by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
US Delegate to the United Nations

This is a very difficult time for the women of Germany, for many women have seen two wars which have required of them great sacrifice and they are now going through a postwar period in many ways probably more difficult than any they have experienced before.

After World War I their country was not completely occupied. Now, part of it is lost to them and the Germans who lived there, have had to find homes in other parts of Germany, and besides, the whole of their country is occupied by foreign troops and foreign civilian officials. In addition, the camps of refugees still complicate their lives.

The nationals of a country naturally always feel that they have not been responsible for bringing about the disasters which have overtaken them. In this last war, however, I think it is well for the people of Germany as a whole, to realize that the people of the rest of the world feel that it was in large part the violation of human rights and a willingness of so many Germans to allow a dictator to make the decisions which should remain with the people themselves, which alienated the peoples of the rest of the world and consolidated public opinion in opposition to Nazi Germany.

As far as my own country is concerned, it has always been very easy for us to like the German people. Many of those who came to settle in our country, came, of course, to escape political or religious persecution in their own country, or because their ideas of freedom were more advanced than those of their fellow countrymen. Many have come to us since the days of Carl Schurz.

The physical standards of living in our two countries have been more nearly similar than in most of the other countries of Europe, and yet we have found ourselves opposed to one another in two great wars on matters of principle. That is because, in the main, we are a country built from many nations. We evolve into a type which is a very distinct American type, but we keep a sense of divergence of background even in our unity.

We cannot imagine believing that any one race is superior to any other race and we also believe in the rights of the people to make the final decisions in their government and to hold the reins of power in their own hands. It is true that sometimes we fall short of our ideals, but as a rule, we abide by the will of the majority of our people peacefully expressed in elections held after free and open discussion of the questions at issue in which we have participated by secret ballot.

We elect people to office whose backgrounds may come from any one of the racial strains present in different parts of the European continent and sometimes even mixed with strains from other continents. We have prejudices and discriminations but we fight against them and we try constantly to perpetuate the pattern of our free and equal democracy. Sometimes fear or a temporary laziness induces us to permit certain divergences from real ideals, but before long we find ourselves rallying in the majority to our beliefs.

Now that the German people have been through these years of trial it may be that they will be more anxious to lend their weight to the growth of real democracy in their country.

I learn of encouraging evidence of German readiness to take responsibility for their own affairs—especially among German women and most especially in Berlin. The fact that 80 percent or more of the eligible voters went to the polls to vote for their representatives and that in many places they cast large majorities for the candidates who suffered for opposing Hitlerism are hopeful signs. I think the analytical and reasonable German people will be able to assess certain differences in the ways of democratic countries and in the ways of totalitarian ones.

It is frequently said that democracies are not as strong as nations under other forms of government, and yet it has been the democracy of the United States in two European wars which has had to be the final balance, called upon in the hour of need to supply the goods and the men to bring about a final decision. In an economic way, partly because of our resources but also partly because of our freedom, we have become a powerful nation. We glory in our own accomplishments, but we have no desire to control the development and the will of other nations.

The realization that we were to some extent dependent on the well-being of certain European nations and that with the development of modern science and economic systems, the world as a whole was more interdependent than ever before, has been in some ways none too easy a fact for our people to assimilate.

The initial move for some joint organization which might maintain

At the invitation of the League of Women Physicians of Wurtemberg-Baden, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who is attending the United Nations meetings in Paris as a US delegate, visited Stuttgart Oct. 23 to address a representative group of the German people. Mrs. Roosevelt was welcomed by Mr. Charles M. LaFollette, Director of OMG Wurtemberg-Baden; Mayor Arnulf Klett of Stuttgart; Dr. Erika Kopka-Jellinghaus, president of the league, and an audience of 1,500.

The English text of Mrs. Roosevelt's talk, given in German, is reprinted here.
peace once it was made, came from our country for the reason that by painful experience we realized that against our will, we were drawn into disturbances which arose in other parts of the world. We want greatly to see the United Nations succeed because we feel that eventually if all the nations of the world are in that organization and stay in it, there will of necessity, grow better understanding and a more cooperative feeling in the various fields where joint action can bring more health and happiness and mutual prosperity to the peoples of the world.

October 24 is designated as United Nations Day and I, therefore, wish to say on this occasion that our support of the United Nations is based upon our conviction that only by collaboration of free peoples to meet human need, we build a lasting peace. We have a United Nations because peoples and nations can no longer live without using international machinery to deal with their common problems.

We realize that this will require spiritual growth and leadership as well as material growth, and we hope that the women of the world will be in the forefront of those who exert their influence to these ends.

We are shocked to find that the women in many cases did not stand out as firmly as they should against the encroachment of totalitarian power in Germany, but we hope that the realization will come to all women the world over that they themselves as individuals have a responsibility within every nation to act as citizens to prevent anything which may bring suffering and deprivation again to the people of the world.

My mind is irresistibly focused on the courageous stand of the women of Berlin. There they have taken their stand by the thousands. Their leaders are risking their lives in outspoken opposition to the totalitarian threat—a threat which encircles them. They speak with deeds. They organize their women in the trade unions and organizations to stand their ground despite all promises of comfort if they will give in to outside pressure. They accept hardships of the coming cold winter rather than accept domination by those who have been so crude as to seek their political ends by trying to starve women and children. They speak to women in all zones over the radio in unmistakable terms.

Many of these women suffered in concentration camps and realize full well that their names are listed for even greater suffering if they fall in their stand. These women are thinking of generations to come—beyond this hard winter. We feel our responsibility to these people.

There is no longer room in the world for individual self-interest. It leads to nothing but sorrow and suffering and death. The world has become too small for selfishness, too small for purely nationalistic interests.

It is true that the people of Germany exist in the heart of a continent where a battle is going on between two types of economy and two types of political and spiritual beliefs, but this can be a peaceful battle. It need not degenerate into an argument carried on by force. It can only remain a peaceful battle if we have firm convictions and beliefs in the freedom of the democratic ideal and if we fight as citizens and refuse to allow again a totalitarian system to engulf us.

I believe that the USSR has a right to develop her own system within her own borders, and I believe she has a right to build up friendly neighbors along her borders, but not to control those neighbors through force, in their political ideas and economic and military systems.

The words nazism and fascism will forever be looked upon with horror by the free peoples of the world and sovietism must not be allowed to fill the vacuum left by nazism and fascism, and carry on any of the same methods which created the fear and hatred of the other systems. If a system is good let it be voluntarily adopted by other peoples to their need, not imposed by foreign pressure.

Democracy believes in the right of people to develop peacefully and in the right of discussion and the rule of the majority. People may change their opinions, but they must do so under the rule of law and through persuasion and not force, if the world is to be freed from the fear of war and the horrors that follow it.

Women can play a role in the development of democracy. They bring children into the world and they are the most influential factor in the early years of the lives of those children. They can build character; they can stand firm for the principles that can lead to the maintenance of peace.

My husband had a deep interest in the well-being of individual people and in their freedom throughout the world. He wanted to broaden the base of security, of freedom from want and freedom from aggression, of free speech, of free action which would allow the individual to grow and develop his fullest powers. He believed that people could make mistakes and through the understanding of those mistakes and a real repentance, could redeem themselves and be again factors in the constant rise to better things that we strive for in this world for the peoples as a whole.

I believe it is easier for women to get together and to work together than it is for men sometimes. In this matter of developing a basis for democracy in the world, and of supporting the ideas of the United Nations and the gradual development of understanding among the peoples of the world, I believe that women can make and should make a very great contribution.

I am grateful that you have asked me to come and speak to you today and through you, to many of the people of Germany. I have no hatred for any people, but I do have a great desire to see efforts made through deeds so that the people of the world are willing to move forward together to greater confidence in one another and to greater spheres of cooperation. It is the little people who bear the brunt of what the people who are the rulers of their countries decide upon.

That is why it is important that the countries be democratic, that they choose their rulers or representatives in government and that they keep in close touch with them so that when their representatives do not respond to the people's wishes, they refuse to keep them in office and put in new people who more rightly represent the longings of the average man and woman. That day, I hope, will come.

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