mankind. Like Galileo, we cannot deny that the earth does move. No more than King Canute can we stop the intruding tides. We cannot doubt that humanity is on the march, not



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only in America and in Europe, but in Asia and throughout the world. We could not stop the march if we would. There is no refuge in a retreat to normalcy.

This war has been fittingly called a people's war. The common people are on the march against tyrannies that would make them the slaves of the machines which they have built, slaves of the machines which they tend with their labor and for which their labor supplies the raw materials. The common people are on the march against tyrannies that would deny them the greater freedom which they know that the machine age has made possible.

To understand what is happening in the world it is not enough to know merely that man's conquest of nature has enormously increased man's capacity to produce and has enabled many more men to live in the cities than used to live there. We must appreciate the momentous significance of the growing economic interdependence of men and of nations.

Never has man been able to live unto himself alone, but never before in all history has the economic welfare of men and of nations been so closely interlinked.



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SEYMOUR I. ROSENTHAL

Of course the economic interdependence of modern life is not a recent discovery, yet there are, I think, reasons which account for our reluctance to accept the full implications of that interdependence. In the first stages of the industrial revolution man was busy breaking the restraints which held him to the feudal order. Law, government and economics were all permeated with the philosophy that if man could only be freed from these restraints he could take care of himself, and that his relations with his fellow-men would take care of themselves almost automatically. Nearly all restraints came to be regarded as paternalistic and oppressive and as inimical to freedom and enterprise.

Freed from the restraints of the old feudalistic order, man did make extraordinary economic progress. But the very progress man was making with his new-found freedom blinded him to the interdependent nature of the economic society that he was building.

In this twentieth-century world in which we live, the welfare of farm and city, of management and labor, of nation and nation, of highly industrial regions and so-called backward areas is not only interdependent, but



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one and unseparable. This new and interdependent economic world in which we live was created not by laws or by governments, but by the engine and the dynamo, the tractor and the harvester, the assembly line and the conveyor belt. And in this twentieth-century world men cannot work in factory and in field, unless the conveyor belts of nation and international trade which carry the products of their labor from field to factory and from factory to field keep moving.

For men to live in peace in an interdependent society there must be some organized direction and control of their interdependent activities. The problem of our generation is to find not simply the least numerical number of controls we can live under but to find those democratic and cooperative types of controls, in government, in industry and in agriculture, which will enable the economic system to function smoothly and yet enable the mass of individuals to enjoy in an interdependent world of increased abundance a greater degree of real freedom than they ever before enjoyed.

Such controls will naturally have to be adapted to meet the needs and wishes of peoples of varied traditions and temperaments and in different



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stages of economic and political maturity. But so far as our own country is concerned there is no reason to fear that the development of democratic and cooperative controls to ensure the smooth functioning of the economic system should be inimical to the continued growth of free, competitive enterprise. Indeed the development of democratic and cooperative controls should reduce the hazards and increase the opportunities of free, competitive enterprise.

The economic interdependence of men and of nations—the result of two hundred years of technological progress is at once the great hope and the great fear of the world today; the hope, denied to other generations, of overcoming economic want in a measure and over a range never before dreamed possible—the fear of losing, as a consequence of the growing interdependence of men and of nations, deeply cherished freedom.

Both the hope and the fear are very real. Mankind has scarcely begun to realize the human significance of the marvelous achievements of modern science. The productive potentials of advanced countries have only begun to be reflected in the standard of living of the common man. The



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productive potentials of so-called backward countries and their as yet untrained peoples have hardly been tapped. But to realize fully the achievements of science for the good of mankind we must recognize freely and courageously the economic interdependence of man and of nations.

It is not wholly unnatural that men should fear to accept the full implications of the economically interdependent world which they have built. To accept those implications requires the acceptance, not simply of an ordered state, but an ordered world. Without an ordered world, economic interdependence brings chronic problems of unemployment, poverty amidst plenty, unrest, intolerance, chaos and, ultimately, tyranny. And men fear the tyranny of a world government even more than they fear the tyranny of national government.

We are confronted with the age-old conflict between authority and freedom. We must not let the fear of losing our freedom keep us from that cooperation with our fellowmen and fellow-nations, through which alone we can retain our freedom in an interdependent world.

In an interdependent world men must cooperate, dominate or perish. Fear that their neighbors may seek to dominate them has caused too many men



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in national as well as international affairs to think that they should dominate their neighbors. It has been that fear which in the past has too frequently blinded men to their common interests, and has set class against class, and nation against nation. It is that fear that is the root cause of fascism and nazism—the effort of the few to impose by force their will on the many—a fear that has brought so much grief in our generation. It is that fear of other men and other nations which dictators and demagogues have exploited not to give men their freedom but to enslave them.

We have learned, I hope, from experience that there is only one way to achieve an ordered national state without the loss of liberty and that is through the cooperation of free men in democratic government. Two world wars should suffice to teach us that there is only one way to achieve an ordered world without the loss of liberty and that is through the cooperation of free peoples in a democratic world order.

True and effective cooperation in world affairs requires that we with others be willing to give up in some measure our unfettered freedom of action, our unfettered sovereignty in order to enjoy more real and effective freedom in our individual lives.



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Of course there are risks in world cooperation as there are risks in all forms of human associations. But events have painfully proved that the risks we run in cooperating in world affairs are far less than the risks we run in failing to cooperate.

Future generations will have difficulty understanding why free and strong nations stood idly by and let aggression grow and feed on its own conquests until all the forces and resources of what was left of a free world had to be mobilized in a life and death struggle of survival, when the timely cooperation of these nations in a few simple police measures might have averted the disaster. They will have difficulty understanding why, when Japan threatened the peace of the world by the seizure of Manchuria in 1931, the free nations, then not threatened by an European war, stood idly by and even continued to supply the Japanese war machine and thereby themselves irretrievably weakened the moderate elements in Japan which still had the strength to resist the growing power of the military classes. They will have difficulty understanding why when Germany in 1936 moved her armies into the Rhineland, the free nations stood idly by and even continued to supply the German war machine, already



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committed to the publicly announced doctrines of Hein Kamof, and thereby destroyed the last chance the peaceful elements in Germany had before the war to free themselves from totalitarian tyranny.

International cooperation is not an idea brooding in the air to which we may pledge our devotion in the abstract, while we deem it unimportant to work with sister nations in the solution of concrete problems. It is all well and good for us to be opposed to any exclusive alliance between a few powers to impose their will upon the world, but if a third of us is anti-British, a third, anti-Russian, and a third anti-Chinese, we are not going to make very good cooperators on a worldwide basis.

We must recognize that in the new world order the common interests which should unite the free nations of the world are of greater and more transcending importance to each of them than the divergent interests which could divide them.

It is not enough to cooperate to put down aggression and to resolve territorial disputes. We must learn to cooperate in order that each nation may be helped in its efforts to enable its own people to enjoy the highest standard of life that a wise and prudent use of their human and material



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resources entitle them to have. We must learn to cooperate so that every people by a fair exchange of the products of their labor should be helped to acquire the products of the labor of other countries required for their health and welfare.

Outright relief will be necessary and should be forthcoming for the relief of those countries whose economic life has been disrupted by war, but no world settlement that affords only a place on the relief rolls to nations willing to work as well as fight for freedom will provide in the twentieth century the basis for a just and durable peace. That is not the sort of freedom from want that self-respecting nations fight for today and will work for tomorrow.

We may differ as to some of the ways and means most suitable to bring about the full and effective use of the world's productive resources of men and capital. And certainly each nation should be free within wide limits to determine the procedures and methods most suitable to secure the full and effective use of her own resources. But we must recognize that cooperation on a world-wide basis is necessary for world peace and world prosperity and



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that without such cooperation peace and prosperity in any country cannot be secure. Tolerant democracy is not safe in any nation, half at work and half idle. Tolerant democracy is not safe in a world half at work and half idle.

If we see to it that America goes to work and see to it that America does her part to help the whole world go to work, America and the whole world will be strong enough to survive, and sane and tolerant enough to rectify a few mistakes in the manner of our work. If fear that we may go to work in the wrong way keeps us from going to work at all, nothing will save us.

Possibly there may be one perfect theory which if faithfully pursued would lead us into the promised land. But it is more likely that in the long run we shall reach our goal more safely and probably more quickly if we approach it by many avenues. Even economists are better able to tell us how things happened after the event than before. The true economic theory of full employment is not likely to be written until after the world has achieved it.

The future of America and the future of the world may be threatened by our putting our goals too low as well as too high. Before the war it was considered daring to assume that a fully employed America could develop an annual national income as high as one hundred billion dollars. The war has



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already demonstrated that the full use of America's great manpower and magnificent productive equipment is capable of sustaining an annual national income well in excess of that amount.

There is no place in America for economic defeatism. We have the knowledge, skill and resources to make America worthy of the men and women who are fighting to preserve its highest ideals. We have the men and materials to rebuild our towns and our cities, to replace the slum dwellings in town and in country with modern low-cost homes, to conserve our soils, irrigate our lands and improve and diversify our agriculture, to modernize our transportation, by highway, railway, waterway and airway, to undertake the integrated development of our great river basins, and to build schools and hospitals to meet the needs of all our citizens.

As we keep our soldiers fit for fighting and care for them when they can no longer fight, so after the war we must strengthen and expand our social society system to make and keep our citizens fit for working and fit for living. No one in America should be denied access to those minimum and rudimentary standards of living, health and nutrition which our country has the resources



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to provide, because he is too young to work or too old to work, or because he is otherwise physically unfit to work or because through no fault of his own he is unable to find work and earn a living wage.

There may be some people who will say that America cannot do all these things at home and still help the rest of the world. I say that only if we do these things at home can we help the rest of the world. American prosperity and world prosperity are interdependent.

We can produce many things like cotton, wheat, tobacco, machine tools and automobiles in greater abundance than we can use for our own needs. These things other countries need and want and would like to buy if they could in turn sell enough abroad to pay for them. Other countries produce many things which our people want and can buy when times are good. The volume of our imports depend quite as much on our internal prosperity, the buying power of our people, as upon the absence of excessive tariffs or other restrictive trade practices which make it unnecessarily difficult for other nations to sell us the goods which we could use. But it is difficult to get rid of restrictive trade practices or to reduce or even to stabilize tariffs when the general



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volume of trade is declining. Competition may be the life of trade, but neither men nor nations will brook competition if they can help it when there is not enough trade for which they have a chance to compete.

Friendly competition among nations depends upon world prosperity. Nothing is more helpful to world prosperity than our own prosperity; nothing is more disastrous to world prosperity than a half-idle America. Many keen observers of world affairs are inclined to the view that if it had not been for the calamitous effects of European employment of the almost complete collapse of the American economy in the early thirties, Hitler might never have come to power in Germany. So when we determine to see that our returning soldiers have the chance to go to work in order better to house, clothe and feed themselves and their families, we are also determining in a measure to help the rest of the world to get on their feet.

But I do not wish to give the impression that all these things will work out automatically if we simply keep our own house in order. In an interdependent world we have got to see that what we might call the conveyor belts of international trade do not get caught in the flywheels.



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If we really want to help bring about the full and effective world-wide use of the world's productive resources of men and material, we cannot force and should not want to force international trade back to the crude and primitive stage of bartering. To keep trade free and competition fair among nations, we must make it possible for nations to maintain a balanced trade position by trading with all nations, not simply the particular nations that sell to them or buy from them.

To enable the relatively underdeveloped countries to participate on a self-sustaining basis in world trade we must first help them to secure the equipment and development necessary to increase their productivity. Our Tennessee Valley Authority might afford a useful pattern of development for the Yellow River in China, the Danube around the Iron Gates for the Amazon River in South America, and for other great and yet undeveloped river basins. We must also see that the underdeveloped regions of the world have the technical services which will enable them to make the most efficient use of their human and material resources. The war has taught us that health depends not simply on the quantity of food consumed, but on an understanding of nutrition values. We must also help the economically underdeveloped nations establish appropriate labor standards



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which will give them a fair reward for their services and enable them to become buyers as well as sellers in a world of expanding abundance.

We must also see that countries, particularly the countries that export agricultural commodities and other raw materials, are not deprived of the fair exchange value of their products in years when needed reserves are being built up.

To aid in the achievement and maintenance of the fullest economic use of the world's productive resources of men and materials, we must therefore establish one or more international economic institutions:

- (a) to provide, within reasonable limits and under appropriate safeguards, credits and purchasing power in the world markets for nations in temporary need thereof. This means stabilizing exchange rates and avoiding competition among nations in debasing the value of their own currencies.
- (b) to provide, within reasonable limits and under appropriate safeguards, credits and purchasing power in the world markets for the long-range development of countries economically underdeveloped or devastated by war. This means the direction of long-term credits



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into productive channels, through something like World Reconstruction Finance Corporation;

- (c) to provide scientific and technical services to enable nations, on the basis of the world's knowledge and experience in industrial engineering, nutrition, sanitation and other fields, to make the most efficient use of their human and national resources;
- (d) to develop labor standards suitable to countries in different stages of productivity that will enable labor to have a fair reward for its services and to participate in a world of expanding abundance;
- (e) to stabilize the flow of commodities in the world markets on the principle of ever normal reserves to ensure adequate supplies to consumers and reasonable purchasing power to efficient producers.

Want, depressed prices and unemployment can be overcome only in a world of expanding economic activity. Want, that need not be, can be overcome only by enabling each nation to develop its own potentialities and to achieve as high a standard of living as its human and material resources can produce. The common people justly demand that money and finance must be the servant and not the master of their economic existence. The common people justly demand full



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enjoyment and a rising standard of living with opportunity and freedom to develop a rich and full life.

I am not blind to the world's resources being used up in this terrible war. I am also not unaware of the precious youths who are giving their lives bravely and gladly that we may have a better world. Great as our loss of resources may be and tragic as the loss of human life may be, our country is so richly endowed and so marvelously equipped that only the lack of vision stands in the way of our handing down to the next generation a world of even greater promise than our fathers bequeathed to us.

America's technical equipment, the world's technical equipment, America's capacity and trained skill to produce, the world's capacity and trained skill to produce, are greater than ever before in history. America has the ability, the world has the ability to maintain a much higher standard of life than has ever before been maintained in the history of man.

But some persons look not at the education, skill, ingenuity and character of the people, or the untapped resources which modern science has revealed, but at the books of accounts. Such persons are defeatists. They do not understand the spirit of the new world, of the soldiers flying in the



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stratosphere, of seamen sailing on and over the seven seas, of the commandos and rangers who know no fear, of men and women building ships, planes and guns with incredible speed and incredible skill. They are still worried by the dollar sign. They are shackled by a narrow and restrictive financial orthodoxy. They fail to understand what the common people understand that we can only make ourselves strong, economically and financially, by producing the largest possible real income.

Inflation that causes the destruction of the people's savings comes not from producing more than we can afford but from producing less than we need. The way to preserve the people's savings and the people's credit is to make available the goods and services the people need. In wartime when we must throw the bulk of our productive energies in building armaments and supplying our armed forces, we can prevent inflation only by drawing in our belts and seeing that the people do not destroy their own purchasing power by trying to outbid one another to get goods and services that a country engaged in total war cannot produce.

But when the war is over, the energies, the productive plants, the technical skills, the scientific knowledge of the world must be put to con-



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structive work. If that is done, and we must see to it that it is done, America will be able to supply in greater abundance than ever before the needs of our people. If that is done with a fair measure of international cooperation and good will, and we must see to it that it is so done, the common people everywhere should be able by their own labor to attain a higher standard of living than they have ever before enjoyed.

Our children and the children of man everywhere, with the aid of modern science, assuredly can inherit a world of expanding freedom and increased abundance. To that goal, freedom's past inspires us and freedom's future calls us.



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It has been my custom for several years to close the
Herald Tribune Forum. I have always welcomed the opportunity be-
cause I have always been interested in this form of public ~~discussion~~ *presentation*.
This kind of gathering is like the old Comstock which were so
popular and so useful in by-gone days.

Such a forum is ~~particularly~~ helpful during these trying
and perilous days of war. For the American people -- every man,
woman, and child ~~in~~ in every section of the country and in every
walk of life, ^{now} knows that the one all-important job before them now
is the winning of this war.

It is unnecessary, of course, to point out how ~~importantly~~ *definitely*
this job calls for unity among our people. That unity can be helped
by informed discussion. ~~It is important for the government, in order~~
~~to preserve that unity, to know what the people are thinking.~~

In peacetime it is also important for the people to know
what their government is thinking, what it is doing, and what it is
proposing to do. It is government's function to inform the people
of its actions as well as its plans.

In times of war, however, government cannot always ~~be so~~ ^{give up} ~~completely frank with the people~~. ^{near to the} Nearly every person clearly understands that ^{and understands the close} ~~and understands the close~~ reason for it. It is obvious that we cannot disclose all the facts as soon as they occur, for there are facts which the enemy does not always know. And it is particularly impossible for us to disclose plans for the future.

Therefore criticism in wartime may be made without knowledge or understanding of the facts. As a result it may be harmful to the government and to the war effort. It may cause misunderstanding, resentment, divisiveness -- and a lessening of that kind of unity so essential to victory.

The fact that this type of criticism has done less harm in the United States than might be expected has been due to the good old horse-sense of the American people. I know from a somewhat long experience -- in wartime as well as peacetime -- that the overwhelming majority of them know how to discriminate in their reading and in their radio-listening between informed discussion and verbal thrusts in the dark.

Discriminating criticism and discussion can be helpful in wartime as well as in peacetime. We must always bear in mind, however, they can be based only on premises and assumptions and must therefore be avowedly tentative and subject to revision in light of the facts as they become known.

And in planning for the post-war world, it is always useful to remember the same thing -- that we must always have all the facts before us. Certain things we can all be sure of in that planning -- the ideals and the objectives which should actuate us. For that purpose, it is valuable for all of us to read and reread that declaration of fundamentals which have been set forth for the world and all its peoples, in the Atlantic Charter and in the Declaration of the United Nations of January first of this year.

We must keep those fundamentals -- those ideals -- before our eyes, and we must apply them eventually to every quarter of the globe. We have learned that unless those fundamentals of peace are observed and safeguarded in every quarter of the globe there can be no guarantee of peace anywhere in the world. In the final analysis, that is what this war is all about.

It had been going on in undeclared form in different parts of the world for some time before 1939. ^{that,} when it finally was declared, it found the great peace-loving countries of the world unprepared. It has taken those that were spared destruction three long years to catch up. We have accumulated our own force so that it can no longer be said that brute force goes without indomitable challenge.

Until we caught up and had the strength with which to oppose force with still more force, it was futile to talk of the kind of free, peaceful and friendly world we were fighting for. Now, however, that we have strength equal to our enemies, strength that is rapidly becoming superior to our enemies, we can begin to think more clearly and coherently of the kind of world we are going to build.

That requires thought and reason and the interchange of ideas among men and women of goodwill. That requires forums like yours tonight, where the strength of force yields to the impact of ideas.

In the war of armies and armadas, we are now on the offensive. In the war of ideas we must also now take the offensive -- and keep it. Only that way can we make our victory and our freedom permanent and secure. That is the road to the realization of the ideals of peace-loving, interdependent nations all over the world.

THIRD DRAFT

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
HERALD TRIBUNE FORUM
NOVEMBER 17, 1942

I have always welcomed the opportunity to close the Herald Tribune Forum, because I have always been interested in the public presentation of all kinds of national problems.

In time of peace every variety of problem and issue is an interesting subject for public discussion.

But in time of war the American people know that the one all-important job before them now is the winning of this war. Therefore, of necessity, while long-range social and economic problems are by no means forgotten, yet they are a little like books which for the moment we have laid aside in order that we might get out the old Atlas to learn the geography of the fighting itself. Yet, as we are coming more and more to realize, it is exceedingly difficult for any Forum to listen to speeches about the military conduct of the war. The reason is that in time of war your Government cannot always give spot news to the people. Nearly everybody understands that -- and the reason for it.

This means that those relatively few people who do have the facts from all over the world, not only every day but every hour of every day, are precluded from discussing these facts publicly, except in the most general of terms. If they did they would almost inevitably say things which would help the people who are trying to destroy us.

In reverse, the people who are not in possession of all the news must almost inevitably speak from guesswork or from an uninformed point of view. They do not know the facts and, therefore, the value of their statements becomes greatly reduced. Nor must we, in the actual progress of the war, lend ears to the clamor of politics or of those [out of public life] who, as we know in our hearts, are actuated by political motives.

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P. 2

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I think you will realize that I have made a constant and honest effort as Commander-in-Chief to ^{keep politics out} [eliminate from ^{of the fighting of this war.} my mind any and every thought of politics.]

But I must confess that my foot slipped once. About ten days before Election Day one of our aircraft carriers was torpedoed in the Southwest Pacific. She did not sink at once, but ^{around} [after the lapse of sometime] it became clear

THIRD DRAFT

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that she could not make port, ^{she} ~~and~~ was, therefore, destroyed by our own forces. We in Washington did not know whether the [Japanese] enemy was aware of her sinking -- for there were no Japanese ships near enough to see her go down. You will realize, of course, that the actual knowledge of the loss of enemy ships has a [future] definite bearing on ^{continuing} [current] naval operations for sometime after the event. We, for instance, know that we have sunk a number of Japanese aircraft carriers and we know that we have bombed or torpedoed others. We would give a King's ransom to know whether the latter were sunk or were saved, repaired and put back into commission.

All of these circumstances were known to us when we got news of the sinking of this particular ship, but at that time a great issue had been raised in the Congress and in the public vehicles of information as to the suppression of news from the fighting fronts.

Here came my mistake. I yielded to the clamor and to the politicians. I did so partly in realization of the certainty that if the news of the sinking were given out two or three weeks later it would be publicly charged that the news had been suppressed because of the Election. [That

was a very human mistake to make -- but it was a mistake nevertheless -- for] Shortly thereafter protests came from the Admirals in command in the Southwest Pacific and at our great base in Hawaii on the ground that, in all probability, the Japanese Navy had no information of the sinking and that handing them the information on a silver platter gave them a military advantage which they would have otherwise not have known.

This confession of mine illustrates to the people of this country the fact that in time of war the conduct of that war, with the aim of victory, comes absolutely first. They know that not one of their inalienable rights is taken away through the failure to disclose to them, for a reasonable length of time, facts that Hitler and Mussolini and ^{Tojo} [Hirohito] would give their eye teeth to learn. Facts then become paramount. Facts that cannot be told to the public at the time, as well as facts that can and should be told at all times.

[The opposite is true. I believe that the American people in overwhelming numbers are learning to discriminate between facts, and between statements labeled as facts, which,

THIRD DRAFT

-5-

however, bear little or no relationship to the truth itself.
The American people do discriminate. Some who write for them
and talk to them do not.]

[And as long as this nation holds to the good old habit
of winnowing the wheat from the chaff we shall continue with
a single eye toward the winning of the greatest conflict of
humanity that has ever been visited on the world.]

Loose
talk delays victory. Loose talk is the damp that gets into
powder. ^{We} prefer to keep our powder dry, and to shoot when

I see the whites of their eyes]

~~Loose talk~~

The posters that
tell you, "Loose
Talk Costs Lives;
do not exaggerate."

We have a gigantic job to do - all of us, together. Our battle lines today stretch from Kiska to Murmansk, from Tunisia to Guadalcanal. These lines will grow longer, as our forces advance.

We have had an uphill fight, and it will continue to be uphill, all the way. There can be no coasting to victory.

During the past two weeks we have had a great deal of ^{and it would seem that the turning} ~~down~~ ^{point in this case has not yet been reached.} ~~these~~ ^{these} ~~cases~~. But this is no time for exultation. There is no time ^{now} for anything but fighting and working to win.

FOURTH DRAFT

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

HERALD TRIBUNE FORUM

NOVEMBER 17, 1942

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ment cannot always give spot news to the people. Nearly
everybody understands that -- and the reason for it.

This means that those relatively few people who do have the facts from all over the world, not only every day but every hour of every day, are precluded from discussing these facts publicly, except in the most general of terms. If they did they would almost inevitably say things which would help the people who are trying to destroy us.

In reverse, ~~the people~~ ^{those} who are not in possession of all the news must almost inevitably speak from guesswork ^{based on} ~~from~~ ^{information of doubtful accuracy.} ~~an uninformed point of view.~~ They do not know the facts and, therefore, the value of their statements becomes greatly reduced. Nor must we, in the actual progress of the war, lend ears to the clamor of politics or ^{To criticism from} ~~of~~ those who, as we know in our hearts, are actuated by political motives..

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I think you will realize that I have made a constant ~~and constant~~ effort as Commander-in-Chief to keep politics out of the fighting of this war.

But I must confess that my foot slipped once. About ten days before Election Day one of our aircraft carriers was torpedoed in the Southwest Pacific. She did not sink at once, but it became clear that she could not make port. She was, therefore, destroyed by our own forces. We in Washington did not know whether the enemy was aware of her sinking -- for there were no Japanese ships near enough to see her go down. You will realize, of course, that the actual knowledge of the loss of enemy ships has a definite bearing on continuing naval operations for sometime after the event. We, for instance, know that we have sunk a number of Japanese aircraft carriers and we know that we have bombed or torpedoed others. We would give a King's ransom to know whether the latter were sunk or were saved, repaired and put back into commission.

However,
~~all of these circumstances were known to us~~ when we got news of the sinking of this particular ship, ~~but at~~ *Washington* ~~that time~~ a great issue ~~had been~~ *was being* raised in the Congress and in the public vehicles of information as to the

suppression of news from the fighting fronts.

There was a

division of opinion among responsible authorities.

Here came my mistake. I yielded to the clamor, ~~and~~

~~but~~ I did so partly in realization of the

certainly that if the news of the sinking were given out

two or three weeks later it would be publicly charged that

the news had been suppressed ^{by me until after} ~~because~~ of the Election.

~~XX~~

~~XX~~ Shortly thereafter protests came

from the Admirals in command in the Southwest Pacific and

at our great base in Hawaii on the ground that, in all

probability, the Japanese Navy had no information of the

sinking and that handing them the information on a silver

platter ^{we} ~~gave~~ ^{- although we were careful not to reveal the name of this carrier -} them a military advantage which they would have otherwise not have known.

This confession of mine illustrates to the people of this country the fact that in time of war the conduct of that war, with the aim of victory, comes absolutely first. They know that not one of their inalienable rights is taken away through the failure to disclose to them, for a reasonable length of time, facts that Hitler and Mussolini and Tojo would give their eye teeth to learn.

Therefore
Facts ~~then~~ become paramount, ^A facts that cannot be told to the public at the time, as well as facts that can and should be told at all times.

The posters that tell you, "Loose Talk Costs Lives," do not exaggerate. Loose talk delays victory. Loose talk is the damp that gets into powder. We prefer to keep our powder dry.

We have a gigantic job to do -- all of us, together. Our battle lines today stretch from Kiska to Murmansk, from Tunisia to Guadalcanal. These lines will grow longer, as our forces advance.

We have had an uphill fight, and it will continue to be uphill, all the way. There can be no coasting to victory.

During the past two weeks we have had a great deal of good news and it would seem that the turning point of this war has at last been reached. But this is no time for exultation. There is no time now for anything but fighting and working to win.

~~~~~

Vandergrift

He was aboard the leading ship, The Cruiser San Francisco.

A few days ago, as our Army advanced through North Africa, on the other side of the world our Navy was fighting what was ~~perhaps~~ ^{one of the greatest} ~~fight~~ ^{of our} history.

A very powerful Japanese force was moving ^{at night} toward our positions in the Solomon Islands. The spearhead of the force that we sent to intercept the enemy was led by the ~~Cruiser San Francisco~~ under the command of Rear Admiral Daniel J. Callaghan.

The San Francisco sailed right into the enemy fleet - right through the ^{whole} enemy fleet - her guns blazing. She engaged and hit three enemy vessels, sinking one of them. At ^{point} ~~blank~~ range, she engaged an enemy battleship - heavily her superior in size and fire-power. She silenced this battleship's big guns and ~~so~~ disabled her that she could be sunk by torpedoes from ~~our~~ ^{our} destroyers ^{and aircraft}.

The San Francisco herself was hit many times. Admiral Callaghan ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{many of his} ~~and~~ ^{many of his} gallant officers and men gave their lives in this battle. But the San Francisco ~~herself~~ was brought safely back to port by a Lieutenant Commander, and she will fight again for our country.

The Commander of the task force of which the San Francisco was a part has recommended that she be the first of our Navy's vessels to be

decorated for outstanding service.

But there are no citations, no medals, which carry with them such high honor as that accorded to ~~the~~ fighting men by the respect ~~admission~~ of their comrades.

The Commanding General of The Marines on Guadalcanal, yesterday ^{General V. C. Smith} sent a message to The Commander of the Fleet ^{Admiral Halsey} ~~at sea~~, saying, "We lift our battered helmets in admiration for those who fought magnificently against overwhelming odds and drove the enemy back to crushing defeat."

Let us thank God for such men as these. ~~Let~~ May our nation continue to be worthy of them, throughout this war, and forever.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Radio Address of The President
In Connection With The
Herald Tribune Forum
November 18, 1942
At 10.30 PM EWT



STATEMENTS FILE

STATEMENTS FILE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

November 17, 1942

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be broadcast in connection with the Herald Tribune Forum, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 10:30 O'CLOCK, P.M., E.W.T., Tuesday, November 17, 1942. The same release also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

from shorthand notes
Ladies and gentlemen:

I have always welcomed the opportunity to participate in the Herald Tribune Forum, because I have always been interested in the public presentation of all kinds of national problems.

In time of peace every variety of problem and issue is an interesting subject for public discussion.

But in time of war the American people know that the one all-important job before them is fighting and working to win. Therefore, of necessity, while long-range social and economic problems are by no means forgotten, they are a little like books which for the moment we have laid aside in order that we might get out the old Atlas to learn the geography of the battle areas.

In time of war your Government cannot always give spot news to the people. Nearly everybody understands that — and the reasons for it.

This means that ^{somewhat} those relatively few people who do have the facts from all over the world, not only every day but every hour of every day, are precluded from discussing these facts publicly, except in the most general of terms. If they did they would almost inevitably say things ^{which} ~~that~~ would help the people who are trying to destroy us.

In reverse, those who are not in possession of all the news must almost inevitably speak from guesswork based on information of doubtful accuracy. They do not know the facts and, therefore, the value of their statements becomes greatly reduced. Nor must we, in the actual progress of the war, lend ears to the clamor of politics or to criticism from those who, as we know in our hearts, are actuated by political motives.

The fact that this type of criticism has done less harm in the United States than might be expected has been due to the good old horse sense of the American people. I know from a somewhat long experience — in wartime as well as peacetime — that the overwhelming majority of our people know how to discriminate in their reading and in their radio-listening between informed discussion and verbal thrusts in the dark.

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— how to discriminate

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However, when we got news of the sinking of this particular ship, a great issue was being raised in the Congress and in the public vehicles of information as to the suppression of news from the fighting fronts. There was a division of opinion among responsible authorities.

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greatest

A very powerful Japanese force was moving at night toward our positions in the Solomon Islands. The spearhead of the force that we sent to intercept the enemy was under the command of Rear Admiral Daniel J. Callaghan. He was aboard the leading ship, the Cruiser San Francisco.

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The San Francisco herself was hit many times. Admiral Callaghan, my close personal friend, and many of his gallant officers and men gave their lives in this battle. But the San Francisco was brought safely back to port by a Lieutenant Commander, and she will fight again for our country.

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Let us thank God for such men as these. May our Nation continue to be worthy of them, throughout this war, and forever.

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in the field  
by the station  
my company  
of 100 men  
and 9 horses  
and 2 mules

and 100 men  
and 10 horses  
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My dear Mr. [unclear]  
[unclear]

I am [unclear]

[unclear]  
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July 6 1880

My dear Mr. Brewster  
I have just received  
your letter of the 1st inst.  
and am glad to hear  
that you are well.  
I am well and hope  
this finds you the same.

Very truly  
yours

Wm. Brewster  
I have just received  
your letter of the 1st inst.  
and am glad to hear  
that you are well.  
I am well and hope  
this finds you the same.

There is a  
little more for  
Dr. Green, sold  
by Dr. Green.

There is a  
1000 for you  
at the same  
- on the same  
for the same  
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