

THE CHALLENGE OF THE FOUR FREEDOMS

(Part 2 of 2)

ANNOUNCER: Hitler's propagandists claim that the four freedoms are a hoax; that the American people themselves do not practice the four freedoms at home. Many sincere Americans think that we must reform ourselves before we try to reform the world. Are we morally and intellectually ready to provide the leadership which victory will impose on us?

WAYMACK: Of course we're not morally and intellectually ready in the sense that we have achieved perfection. But, again, we can't wait for that. I think we have achieved, and are rapidly achieving under the pressure of events, an adequate degree of moral and intellectual preparedness. We've got to recognize, and we're beginning to recognize, that power always means responsibility. That applies to us and to the world at large. We've got to recognize that ideals won't take care of themselves.

ADLER: There's no question about that, but what is your notion of the time it will take to realize what is involved—to bring about in fact and in practice the ideals that are here being stated under the head of the four freedoms?

WAYMACK: If you mean complete realization, the same as is true of any ideal. We've had the idea of broad democracy for a long time, and we've all conceded here, readily, that we haven't achieved that yet. If you mean complete realization of the full meaning of all these four ideals represented by the four freedoms, I don't know how long it will take. It will take generations!

FRIEDRICH: Isn't it always a question of degree? The point is not that America is perfect as contrasted with Hitler's Germany, but it's so infinitely better that anybody would rather live in America than in Hitlerite Germany, except an outright Nazi.

ADLER: But I'm thinking of something else. We have talked about bringing about world-government. We have talked about a radical reform of capitalism as well as an avoidance of the opposite evil of collectivism. We've talked about an educational job, and we know in the United States how little we've done, in fifty years of trying to do it, to educate people to be democratic citizens.

Can this job, not completely, even begin to be realized short of a hundred years or five hundred years? I ask the question because isn't it your feeling that Americans generally are an impatient people? They want immediate cash returns. They don't like to work for something they are not going to enjoy in their own lifetime. Maybe this time we will not only have to fight and give our lives but work our whole lives through without seeing the fruits realized.

WAYMACK: I quite agree with you, although I recoil from such periods of time as five hundred years. But then, of course, our impatience is due largely to inexperience in international responsibility. We've been inexperienced politically but by no means economically. We've played a larger part in creating the shrunken character of this world than probably any other people, and, instead of being ashamed of it, we're proud of it. All we must do is bring our political action up to our economic.

FRIEDRICH: There is another point here, isn't there? You can disparage the idea of doing it right away quick. That is an American fault. But, at the same time, if you put it in terms of a hundred years or five hundred years, then there arises the danger that people will say, "Well, if it's a matter of five hundred years why fight this war?"

ADLER: That is, the great question of the moral aspect of our peace is something about our own characters. It's easy to work for something you think you can gain in a short period.

WAYMACK: Let's not say we have to stick to it for five hundred years, or one hundred years, or ten years. What we have to do is to recognize that we can't secede from a planet that is largely of our making. We've got to stay in and pitch.

ADLER: But the point remains that if we have any illusions about a short-term, successful venture, we're likely to have that kind of disillusionment.

WAYMACK: Quite right.

FRIEDRICH: Let's not make the mistake that was made last time and think that we can settle our ideals in a peace treaty.

WAYMACK: Amen!

FRIEDRICH: A peace treaty is important, and we want it to make progress toward our ideals, but let's not kid ourselves into thinking it can settle everything.

ADLER: No! And I'd go to an even more pessimistic extreme and say that if in fact we don't act sensibly at the end of this war, we shall have to suffer another war to learn how to act sensibly. My own feeling is that these things we're talking about, the four freedoms—freedom from fear and freedom from want particularly—world-organization, and a proper world-economy, are things that are going to be forced upon us if we don't work for them voluntarily.

WAYMACK: And the most encouraging thing in the situation, I think (despite division among us), is a spreading feeling that we don't want another one of these things in twenty-five years; and, unless we improve the basis of things as they were before this war started, that's exactly what we'll have.

ADLER: It seems to me, then, that this fourth ROUND TABLE in the series of four on the post-war world summarizes the meaning of the other three—and particularly in the first ROUND TABLE, which raised the question of whether or not this was the time to discuss the post-war world.¹

FRIEDRICH: And I'd put a punch line that General MacArthur handed us there. When he got a chance to talk to American newspaper reporters, he said, "You can't get fellows to fight unless you can tell them what they're fighting for." Let's not forget that!

ADLER: As a matter of fact, the new order should be our slogan, not Hitler's. He's fighting for an old order; and our new order is an order based upon very old moral ideas which only in the last thousand years have grown to a point of actual successful practice in the world. So that I should say that it is our side rather than Hitler's that can speak of establishing a new order.

¹ The first three broadcasts on *Should We Discuss the Next Peace Now? Political Reconstruction*, and *Economic Requisites of a Durable Peace*, broadcast August 2, 9, and 16, respectively, are available in pamphlet form.

FRIEDRICH: Amen to that! I think there's a general tendency on the part of Americans, because they want to be practical, to over-emphasize the economic and political tasks. They may even go so far as to say that this kind of thing is just a matter of a lot of words. Well, let me tell you I don't think that's so at all. Unless the economic and political tasks are faced—

ADLER: May I interrupt? You say “economic and political” tasks. Wouldn't you say that we almost always add educational as well? We have a cultural task.

FRIEDRICH: Certainly! But let's recognize that freedom is a weapon for winning the war. There is now abroad the possibility of a new belief in the common man. What Henry Wallace said in his speech the other day—that this is the century of the common man, if it's anything. That's what we're fighting for.

WAYMACK: It must be that. And we've used the term “moral preparation” and “moral basis” and things of that sort—and I think that's extremely important.

Let me just put it in another way. I see no sense in being cynically afraid of idealism. Idealism appeals to the American people; it appeals to all peoples. It's absolutely essential to the doing of necessary things.

FRIEDRICH: That's right. I think we have a torch here that we can carry forward in good conscience. And let's recognize that our task, as we sum up the whole thing, is to become world-citizens. Wouldn't you say that, Adler?

ADLER: I think we must become world-citizens and must fight for democracy's future as well as defend its past.

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

Joint declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to seek no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security;

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, or air armaments continue to be employed by nations, which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

August 14, 1941

ALLIED-GOVERNMENTS' RESOLUTIONS
London, September 24, 1941

The Governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, and the representatives of General de Gaulle, leader of Free Frenchmen, having taken note of the declaration recently drawn up by the President of the U.S.A. and the Prime Minister (Winston Churchill) on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, now make known their adherence to the common principles of policy set forth in that declaration and their intention to cooperate to the best of their ability in making them effective.

JOINT DECLARATION OF UNITED NATIONS

A Joint Declaration by The United States of America, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, South Africa, Yugoslavia.

The Governments signatory hereto,

Having subscribed to a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the Joint Declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter,

Being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world,
Declare:

Each Government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such government is at war.

Each Government pledges itself to cooperate with the Governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are, or may be, rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism.

Done at Washington,

January First, 1942

The United States of America
by FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Canada
by LEIGHTON MCCARTHY

The United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland
by WINSTON CHURCHILL

The Republic of Costa Rica
by J. M. TRONOSCO

The Republic of Cuba
by AURELIO F. CONCHESO

On Behalf the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
by MAXIM LITVINOFF, *Ambassador*

The Republic of El Salvador
by C. A. ALFARO

National Government of the Republic of China
by TSE VUNG SOONG, *Minister for Foreign Affairs*

The Commonwealth of Australia
by R. G. CASEY

The Kingdom of Greece
by CIMON P. DIAMANTOPOULOS

The Republic of Guatemala
by ENRIQUE LOPEZ-HERRARTE

The Kingdom of Belgium
by C^{te} R.V.D. STRATEN

La Republique d'Haiti
par FERNAND DENNIS

The Republic of Honduras
by JULIAN R. CACERES

The Kingdom of Norway
by W. MUNTHE DE MORGENSTIERNE

India
by GIRJA SHANKAR BAJPAI

The Republic of Panama
by JAEN GUARDIA

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg
by HUGUES LE GALLAIS

The Republic of Poland
by JAN CIECHANOWSKI

The Kingdom of the Netherlands
by A. LOUDON

The Union of South Africa
by RALPH W. CLOSE

Signed on Behalf of the Government of the Dominion of New Zealand
by FRANK LANGSTONE

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia
by CONSTANTIN A. FOTITCH

The Republic of Nicaragua
by LEON DEBAYLE

POLISH-CZECHOSLOVAK AGREEMENT January 23, 1942

The governments of Poland and Czechoslovakia have agreed on the following points with regard to the future Confederation of Poland and Czechoslovakia.

1. The two governments desire that the Polish-Czechoslovak Confederation should embrace other states of the European area with which the vital interests of Poland and Czechoslovakia are linked up.
2. The purpose of the Confederation is to assure common policy with regard to foreign affairs; defense; economic and financial matters; social questions; transport, posts and telegraphs.
3. The Confederation will have a common general staff, whose task it will be to prepare the means of defense, while in the event of war a unified supreme command will be appointed.
4. The Confederation will coordinate the policy of foreign trade and customs tariffs of the states forming the Confederation with a view to the conclusion of a customs union.
5. The Confederation will have an agreed monetary policy. Autonomous banks of issue of the states forming the Confedera-

tion will be maintained. It will be their task to assure that the parity established between the various national currencies shall be permanently maintained.

6. The Confederation will coordinate the financial policies of the states forming the Confederation, especially with regard to taxation.

7. The development and administration of railway, road, water and air transport, as also of the telecommunication services, will be carried out according to a common plan. An identical tariff for postal and telecommunication services will be binding on all the territories of the Confederation. The states in possession of sea and inland harbours will take into consideration the economic interests of the Confederation as a whole. Moreover, the states forming the Confederation will mutually support the interests of the sea and inland harbours of the states forming the Confederation.

8. Coordination will also be applied in the realm of social policy of the various states of the Confederation.

9. The Confederation will assure cooperation among its members in educational and cultural matters.

10. Questions of nationality will remain within the competence of the individual states forming the Confederation. The passenger traffic between the various states included in the Confederation will take place without any restrictions, in particular without passports and visas. The question of free domicile and of right to exercise any gainful occupation of the citizens of the individual states forming the Confederation over the whole territory of the Confederation will be regulated.

11. The question of the mutual recognition by the states forming the Confederation of school and professional diplomas, of documents and sentences of court, as well as the question of mutual legal aid, in particular in the execution of court sentences, will be regulated.

12. The constitutions of the individual states included in the Confederation will guarantee to the citizens of these states the following rights: freedom of conscience, personal freedom, freedom of learning, freedom of the spoken and written word, freedom of organization and association, equality of all citizens before the law, free admission of all citizens to the performance of all state functions, the independence of the courts of law, and the control of

government by the representative national bodies by means of free elections.

13. Both governments have agreed that in order to ensure the common policy with regard to the above-mentioned spheres, the establishment of common organs of the Confederation will be necessary.

14. The states included in the Confederation will jointly defray the costs of its maintenance.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions of wider scope, intended for discussion, are suggested by the broadcast, and answers may be found in the literature on the subject listed in the section "Suggested Readings," which follows.

1. In your opinion, what is the democratic faith? What are its ideals and values? Does it include a belief in the common man? Discuss.
2. What is the meaning and significance of the four freedoms? Twenty-eight nations have pledged support to the Atlantic Charter, which sets forth as one of the basic objectives a peace in which men *may* be free from fear and want. How do you think this objective can be achieved?
3. How much common ground of principles and idealism exists among the United Nations? How can this be expanded? What are our differences? Discuss.
4. Do you think a democratic faith can be the basis of a world-community? How can a world-community aid the achievement of freedom for all? What compromises must we make between idealism and the realities of world-differences?
5. What is the value of the freedom being fought for? Is freedom an end in itself, or is it a means to some higher end? Why is freedom of value to you?
6. Do you think freedom can be secure in one part of the world if it doesn't exist in the rest of the world? Do modern conditions force America to make the four freedoms world-wide in order to secure freedom at home? Should democratic government and a democratic way of life for all peoples be our goal?

7. Is it true that the four freedoms are meaningful to all Americans? Discuss. If democracy can be extended at home as well as abroad, what steps would you suggest toward achieving this double end?

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