

THE ELEANOR ROOSEVELT PROGRAM

August 8, 1951

Description: In this segment, ER and Elliott Roosevelt respond to a listener's question regarding the terms of the Japanese peace treaty after World War II.

Participants: ER, Elliott Roosevelt, Ben Grauer

[ER:] This is Eleanor Roosevelt speaking, Elliott and I are very happy to be able to bring you this program each day from my living room here in the Park Sheraton Hotel in New York City. I hope you find the program we've planned today an interesting one. Elliott, will you tell us about it please?

[Elliott Roosevelt:] If the Vishinskis aren't speaking to the Gromykos next month, you can blame it on the English alphabet. Why? There's a new *Who's Who* just being published, the only book of its kind. It's the *Who's Who of the United Nations*, in which protocol and Emily Post [1872-1960] are ignored. It's alphabetical, but that-that is the least interesting fact behind the story of the writing and editing of this volume. Mr-Mr. Christian E. Burckel and Dr. G. James Fleming, the editors, are with Mrs. Roosevelt today to tell us the really fascinating story behind the volume. As a matter of fact, I wish we could uh devote uh all of our discussion period today to the interview, but one of our listeners is bothered by something besides the UN [Elliott Roosevelt laughs], so we'll answer that first after our announcer gives us a few good hints to good listening.

[Break 1:26-1:53]

[Elliott Roosevelt:] The Japanese Peace Treaty is the subject of our letter today, which is from Wally Wright of New York City, he writes, "I've just read the Japanese Peace Treaty terms and there are several questions which come to my mind upon which I would like to have your views. First, Japan will be given the right to rearm, even though she will be stripped permanently of her pre-World-War eh- World War Two overseas possessions. Don't you think this is flirting with a potential enemy in the years to come? Secondly, in the article I saw, it says, 'by this device, Russia is deprived of the veto which Moscow would possess in the big power treaty which Russia has been demanding.' Why then is Russia not expected to sign the treaty if she loses a veto?"

[ER:] It's a pretty difficult question um--[Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] eh she's not expected to sign if she loses the veto, I suppose, because she doesn't want to give up the veto--[Elliott Roosevelt: No--] that's a very simple answer, now I'm um fairly sure that of course she will not uh, want to give up the veto. She's always um been particularly anxious to keep people from having any jurisdiction on domestic questions. Now on the first--on domestic quest--on what she considers domestic questions, many of us have decided that on those domestic questions um we are obliged to give up a certain amount of our sovereignty eh if we want to have a um central power um that represents us all that will have some real strength [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] but um I don't think Russia has ever been willing to um consider that anybody has a right to--or any group of people have a right, for instance, to inspect within her country and um that has been holding up uh peace arrangements for a good long while now. (4:04)

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Yeah.

[ER:] Now, on the first question, on um whether--[Elliott Roosevelt: The right to rearm--] the right to rearm, I don't see how you can deny that to a sovereign power once you make peace with them, besides

which um [Elliott Roosevelt coughs] if it isn't just in um in the prevention of military armament that we are going to build peace in the future, it must be actually in the leadership and the understanding between nations which makes them desirous of having peace in the world and also which makes them give up the idea that any one nation can dominate the world. That's what um has happened to us in the last wars. Hitler felt that he could dominate the world, and got Mussolini to join with him, and then Franco oh because they felt that they agreed on the type of domination that they wanted and that if they banded together, um, the lesser lights would have more the type of domination and more domination than they would have otherwise. Japan joined with Germany because it had that same belief in that kind of domination of the world by their ideas and gradually by their type of-of an economy that would benefit them. Primarily they wanted um an Asia that was under their domination [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] And um I think now ah it's up to us to try to really lead the Japanese people to see that democracy can benefit them within their country and that not wanting war may bring them some of the benefits they want without that domination, which they felt could only come through military victory and military domination of the world [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] On the--and-and followed by economic domination. Now um I-I- suppose anything you do has some element of risk in it. I don't know how we'll every be sure of not having war until all of us are completely disarmed, except for police forces at home. And um-- [Elliott Roosevelt: Yeah.] So I suppose we have to acknowledge that everything we do has a measure of risk and that you don't establish security right off the bat ah you go on establishing it every day and uh try through your type of leadership to get the world to agree that a peaceful and cooperative method of life is more productive of happiness for everybody. (7:19)

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, of course I think this letter raises a very interesting point which I have not seen uh dealt with by the terms of our peace treaty. Uh The real reason that Japan became ah an acquisitive power was because of overcrowding of her islands that-in which she existed. Ah her population was constantly increasing and they could not support that population within the islands of Japan.

[ER:] That same problem is going to arise again and that's why um some the leaders in Japan have been particularly--um a few of the uh women have been agitating for a controlled population.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, even with a controlled population your population today lives longer, therefore, it's much larger. Uh the present population of Japan cannot be supported by the islands.

[ER and Elliott Roosevelt overlap]

[ER:] Well, uh—

[Elliott Roosevelt:] So, what is to happen?

[ER:] Without industrialization-industrialization and price supports—

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Industrialization, it's true, but uh actually the-the-the right of these people to ah have enough land to live on uh, they have had their position stripped from them.

[ER:] Well, they-they've had uh the-their outside positions uh taken away to a great extent, but um after all, you're not um uh providing the people of the world with enough land to live on in these days because there isn't enough land in the world for everybody to live on their own little piece of land uh--live off it. [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] You have to provide the means ah to live for your population and that is largely done through industrialization, of course. After all, if you were to apply that uh point of having enough land, what would you do with, let us say, Israel, uh um and what would you do with Puerto Rico oh and [Elliott Roosevelt coughs] a few other places in the world that can't possibly eh ah support their

population on the old and um idea of having so much land uh which would grow enough to support a population--[Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] a-a-an individual or his family. (9:52)

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, don't you believe though that the Japanese uh who after all have uh controlled rather large areas of the Earth's surface in the past, uh don't you think that they are going to want again uh given the right to rearm, to again move out and take possession of areas of land?

[ER:] That entirely depends on how well the plans are made by which they live. If um they can make life, a contented life, and a life where there is enough to give the people a-a decent standard of living, I don't think they will because it's usually the pressure of miserable people which forces the move-the movement of populations. So I think it really depends on how-how this feeding of the people of the world is planned. (10:55)

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Mhm. Well, what I was particularly interested in before the ah last war, the Japanese eh industrialized Manchuria to a very large degree and ah they started very large industries all through that part of the world. Ah, have they transferred those industries and are they building up those industries in Japan itself now?

[ER:] I haven't heard of that being done, I should doubt it; I should think they were still in Manchuria.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well what eventually uh is going to happen in Japan? Are we to build-up the Japanese economy? Are we to make the loans, whereby the Japanese can-can industrialize their country?

[ER:] I think we will have to, or the United Nations will have to because somebody will have to start them off.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, on that basis, will Japan be admitted to the United Nations after they have established a peace treaty?

[ER:] I think the only thing that eh the desire of the United Nations is that there be universal membership, but you have to be able to um comply with the standards and one of the requirements is that you be a peace-loving nation, now as soon as that is established then—

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Isn't the Soviet Union a member of the United Nations [Elliott Roosevelt laughs]?

[ER:] Yes, but the Soviet Union was a member at the very start and you cannot oust the Soviet Union and-and I don't think that I would want to for the very good reason that I think having the Soviet Union in is to our advantage because we can watch them much better [ER chuckles].

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, undoubtedly, the Soviet Union, if they are not signers of the Japanese peace treaty, will object to Japan being admitted, will they not?

[ER:] Undoubtedly. Without any question.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] So that, therefore, ah the prospects of an early membership for Japan in the United Nations is rather dim.

[ER:] Well, no, because there is an effort being made now to prevent the veto being used on admission of new members, so that um they might get--they might be admitted and so might many other people.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Mhm, well on that basis ah will the Soviet Union be, ah uh--why would the Soviet Union be against the ah signing of a peace treaty with Japan? [ER: Oh--] Because it isn't a communist Japan?

[ER:] Either that or because they felt the whole treaty was to the advantage of the democracies, not to their own advantage; something of that sort.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, I see that our time is up and we can't deal any further with this subject, but I hope that it answers Mr. Wright's question.

[Break 13:46-59]

[Elliot Roosevelt:] The first and only book of its kind has just been published; it is *Who's Who in the United Nations*. The editors of this volume are with Mrs. Roosevelt today to tell us about it and about the many problems they had in writing and editing it. Now, Mother, will you continue the introduction?

[Break 14:19-14:25]

[Ben Grauer:] This has been the Eleanor Roosevelt Program, recorded in Mrs. Roosevelt's living room in the Park Sheraton Hotel on the corner of Fifty-Fifth Street and Seventh Avenue in New York City. Today Mrs. Roosevelt's guests were the publisher and editor of the *Who's Who in the United Nations*, Mr. Christian E. Burckel and Mr. G. James Fleming.

I'm taking a look at the guest list for the rest of the week and find that tomorrow Mrs. Roosevelt will welcome to her microphone a very interesting and unusual personality in the world of music and theater today: Gian Carlo Menotti [1911-2007]. He, of course, is the young and talented composer of modern operas such as *The Medium*, and *The Telephone*, and most recently, *The Consul*. It will be interesting to have a personal glimpse into the eh uh thinking of Mr. Menotti and how he created these amazing works which have swept in popularity across the nation and in other countries.

On Friday one of the nation's leading students of public opinion will discuss his work with Mrs. Roosevelt. Mr. Elmo Roper [1900-1971], who will tell us something about popular sentiment regarding world government and will also give us some revealing statistics on political activity on the part of the people of the United States.

Just to peek into the proceedings for next week, the list includes Ernest Lindley [1899-1979] of uh *Newsweek Magazine*, Dr. Rosemary Park [1907-2004], the president of Connecticut College for Women eh midweek next week. On Wednesday, Victor Borge [1909-2000], the famous Danish comedian and pianist, and the week rounded out with John Golden's chat with Mrs. Roosevelt and the well-known explorer Ivan Sanderson [1911-1973]. Mrs. Roosevelt and Elliott Roosevelt will be with you again tomorrow, with Gian Carlo Menotti as guest, and every day, Monday through Friday, from 12:30 to 1:15pm. Til tomorrow then, this is Ben Grauer bidding you all good afternoon. (16:29)

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