

## THE ELEANOR ROOSEVELT PROGRAM

1951-05-23

Description: This recording was produced while ER was in Geneva, Switzerland. In the opening segment, ER and Elliott Roosevelt discuss the Canton administration system in Switzerland. In the following segment, ER interviews William E. Rappard, a professor and expert on education, neutrality, and international law.

Participants: ER, Elliott Roosevelt, William E. Rappard

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[ER:] How do you do? This is Eleanor Roosevelt speaking to you from Europe, where I'm attending a meeting of the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Today's talk will be another of the interviews recorded in Switzerland and flown to the United States by Swissair in time for this broadcast. At home when we think of Switzerland, we usually think of the League of Nations, or skiing, or maybe the scenic wonders of the Swiss Alps. These are things we already know well. That's why it seemed especially interesting to have a program about the Swiss people themselves, and especially education here in Switzerland. So Mrs. Roosevelt invited Professor William Rappard to join us today. You'll meet him a little later on in our program. Now though, let's hear from the sponsors who make our recorded program possible, and after that Mother and I are going to have a brief discussion on a subject we hope you'll find interesting.

[Break 1:07-1:14]

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Mother, rather than to pose a question to you from one of our listeners today, I'd like to um pose a question of my own which I think uh-the uh public in America would be very much interested in knowing little-uh a little more about. Uh we've been in Switzerland now for the last uh--you've been in Switzerland for a longer period than myself, but I've been struck by the fact that here in this little country of Switzerland, which is one of the small nations of the world but still one of the older democracies of the world, uh they have a very unusual type of government. And I think that it might be interesting for you to talk a little bit about that, and I'll ask you questions concerning some of the things that I've noticed and that strike me as being rather unusual about the form of government that exists in Switzerland today. So I'd like to start off by asking you about the canton system uh that exists.

[ER:] The canton system is just like our state system. It's um--[coughs] each separate canton uh has its own whole set-up, its own uh little parliament and-and uh all its cabinet, and uh they're elected every year. 'Course the thing that is distinctive, I think, about the Swiss system is the way the people have to vote on everything. That's the most distinctive thing of all. In some places, like uh the Valais where you were the other day, they sometimes vote almost every Sunday on a question. And uh it's a democracy in Switzerland--and the oldest democracy--and the women don't vote. And they don't have the vote. Um—

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well now that's a very interesting point. Here is a country in Europe which is supposedly one of the most progressive and most uh forward-looking countries in all of Europe, and in fact in the world, and yet they uh don't have equal rights for women.

[ER:] Well even the women who uh say--there are two parties: the women who want the vote, the women who don't want the vote, as is always the case. But—

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well you don't mean there are two parties, because the women who don't have the votes, they have no party anyway.

[ER:] No, no, they're not a party, but I mean there are two groups [Elliott Roosevelt: Two groups.] in the country. But uh even those who want the vote will tell you--oh that if it was put to the vote, the majority would vote against giving it to the women.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] You mean the majority of the women would vote against it?

[ER:] Of the women.

[ER:] And they give me the reason; the reason is excellent, I think. They say our men like to eat, and the voting is always on Sundays, and we couldn't possibly give them the meal they like to have on Sundays and vote.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well now that raises a very interesting point, because we had a guest uh the other day uh who uh complained rather bitterly on this uh--a lady who has been an old friend of our family's for a long time, Mademoiselle [unclear term -- could be "Tiel"]. And uh she said, "Well, I pay taxes just the same as all the men on what income I have, and I get no opportunity to vote on what laws will be passed and what taxes will be placed on me."

[ER:] Well she-she feels strongly, and there are quite a number of women who feel strongly about the um injustice of not allowing to the-the women to vote. But both--practically all the-um, all the women I think [Elliott Roosevelt: Well in other words --] would acknowledge that the majority [Elliott Roosevelt: Of the women --] might still vote against giving the women the vote.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] In other words in Switzerland the women control their husbands so they control the vote that way. Is that right?

[ER:] That's what they say [Elliott Roosevelt laughs] and that of course is what uh-that of course is what they always used to say uh in all countries before women had the vote. That's an old argument; I've heard it many years.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, therefore we can chalk up Switzerland as being maybe just a little bit behind on equal rights for women, uh a little behind other countries.

[ER:] Well, Switzerland of course as you know, has one um fetish, that's its neutrality, and it has never joined the United Nations. If it had, it would come under the United Nations--uh, it would have--it might be asked to ratify by the uh Charter of Human Rights and uh that I think will have a clause which uh in more legal wording [Elliott Roosevelt: Guarantees.] guarantees equal rights for women.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Uh-huh, so -- [ER: Now of course uh -- they will never do it!] Maybe that's one reason they're not going to join the UN! [ER and Elliott Roosevelt laugh] Well now, there's another interesting factor about the government of Switzerland that I'd like to go into, and that is the question of foreign relations. For the very simple reason that alm-almost the entire method of governing in Switzerland is completely divided right down into the cantons uh themselves so that uh the uh central body or federal government as we would call it has practically no powers at all. They don't uh-they don't pass any taxes, they don't do anything of--uh individually, it's the canton operations themselves that govern the country. Now what do they do about the establishing of foreign policy? Do the cantons have foreign ministers who uh get together?

[ER:] I don't think so. I think that's in the federal government, but of course the um--all the heads of the different cantons um are uh--though-though everybody seems, as far as I can find out, everybody's elected on the year-by-year basis.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well how do they get anything done on--[ER: The president]--if they're only in for one year?

[ER:] Well now, you never-you never--I don't believe anyone can tell you the name of-of a president of Switzerland. And one reason is that he um -- [Elliott Roosevelt: Keeps rotating out of office.] Keeps rotat--well it goes from canton to canton, do you see? It's the head of a-of a new canton every year, and they sort of try to balance so that they never give it to uh--well, the uh religious question comes in. There are some cantons which are largely [Elliott Roosevelt: Catholic] Catholic and others which are largely Protestant. So they try to keep that balance all the time, do you see? And keep moving it around. And--[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well what-what I'm-what I'm interested in—

[ER:] But when it comes to foreign relations, I think it's pretty well established um that the one important point is to preserve Switzerland's liberty--eh, and her neutrality. And that all the foreign policy, no matter who was uh--at what party was actually in greater numbers uh would go on exactly the same because those are the cardinal points.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well what interests me though is that in the cantons they are run by a uh consultative body that meets, uh it's really a-a body of ministers who are elected in each uh canton. And uh-uh they seem to be elected year in and year out, it's almost the same body, and where they-they get together and they rotate the presidency of the canton around amongst themselves so that uh everybody gets a whack at being head of the canton. I imagine in that way practically everybody gets a chance at being president of Switzerland eventually. [ER: That's it.] But it's the same little group that run the-the government of Switzerland uh over a long period of time. There don't seem to be very many changes in the body.

[ER:] No, but as you see it doesn't matter so much, because everything has to be voted on by the people, it's quite different from other places. It's voted on right then and there by the people.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] I think that's a very interesting fact that uh they do have so many plebiscites. Uh it's like uh all voting—

[ER:] You can't build a road--you can't build a road [Elliott Roosevelt: Without having an election.] without having the people vote on it.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well I think that uh--that would be like saying that we were having a constitutional amendment uh on practically every law that we passed. And uh when we had a budget presented by the president uh that all the people would get out and vote as to whether to accept the budget or not. I think on that basis probably the United States would never spend a dime.

[ER:] Well you know-you know they tried to put in uh--one of the things that is most expensive in Switzerland, as you know, is uh heat, coal, and oil. And uh I suppose with very improved conditions, since they have an enormous amount of water power, uh something might be done to lower the price of electricity. But uh I was talking to someone the other day and they planned a dam in one place and one village would have had to be [Elliott Roosevelt: Moved.] uh moved to another place, and they refused to be moved, and they were not able to build the dam! And uh yet that's uh--that's the way they voted and there was nothing to be done about it.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] So they have to find a spot where you don't have to move a village, which would be practically impossible in Switzerland.

[Laughter in the background]

[ER:] Well it's-it's very interesting because of course they have this water power, which is a tremendous thing. One other thing I'd like to speak about and that is their-their system, you know, of not having--they tell you they're not a military people but that every man is a soldier. Now, they don't support an army, but every single citizen, and many of the women are in the army. And I think that is really uh an astonishingly extraordinary way to do it.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] In fact in a population of a little over four and a half million people, there are seven hundred and fifty thousand men who can be counted upon within one hour's time to be completely mobilized.

[ER:] Yes, and they all keep their uh arms in their houses, plus the ammunition, and never use them except in the ways that they're supposed to use them. And uh I'd like to go even further, I think that's a most astounding fact.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well that citizens' army is one that I think uh could bear a great deal of attention and study on the part of the United States from the standpoint of building a really, truly strong defensive force in addition to our uh armies and our uh military power that we use in other countries. And on that note, I think we have to bring this part of our broadcast to a close and pass on to another part. And after our announcer has had his say, we'll come back to our uh interview of today. (12:48)

[Break]

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Again, from the Palais des Nation-uh Nations in Geneva, uh Switzerland, Mrs. Roosevelt will present a distinguished guest to tell us about the education system in Switzerland, and of great interest, the reasons behind Switzerland's neutrality. But I will let Mrs. Roosevelt tell you more about her guest. Mother, will you take over?

[ER:] Very gladly, Elliott. My guest today is Professor William E. Rappard, director of the Institut Universitaire de Hautes Etudes Internationales which would correspond in the United States to post-graduate studies. He is also a specialist in matters of neutrality and international law. It gives me great pleasure to present to you a gentleman who knows the United States well and Harvard University well, Professor William E. Rappard.

[William E. Rappard:] Well Mrs. Roosevelt, I don't know whether I'm speaking to you or to your innumerable hearers abroad, but I appreciate the honor and the privilege of being able to be here with you. And I'm entirely at your disposal for any information which you might like to inquire about concerning either of the two subjects which you've announced.

[ER:] Thank you very much, Professor Rappard. Well first of all, I think it would be of interest to our listeners to hear from you something about the really fine educational facilities there are in Switzerland, the number of universities and schools and what they offer.

[William E. Rappard:] Well it's not for me to brag about universities in Switzerland. Uh but uh one objective fact about them is that they are so numerous. Uh Switzerland is a very small country, four and a half million inhabitants, and we have at least seven universities. I say at least because there are some commercial high schools, and business--studies of business administration which consider themselves

universities, and which are not always recognized as such by the traditional uh institutions. That fact is due I think to uh--on the one hand to the very great curiosity of the Swiss, they've always been interested in ideas and in science and arts. Uh their country's so poor that they have to make the most of the natural facilities, and that's possible only through the application of science to economic and social life. But it's also due to a factor which you will very well understand in America. Uh the center of our national life is in the cantons, which you would call the states. The cantons, being the centers of uh the intellectual life in Switzerland--much more than the confederation--each one of the larger cantons wishes to have its university. The oldest university is that of Basel which goes back to the end of the Middle Ages to the time of uh Erasmus. And then the universities of Lausanne and Geneva were distinctly the product of the Reformation; they were introduced under the immediate influence of Calvin in the middle of the sixteenth century. Then the larger cities of Zurich and Bern who--which had had certain institutions of higher learning created their universities in the thirties of the last century. They're the youngest uh with Fribourg and Neuchâtel and their smaller institutions. The reasons why Switzerland has so many universities is not only on account of the generally widespread curiosity of the Swiss people, but also on account of this factor of national cantonal pride. Uh—

[ER:] Well that, well that I understand, because that's like the states.

[William E. Rappard:] Oh yes, there are so many analogies. It's--Switzerland is a--is a microcosm of the United States in many ways.

[ER:] But then you have also a great many very good uh schools here. I mean schools before--[William E. Rappard: Secondary schools.]--pre-university schools. Yes.

[William E. Rappard:] Yes, that's an old tradition. We are a-a race of schoolteachers and of-and of preceptors. It's played quite a part in the history of Switzerland, and in fact of Europe. I mean, so many sovereigns have been--have been educated by Swiss men or-or women.

[ER:] That's interesting. Well now, um how do you think that your universities and institutes here um differ from those in the United States; because you have experience of both, what would you say were the distinguishing features?

[William E. Rappard:] Well the first distinguishing feature is that we have not, in Switzerland, nor in Europe--on the continent of Europe, anything that corresponds to the division between undergraduates and graduates. Our students enter the university at the average age of nineteen. And enter what we call a faculty which is a professional school, whether it be of law, of medicine, of letters, of philosophy, of theology. So we have nothing that corresponds to undergraduate courses.

[ER:] Well now do you cover that in um in schools then?

[William E. Rappard:] Yes, our schools, what we call our secondary schools, uh I think are prolonged rather further than yours. Your average age of entrance into college is about seventeen, and ours is nineteen--[ER: Yes seventeen, eighteen.] seventeen, eighteen. We usually consider that uh your ABs come here and are on the level of our second-year students. And uh our students, when they enter, would be about ready for the junior year in-in American colleges. [ER: Oh, I see.] That's one great difference. Now, another difference that is doubtless more-more striking and uh more impressive for the students themselves, that is that your universities--or even the largest of them, and especially the smaller ones--are uh social groups, families. Uh the student is not only uh a person to be lectured at and uh discussed with, uh--he is a member of a community. There's nothing like that uh, our students uh are lodged all over town, they eat together or separately, and uh the university authorities feel no responsibility for their general uh life. Our universities are--are much more multitudinous in that sense.

[ER:] Well in a way then, uh you expect your students to be more mature than we do uh-than we expect ours.

[William E. Rappard:] Yes, uh certainly more mature than the undergraduates?

[ER:] Yes.

[William E. Rappard:] Now if you take the graduates in America, of course they are a very mature group and they uh-they would object to being too much interfered with.

[ER:] But that's very interesting uh that it is that way. Do you have many students from the United States that enter the universities in Switzerland?

[William E. Rappard:] A great many, well a great many relatively. I don't think that we can pride ourselves on the fact that it is due to the attractions we offer. I think it's--uh the G.I. Bill has been responsible for the influx of a great number of students. A very much larger than we've ever had before. And uh they're not all scholars, of course, but I think that they all make the most of their stay here. They see something of Europe and of the world, and we're very happy to have them.

[ER:] You make uh no discrimination, do you, in your universities? I ask that because I remember um when I was here in '47 I happened to see a young colored um student from America who was taking medicine.

[William E. Rappard:] Oh yes, we have a great many. In fact if you came uh to the university, where everyone would be delighted to welcome you, you'd find yourself in a very international company.

[ER:] Well I have been in-in the university here. [William E. Rappard: Oh, I remember.] You remember? [laughs]

[William E. Rappard:] Yes, it was very successful. I remember you spoke first in French and then in English, which I think is more than any other American has ever done in Switzerland.

[ER:] Oh! [laughs] Really? I might --

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Isn't it true that a great many uh people from the Far East and the Middle East of the leaders in those sections of the world have received their education uh in uh Switzerland?

[William E. Rappard:] Yes, we have a good many, and I think for rather obvious reasons. Uh they might be more attracted by London or Paris, but all these nations as you know are uh very proud, very jealous of their independence. They feel that they have nothing to fear from Swiss imperialism whereas they don't feel quite at their ease in Paris and in London since this great wave of nationalism has come over these countries. Right. Mm.

[ER:] Has-has come all through. Yes. That's quite true. I hadn't thought about that but that is [William E. Rappard: Oh it's very important.] a very good reason. Well now, what specific courses do you offer here that you think are better than those offered in universities in the United States?

[William E. Rappard:] Oh, I-I wouldn't say that our courses are better uh in any respect because I have the highest regard for the best American universities. As I always tell my Swiss friends, everything you say about America is true. If you say that America has the poorest universities in the world, well you could get some--[ER: You could find them.]--find some proof. [ER: Yes.] But if you tell them they have the best, you're-you're [ER: Also find --] just as near the truth. So that I don't think we have anything that

uh can compare with the best, nor have we anything to-uh to uh be proud of in the way of individual specialists. We've had a great many distinguished American scholars with us; just this week Mr. Conley first lectured five-five days in succession at our institute, and we're always delighted to have them. Now if you-you may then ask, "Well then why should American students uh leave America to come to what is no better, what is--than what is offered them at home?" I think in the matter of international studies, and my institution is devoted exclusively to the study of relations between nations, the one advantage we have is that we're not under the preponderant influence of any one great power. Your country is so important in the world--in fact uh, in speech and even in writing people are constantly confusing the United States and the United Nations. Well no one would be exposed to that danger in Switzerland. [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] So that uh the--the mind is freer, you're perhaps in a better position to take the point of view of the various countries in turn because you are not under the pressure of public opinion that is so--so decisive in America. (23:41)

[ER:] Well I-I hadn't thought of that but I think that is uh a very-a very real thing. And I notice it in some of the students that have come over here. Uh I was talking to some of the Smith College um young, junior year students who were here.

[William E. Rappard:] If I may interrupt you there, there's something will amuse you of the Smith College girls. We're very glad to have them here and I'm always interested in knowing why they come. And towards the end of their stay, I like them to tell me uh their impressions. And I always urge them to be critical, there's no point in getting the compliments that politeness inspires. And one of them said to me a thing that is extraordinarily enlightening. She said, "Well, if you want a reason of some disappointments, on the whole we're very happy here, but uh when we compare notes with our friends who are in Paris or in London, we think Switzerland--Geneva--is not different enough." It's extraordinarily enlightening. [Elliott Roosevelt: Ohh. That's very interesting.] And uh that's true, I mean Switzerland is certainly the most Americanized country of Europe [Elliott Roosevelt: Yes.] and Americans feel at home here as we feel at home in America. That's not accidental.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Mother, do you mind if I interrupt this very interesting uh interview with Professor Rappard for just a moment so that we can hear from our announcer, and then we'll start in again?

[ER:] [unclear]

[Break 25:03-25:08]

[Elliott Roosevelt:] And now Mother, I'd like for you to return very quickly to your interview with Professor Rappard because I'm very much interested in uh going on beyond the educational features of this talk, onto how Switzerland really has maintained her neutrality all these many hundreds and hundreds of years.

[ER:] Well now just wait one minute because I do want to find out something that I'm sure will be interested--interesting to such young people as are coming over uh or are thinking of coming to different countries, [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] and Switzerland among others. I'd like to know whether the basic education, which most Americans receive, is adequate to continue their studies here without, one might say, a refresher or a booster course of some kind. Because I had a young uh--young man the other day here who is now a reporter--he's an American but he's a reporter on an English news service--tell me that he had found his education uh, when he first came over here to study, was lacking in many ways.

[William E. Rappard:] Well I think that's always the experience of people who change from one university or one country or another. Uh they may--they are usually superior in some branches, but they are less well prepared in others. And I always advise American students who come here, especially the

Smith girls for instance, uh to bring with them if possible one or two of their instructors from home who can bridge the gap. Uh they attend the courses here and they interpret them to students who perhaps are not always completely prepared to understand them. Not only the language difficulty, but also the-the general method of-of instruction and of research. So—

[ER:] The way you teach it is different you mean?

[William E. Rappard:] The way we--the way we teach, the way we don't take as much--we-we take more for granted perhaps in our students than the average uh American [unclear]—

[ER:] Don't you think that it's more a general education that you take for granted, more general information?

[William E. Rappard:] Possibly, yes.

[ER:] General background?

[William E. Rappard:] You know, I'm afraid that were not as conscious of the students' needs as your American university professors are. Uh it was once said with a great deal of exaggeration that in America the professor--universities are there for the students, and in Europe they're there for the professors. [Elliott Roosevelt and ER laugh] That eh--this is slander. But uh there's some truth in it. A university--a European professor is proud of his writings. He's proud of his research.

[ER:] Well you have to be a--you have to write books now in America. Hah!

[William E. Rappard:] Oh yes. But you write a great many more textbooks than we do. It's another attitude which is uh-which is-which has its advantages, of course, for research because if you're not overloaded with programs and quizzes and tests, your mind is freer. But I'm afraid that sometimes the students eh don't get as much out of the immediate teaching as they would if we had that other point of view. There are compensating advantages, I mean—

[ER:] I remember my one evening at The University of Geneva and meeting afterwards at your house. Uh some of the professors who had been there and who said um they thought I was very brave because I let everybody ask me questions.

[William E. Rappard:] Oh yes, and I remember the questions they asked you. You were speaking of the rights of man which immediately elicited questions, both from the--from the Jews on the one hand and the Arabs on the other, who wondered how you were going to square the problems. [Elliott Roosevelt and ER laugh] You did it most tactfully.

[ER:] Mm, thank you. Well now I'll-I'll come back to what Elliott really was interested in. Uh to go from--now to go from your one position as director of an outstanding university to that of your being an expert on neutrality [William E. Rappard: Oh my.] and international law. [William E. Rappard: I don't feel [unclear, could be "I know about that"].] I think very few persons in the United States have ever understood actually why the Swiss have always remained neutral. Could you give us some of the history backing this?

[William E. Rappard:] Oh well I'd be delighted, because if you'd asked me what I'd like to speak about I-I would have chosen that subject. Because I feel that in a country that has had a long tradition of neutrality like the United States, and that has felt obliged to abandon it, there is less understanding about the necessity of Swiss neutrality than there would be in countries that have never practiced it.

Switzerland, if you look at the map, is just a dot. Switzerland is a small state surrounded by great powers. Furthermore, it had been--and it always is--on the road between Vienna and Paris, the two great belligerent powers ever since the fifteenth century. At that time, for Switzerland, it was a question of being neutral or not being at all. Because if Switzerland had taken sides with the empire against France, or with France against the empire, one thing is certain is that there would have been no more Switzerland. So that--that was the foundation of the--of neutrality before the Reformation. During the Reformation it became worse. Half Switzerland is Protestant, the other half is Catholic. Our neighbors, who are also either Catholic or Protestant, were constantly urging us to take sides with them. And the Catholics in Switzerland and the Protestants in Switzerland were always tempted to seek support from their Catholic or Protestant neighbors without. Well, if they had abandoned themselves to that temptation or if they'd given way to those solicitations, there would have been no more Switzerland. It's--it's not a matter of speculation, it's a matter of obvious fact. Supposing that the Swiss Protestants had taken sides with German and French Protestants, well the--the Swiss Catholics would have taken sides with their enemies and there would have been no more Switzerland. Uh it's a miracle that Switzerland survived and it's a miracle due to her neutrality. It's not a matter of taste or a matter of preference; it's a matter of absolute necessity. You realize how, for instance, in the Thirty Years War, which was waged all around Switzerland, the passions ran extremely high in Switzerland as without. And if it hadn't been ingrained in the people already in the seventeenth century that they must be neutral and Swiss, or not neutral and cease to be Swiss. That's why neutrality, which is not a very pleasing notion, is uh an element of our patriotism. We constantly associate the ideas of neutrality and independence. But we don't make a rule of it, it's because we're a very small country and surrounded by great countries. But I wish to add, since you give me this opportunity, that it's not a neutrality of indifference. The passions as you would have realized here run as high as everywhere else. But uh we feel that we are not abandoning any values by adopting this position of neutrality. On the one hand I would be glad for the safety of Western Europe if the whole front was as well-armed as it is in the Swiss frontier. Uh so—

[ER:] That interests me enormously because you have this really very large uh standing army for a little country.

[William E. Rappard:] Well standing army is not the term, because [ER: No.] there are no professional soldiers, you see? But everyone-

[ER:] Everyone is a soldier?

[William E. Rappard:] Everyone is a soldier and not-not even excluding women. During the war--[Elliott Roosevelt: The whole Swiss population in reality.]--The whole Swiss population. During the last war the population of less than four and a half million mobilized eight hundred thousand men. And women. And uh everyone has his gun at home, and everyone is prepared to run--to rush to the frontier.

[ER:] That is one of the most interesting things. You not only give them their equipment, but you give them ammunition and they keep it at home and don't use it in any way they're not supposed to use it.

[William E. Rappard:] Yes well there were--you see that goes back so many centuries. I've been asked by Americans who are now studying the problems of militarizing the United States how you can do that. And I'm ready to say everything I know about the Swiss customs, but I don't venture to give any advice. Firstly, we have no very large cities as you know. And uh the risks involved in arming the population are much greater in large cities--especially with ill-assimilated elements in the population--than in the country. And uh then it's a small country, and everybody watches everyone else. There's no danger of any subversive tendencies.

[ER:] But you even do it with--with the children. Now someone told me, I don't know if I'm right, the other day that your little boys of thirteen and fifteen have rifles--loaded rifles--and Saturdays they go out

for rifle practice. But they never touch those rifles. Why I would never-no more dare trust a little thirteen year old never to trust a never to touch a rifle that was in his drawer! [laughs]

[William E. Rappard:] Well frankly I wouldn't either. I-I've had children, I now have grandchildren none of them had rifles.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] In other words, Professor, what you feel is that this ingrained neutrality and also this ability to make a nation, a complete nation such as yours, uh practically uh to a man trained in-in uh self-defense is something that you think would be rather difficult unless you had centuries to accomplish it as the Swiss nation has.

[William E. Rappard:] There are great problems in America and I realize the importance of this question because you are, at least as much as we are, hostile to uh to militarism. And I've had Americans ask me, "But aren't you terribly militaristic?" I say, "Well I think the only way of avoiding militarism in a democracy is to make it a people's army." Because otherwise you have a caste and you have a class and a professional body of soldiers who are always a threat to a democratic nation whereas if everyone is in the army there isn't--there can be no real militarism.

[ER:] I-I'm so glad that you made that statement because we've come to the end of our time, but I think that will comfort a great many people who are worried about having to have universal military training. And now I want to thank you so much and say I wish we could go on longer.

[William E. Rappard:] Well I wish so too, and I'm very much indebted to you Mrs. Roosevelt, for this very great privilege.

[Break 35:15-35:24]

[ER:] The child who loses his mother in a crowd is a pretty unhappy youngster, as you know. But what about the child who suddenly loses both parents forever? The orphan. What can he do? That's the plight of thousands of children in Korea today, orphaned war babies cold and hungry. They need your help through CARE. CARE for Korea quickly turns your ten dollars into a package of warm clothing or of nourishing food for these little refugees. So contribute today to CARE for Korea. Twenty Broad St. New York, or your local CARE office.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] This is Elliott Roosevelt speaking and reminding you that you've been listening to the Eleanor Roosevelt Program which comes to you each Monday through Friday at this same time. Today's program was recorded in Switzerland and we wish to thank the Swiss broadcasting system for making their facilities available to us and also Swissair for transporting the recordings.

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Transcribed from holdings at Franklin D. Roosevelt Library (FDRL)  
File(s): 72-30(161)

Transcription: Emily Whaley  
First edit: Jay Fondin  
Final edit: Christopher Brick