

THE ELEANOR ROOSEVELT PROGRAM

January 1, 1951

Description: In the New Years Day episode, ER and her guests read messages of peace. Her guests are: Ambassador Hernan Santa Cruz of Chile, French Premier René Plevin, Sir Benegal Rau of India, Ambassador Abba Eban of Israel, General Carlos Romulo of the Philippines and Sir Gladwyn Jebb of Great Britain. In the final segment, ER and Elliott Roosevelt respond to a listener's question about why United Nations forces fighting in Korea were disproportionately comprised of American troops.

Participants: ER, Elliot Roosevelt, Amb. Herman Santa Cruz, Premier Renée Plevin, Sir Benegal Rau, Amb. Aubrey [Abba] Eban, General Carlos Romulo, Sir Gladwyn Jebb.

(Pause from 0:00 to 0:06)

[ER:] This is Eleanor Roosevelt speaking and welcoming you to my program this New Year's Day 1951. Today I have some very important messages for you from some of the great leaders of the world, but before introduce them to you Elliott has a few words for you.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Thank you, Mother. I just want to say that today the sponsors who make this program possible have asked that I do not use their allotted time to tell you about their products. Instead they have asked that on their behalf I extend to our listeners their heartiest good wishes for the New Year, with the hope that it will bring peace to the world and happiness to every individual. This mess-uh message comes from the makers of Acousticon Hearing Aids, Bobbi Pin-Curl Home Wave, Broadcast Brand Corned Beef Hash, Emerson radio and television sets, Flamingo Frozen Orange Juice and Grape Juice, Golden Mix for Griddle Cakes and Waffles, Manischewitz's Chicken Soups, McKettrick Dresses, Myer 1890 Dated Beverages, ReaLemon Brand Lemon Juice, Sitrue Tissues, and Youngstown Jet-Tower Dish Washers. And now before I turn the program back to Mother, I want to remind you that this is the Eleanor Roosevelt Program as recorded from Mrs. Roosevelt's living room at the Park Sheraton Hotel in New York City. And here is Mrs. Roosevelt. (1:42)

[ER:] One of the greatest hopes for the future lies in our faith in those men in world affairs who are the shapers of the world's destiny. Faith that their judgment and knowledge can lead to a peaceful settlement of all world disputes and hatreds, so today I've asked some of these leaders to express their thoughts and hopes for 1951, their beliefs that we can be a world at peace. These eminent gentlemen represent worldwide opinion, coming as they do from different parts of the globe. The Good Neighbor policy has developed increasing mutual respect and friendship among the peoples of North and South America. As we start a new year which promises to be a most critical one in the history of civilization, the bond between the nations of these two continents has an even greater significance than ever before. I should not want to attempt to single out any one of our Latin American neighbors but I do think that there are particularly strong ties between the United States and Chile based on sound principles. Both countries have developed the institutions of democracy to a high degree. I have been pleased to note that in recent years the women of Chile have become very active in politics. There are now many Chilean women who hold positions of responsibility in determining both internal and foreign policy. I've made many Chilean friends at the United Nations, and I am very happy that Chile's permanent representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Herman Santa Cruz, has joined me today to deliver a special New Year's Day message, Ambassador Santa Cruz. (3:45)

[Herman Santa Cruz:] In this moment of anxiety caused by the fear of a new war, millions of human beings look to the United Nations. They wonder whether the world organization, which was established to give the world security and to give men prosperity, peace, well-being, and human dignity, has been only the dream of visionaries which has scrambled a detach of reality in the brief space of five years. After four years of daily contact with the various activities carried on by the United Nations, and having lived through its moments of hope, disappointment, realization, and patient long-term building, I still hold an unbroken faith in the world organization and the confidence that it will be able to prevent total war. The United Nations has succeeded in preventing all small and large conflicts where the Soviet Union was not directly and immediately interested. It has helped new nations to be born, and it is preparing other peoples for independent life. It has given all human beings the charter of their fundamental rights and liberties for which they may and should legitimately fight. It has led the foundation of the most gigantic enterprise so far known to study and solve with the aid of everyone, the economic, social, and cultural problems of the world. And what is perhaps more important, it has sown the seed of the necessity of active international cooperation for all activities of common interest in the minds of hundreds of statesmen of all countries. All this has been accomplished in the midst of a great difficulties, for in the time the United Nation has existed factors of unequalled importance have arisen or have become more acute. Thus, millions of human beings have become conscious of the rights and potentialities for a better life.

Entire nations are claiming a higher standard of living, political liberty, sovereignty, economic security, and want to have a voice in the settlement of international affairs. Two great nations have emerged from the war with the power hereto unknown in history, replacing former partners of the balance of world power. And one of them, the Soviet Union, has from the very beginning betrayed the spirit and the letter of the San Francisco Charter. Building a policy of world domination on four fundamental pillars: the isolation and subjugation of its own people, a tremendous military force, ignoring the admittedly peace-loving feeling of the rest of the world, and the methodical and scientific exploitation of the rightful de-desires for independence, liberty, economic security, and the life of human dignity of the poor nations and of millions of poor human beings. The United Nations can keep the peace, but only if it - if it does not forget the existence of any of these factors and if its members act completely united to attack them simultaneously and effectively: united to correct the violations of individual rights and liberties, united to develop the econom-the economy of the weaker nation, to fight sickness and scourge, to bring education and culture to all human beings, and united to put an end to political or economic exploitation of nations.

When the common man of the peace-loving nations is convinced that the great majority of the members of the United Nations, especially the most powerful ones, sincerely think that it is a great common undertaking to which every one for the sake of self-preservation must contribute, in accordance with the sound resources and potentialities, then it will be very easy to halt degradation and there will be a complete union of governments and peoples to combat it. The United Nations will thus have given a positive direction to its work against which deception, confusion, and the weapons of propaganda will not prevail. In the second half of the twentieth century, which began a few hours ago, there are no more material or moral islands. They have been overcome by technology, by aviation, by radio, and by man's control over atomic energy. There can be only one peaceful world, as there can only be one world for all. Every position that is surrendered or lost is a position to be reconquered. And this applies to miles of territory as well as to the smallest particle in the minds of men, which is where the decisive battle is being fought today. Entering upon the threshold of a new year is always, all over the world, a moment of hopeful longing for better days, but man has never obtained anything of real world without having to fight hard to obtain it. The United Nations offers us the only effective way for turning this collective longing into a reality. Let us fight with determination under its banners to defeat degradation and to defeat misery, and perhaps our children will be able to live a life of security and dignity in a peaceful and prosperous world.

[ER:] Thank you, Ambassador Santa Cruz. Next the country of France is represented. The long and continuing friendship between the United States and France is a tradition of which both our countries

nations are justly proud. It is based on a common understanding by two peoples who have cherished the institutions of freedom and democracy, and have demonstrated their ability to fight to protect them both at home and abroad when necessary. The dawn of a new year once again finds France and the United States struggling towards common goal. In the Far East, where Communist aggression has caused fighting to break out in Korea and in Indochina, we now find both French and American troops are together in bitter combat resisting this aggression. The Premier of France, Monsieur René Pleven, has in recent months been piloting his country toward a strengthened position, both in the Far East and on their home continent of Europe. It has not been an easy course to steer but he has managed it with great skill and integrity. I know we shall all be interested to hear the special message which he recorded from Paris for this program. It is a great honor to introduce the Premier of France, Monsieur René Pleven. (11:13)

[René Pleven:] I first want to express my thanks to Mrs. Roosevelt for giving me the opportunity to associate France and her people through this Christmas message. A few years only after the last war, the peace of the world is again threatened by forces of aggression. Brave men of many nations, and particularly from the United States, are now fighting them in Korea, and Frenchmen are also fighting a hard war in Indochina for the same ideal of freedom. On this day of Christmas, the thoughts of the people of the United States and of France will go to their soldiers in the Far East. After the ordeal of a war, whose destructions are still apparent all over France and Europe, it is hard to be faced with a new challenge, not only to peace but to our common ideal of Christian civilization. But our duty is to face it. Once more the American and the French people are united in the defense of peace and freedom. And in this Christmas celebration, they realize more acutely than ever that the hope of the world rests in this alliance of all peace-loving people, just as they begin to arm themselves against any encroachment on their freedom then to spare no effort to protect the world against a new war. Let this be our common resolution on this eve of a new year, where we shall be faced by great difficulties, where we shall have to make painful efforts, but which if all free people work closely together will bring with them the power to resist any aggression and the hope to deter any would-be aggressor.

[ER:] That was Premier René Pleven who recorded his message from Paris on Christmas Day. Next we go to India, which is a nation that only very recently achieved her independence, and it is important to remember that although the struggle was often bitter, the leaders of the Indian peoples consistently insisted on pursuing their goal through peaceful means. And it is also important to note that these methods finally met with success. I'm sure that in generations to come, historians will tell us that India produced some of the great political philosophers and active statesmen of our time. Sir Benegal Rau, permanent delegate to the United Nations from India, falls under both of these classifications. He is a man of infinite patience and possesses a degree of optimism in the ultimate triumph of peaceful methods that is at once amazing and encouraging to many of us in the Western world. His attempt to negotiate a United Nations ceasefire order in the hostilities in Korea demonstrated his courage, brilliance, and faith. The fact that he was unable to succeed at this time has not deterred the ever-continuing endeavor of this man and his people. He is a noble example for all of us who have hopes for peace and the success of the United Nations. Sir Benegal Rau will now give to all of us his personal message of hopes and wishes for the New Year. (15:22)

(Break 15:22 to 15:35)

[Sir Benegal Rau:] Thank you, Mrs. Roosevelt. Among the many messages of the season I have received during the past few days is one from a woman of seventy-two asking for an assurance that we in the United Nations shall work for peace, and hoping prayerfully that our efforts will succeed. India gladly gives that assurance and joins in that hope. But there are many who doubt whether the hope will be fulfilled. To these in particular, I address myself now. We are all anxious and justly anxious about the events in Korea. We fear that they may lead to another world war, and anxiety and fear often paralyze action. Well the first thing to remember is that war even according to the worst pessimists is not

inevitable. But it's equally important to remember that war will not prevent itself, or putting it the other way around, peace will not maintain itself. Each one of us has to make a positive effort to maintain peace. And just as in a time of war, no sacrifice is counted too great to win it, so in time of peace no sacrifice should be counted too great to maintain it on an honorable terms. That is the spirit in which all of us in the United Nations are trying to work. Whether we succeed or not is in the lap of the gods, but we are going to make every effort possible for the true failure is the failure to try. The effort has however to be made not only inside the United Nations but also outside. And the best message I can think of today is that each one of us, in his or her own sphere, should do something positive in aid of peace every day if only by spreading the idea that war can be prevented. (17:54)

[ER:] Thank you very much, sir, and now we go to another country. The state of Israel is one of the youngest and smallest in the family of nations but already their voice is being heard and respected. They achieved independence against apparently overwhelming odds, but since the establishment of their statehood they have waged an even more staggering economic battle. On the one hand, Israel has been laboring to shape a homeland. On the other hand, she has continued to welcome impoverished and oppressed fellow Jews from all over Europe and the Middle East so that her resources have been drained beyond imagination. The brave pioneering people of Israel have produced some vigorous and youthful leaders whose courage and optimism is a fine example for all of us. Outstanding among these young men is the Israel representative to the United Nations and Ambassador to the United States Aubrey [Abba] Eban. I am very happy that Ambassador Eban has prepared a New Year's message for us today.
Ambassador Eban.

[Abba Eban:] Thank you, Mrs. Roosevelt. The year 1951 opens to find the world poised dangerously on the brink of war. Millions of people cast their eyes in anguish and expectancy on the United Nations, founded five years ago with its paramount purpose to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which twice in our generation had inflicted untold suffering on mankind. They pray that the United Nations may yet summon up the statesmanship and resource with which to draw us back from the golf of widening catastrophe. The certainty that the peoples of all nations desire to preserve the peace is the soundest and most steadfast basis for optimism and perseverance. If the United Nations fails to bring about a ceasefire in Korea this week, it must try again next week. If it fails then, it must embark upon a new effort the week after. The one thing we must never do is to despair or to relax our vigilance and thus open the way to drastic and fatalistic policies. Perseverance is the keynote of statesmanship especially in the most cherished of all causes, that of world peace. It is in this spirit that the state of Israel, for its part, will render its humble contribution to the preservation of world peace and the maintenance of the purposes of the Charter. We will continue to strive for four objectives: resistance to aggression, the preservation of peace, the peaceful coexistence of divergent political systems, and finally the universality of the international community. [Abba Eban clears his throat] May the message of universal brotherhood, [Abba Eban clears his throat] which Israel's prophets first bequeathed, become the common possession of all mankind and light our way towards peace and prosperity in the year ahead

[ER:] Thank you, Mr. Eban. The people of the United States have taken some justifiable pride in success of the Philippine nation. It represents more than the happy result of a promise fulfilled. It justifies our faith in democracy, our confidence that when people are given a chance to espouse the institutions of democracy under favorable circumstances that they will thrive and grow strong. Our hopes for the future of the Philippines and our continuing friendship with them are boundless. They've already proved to be valued and respected friends among the United Nations. The chairman of the Philippine delegation to the United Nations, General Carlos P. Romulo, left behind him a record of brilliant achievement during his term as president of the General Assembly. His exuberant vitality and keen appreciation of the importance of a continuing pursuit of peace through United Nations channels has given his leadership great value and significance. General Romulo we are all honored that you have come here today so that we might hear your message for 1951. (22:47)

[General Carlos Romulo:] Thank you, Mrs. Roosevelt, in the Philippines when we say, "Happy New Year," we often add "and may your work prosper." In view of the present state of the world we may amend this to say, "and may the work of peace prosper". The great overriding task of sidetracking the new threat of total war and clearing the way to the goal of international security towards which the free peoples in the United Nations are striving. 1950 was a we--year of awakening for the free world. The warning, first flashed in Greece in 1947, was spelled out in Korea in 1950. First south, then north of the 38th Parallel, the free world came face to face -- came to grips at last with the mortal peril that has hounded it since the end of the Second World War. Since the end, rather, of the fighting with Germany and Japan, for in a sense the last war never really ended, it merely turned cold. Now it is getting hot again, sending off sparks that threaten to link the local fires of conflict in Asia and Europe into a vast conflagration that might consume us all if we don't put it out before it starts. 1950 was the year in which the free world realized at last the nature and magnitude of the danger that confronts it and girded up to meet the challenge. Collective action in Korea, effective cooperation for peace through the United Nations and mighty effort already underway to master all their material and moral strength, this is the answer of the free world to the challenge of aggression. The attempt of the free nations to preserve peace will shape events during the New Year. 1951 promises to be a year of fateful decision, the year in which the issue of war or peace may be settled one way or the other. I pray that mankind's desire for peace will prevail against the evil forces driving the nations towards total war. Peace has been the primary goal of all our efforts during the past five years. Peace remains as our supreme objective in this New Year and in the years to come.

[ER:] Thank you, General Romulo. And now our final message from Great Britain. During the past generation there have been no peoples on earth who have made greater sacrifices for their ideals than the British, but what is even more important is that they have in no way sacrificed their ideals. In World War II, the British were the first to bear the brunt of attack. Since the war, drastic economic readjustments have necessitated a continuing program of rigorous austerity. At the same time, Britishers are on guard for democracy around the world. While serving at the United Nations, I've always enjoyed observing the distinguished British representative Sir Gladwyn Jebb. He has the rare ability to be able to carry on diplomatic operations with the highest degree of skill while at the same time not losing his delightful dry humor even under the most tense and trying circumstances. I'm greatly honored today to introduce to you Sir Gladwyn Jebb. (27:05)

(Break 27:05 to 27:19)

[Sir Gladwyn Jebb:] First of all, let me thank you, Mrs. Roosevelt, for giving me this opportunity of speaking to your listeners all over the world. It is indeed unhappy that on the first of January, 1951, the world should once more be in a state of uncertainty and great tension with fighting actually going on in Korea and elsewhere in the Far East. But as the clouds darken one bright fact stands out, the solidarity of the free world grows ever stronger. Today, as you know, troops of eleven nations are supporting the magnificent American troops in the United Nations' effort in Korea. Our own men, of course, were the first to arrive in support, and we now have more - we now have more than twenty thousand soldiers, sailors and airmen engaged in the Korean campaign. But that is only a small part of what my country is doing in the global struggle. In Malaya, strong British forces are aiding the Malayan people to combat communist attempts to control the country. In Hong Kong, the Middle East, and in strategic strong points like Gibraltar and Malta, many British forces are standing on guard. In Germany itself, the storm center of Europe, Britain's occupation forces, like American forces, are being strengthened. In Britain universal military service has been enforced ever since 1945 and has provided eighteen months military training for over a million young men, and now we have increased the length of military service to two years for all young men, and there are very few exemptions with us, and this in spite of the fact that never before has conscription been a peacetime feature of life in Britain. To step up Britain's striking power still further,

we are embarking on a three year defense program which is due to cost the equivalent of ten thousand million dollars. British industry enters 1951 in a healthy and vigorous state due to the tremendous re-equipment of factories in the past five years, which has been greatly helped, of course, by Marshall Aid.

And finally we in Britain know something of enemy attack in our own homeland. Our civil defense machinery has never been allowed to rust, and today more than a hundred thousand volunteers have joined the rapidly expanding rescue, fire, and first aid services. I really think that all these facts should be more generally known. Apart from our own efforts and the enormous effort, uh of course, of the United States, there are in a dark scene some gleams of light. There is, for example, the Colombo plan, drawn up by the countries of the British Commonwealth, which aims at raising the standard of life among the teeming millions in South and Southeast Asia. But the brightest feature -- surely the brightest feature, is the complete unity of purpose of the peoples of the United States of America and the United Kingdom. We know instinctively that we stand together or we fall together, and we are therefore resolved to stand together. This fact is the great hope of the future and the rock on which to build the defenses of the whole free world. As our own prime minister said in Washington the other day: "Our forces are fighting alongside yours. You may be certain that in fair or foul weather, where the Stars and Stripes fly in Korea, the British flag will fly beside them. We stand by our duty. We stand by our friends." I cannot attempt to improve on these great words of Mr. Atlee, which embody the deepest conviction of the whole people of Britain. Thank you. (31:17)

[ER:] Thank you, Sir Gladwyn. That was indeed an inspiring message.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] I'd like to interrupt here for just a few seconds to tell that you're listening to WNBC AM and FM, New York City, and this is the Eleanor Roosevelt Program, as recorded from Mrs. Roosevelt's living room at the Park Sheraton Hotel in New York City. And now here is Mrs. Roosevelt again.

[ER:] And now I recently received in the mail a question which is of interest to us all, which my son Elliott and I will discuss. Elliott will you read the question?

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Yes, Mother, I'll be very happy to: "The troops in Korea are called UN or United Nations troops. But why are they made up of more Americans than all of the other nations combined if they are UN or United Nations?"

[ER:] They are UN and they fight under the UN flag, and the reason is uh there are many different troops um there. We have a population of a hundred and seventy -- a hundred fifty [Elliott Roosevelt: A hundred fifty million.] or sixty million -- a hundred and fifty million. And [Elliott Roosevelt coughs] um we were in charge in southern Korea, uh at the -- while Russia was supposed to be in charge in northern Korea. Eh naturally we had more troops close at hand, but as a matter of fact we have not made such a uh tremendously greater contribution than in terms of population and uh, let us say, ability eh other nations have made. Australia, with a very small population, has um men both on the ground and in the air. Uh-uh even little Luxembourg in Europe, has -- I suppose the population of Luxembourg is the population of one small United States city uh, and she has sent sixty men. Now that sounds very little, but nevertheless uh it shows a willingness, because you must remember that in the last war Luxembourg was completely overrun and much was destroyed. She's come back in a way which is really very wonderful. She's practically completed her rebuilding program, and um on the whole I think that Luxembourg uh is probably the best recovered country in Europe. But when you compare its' size to that of some large nation like the United States it seems rather remarkable that they felt an obligation send any men to Korea, which is as far away [Elliott Roosevelt: Well, I--] from them as from us.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, I think one of the very good examples is tiny Thailand, or as it used to be called Siam, which sent four thousand men. And now Mrs. Roosevelt has a special message for all of the troops fighting in Korea under the flag of the United Nations. (35:02)

[ER:] I'm very glad of this opportunity to speak to the United Nations forces in Korea. I imagine there are few women who have a keener sense of the horrors of war and of all the hardships and all the horrors that you men fighting in Korea have undergone. I had the opportunity in the last war to really see first of all how men were prepared, how they took call, and then what happened after the war had passed over an area, what happened to the men when they came back in hospitals, many times what happened to them in their souls as a result of the war even when their bodies were intact. And yet, I want to say to you that I think you who are fighting on that little barren piece of land, you must sometimes wonder why you should give so much to hold it. I think you are doing something for the future of civilization and humanity that you may not even yourselves fully realize, because what you are doing is not to fight for any one nation, not to fight for any one nation's power but to fight against an aggressor, to give the evidence that all peoples believe that people have the right of self-determination and of freedom, and that whether they are small people or great people, that is their right. Now the Chinese and the USSR make a great deal of propaganda out of the fact that we, the United State primarily, uh we, and that includes all men fighting in the United Nations forces, have no right to be in Asia, that they are liberating the Koreans. That is not true. We do not intend to remain in Asia.

We were there in order to try and establish self-government for the people of an area. We hope that all the world will realize that it is only the aggression of the North Koreans, instigated by the USSR, perhaps by the Chinese communists, um that brought about this war. And I think it's perhaps possible to say that it may have been fear on the part of the Chinese Communists, that since we were approaching their borders we might mean to actually try and do them harm. That I'm sure was never in the thought of any one of the United Nations countries that are fighting together in Korea. But they did want to prove that when the United Nations decided that any part of a country had been invaded, then there was a joint effort to be made to keep that country free and to allow them at last, when peace could be restored, to set up their own government, to live their own lives. And that is still what you men are fighting for.

I know how hard it is to be away from your families, particularly at this season, and to go into another year, but there are great things to be won out of what you are doing today. If you get on with your allies, if you give to the forces of other nations that you fight with the hand of friendship that will be welding together the peoples of the United Nations and the free peoples of the world, and you will be building greater understanding when you return to your own countries. You will be able to be a nucleus, a group of men that can talk in their own countries about the fellowship in arms of men of many nations. And if you can be really friends in arms; perhaps you can also be friends in peace. Perhaps you can learn to work together, so that all the nations of the world will have a chance to build better lives for their citizens. That's the most important thing for the future. And we in the United States carry a great burden because we were fortunate in the last war not to lose our productive capacity, nor many of our homes. We have greater opportunity for help to other nations than have some of the people who suffered greatly in the last war and who are not yet completely recovered. I think I would like to say to you men who are so far away from home, and who must, at times, feel that doing something for civilization and for humanity is a pretty unsatisfactory way to look at your present sacrifices, I'd like to say to you that every one of us at home is enormously proud, wherever we live in any country, that there is such a thing as a United Nations army for the first time. That the air forces and the navy and the ground forces are United Nations forces.

That for the first time in history, it's not one nation or a group of nations fighting against another nation, but this is a very large group of united nations gathered together in the defense of an ideal, the defense of something that they wrote down in a charter, which they hoped once people accepted, would make this a better world for everybody to live in. Seems hard that we have to come to that better world through the kind of sacrifice and war that is being carried on, but we can still keep it as our objective, we can still hope that someday even with our enemies we can be friends. We can still hope for the

brotherhood of man, which this season always makes us think about. And I would like to say just a special word to my own United States compatriots that are out in Korea today. God bless you all and make you live up to the very highest of all the standards of democracy, because what you do is the example which will win the battle of democracy against communism. And now to all the troops in Korea, God bless you and may the New Year be a happier new year for you and for the world as a whole.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] You've been listening to the Eleanor Roosevelt Program which comes to you each day Monday through Friday and is recorded from Mrs. Roosevelt's living room at the Park Sheraton Hotel in New York City. (44:35)

(Break 44:35 to 44:39)

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