

THE ELEANOR ROOSEVELT PROGRAM

April 18, 1951

Description: In the opening segment, ER and Elliott Roosevelt respond to a listener's question about the Soviet Union's delegates obstructing progress in the United Nations. In the interview segment, ER and her guest John Gunther discuss his experiences in occupied Japan.

Participants: ER, Elliott Roosevelt, John Gunther

[ER:] How do you do? This is Eleanor Roosevelt speaking. I'm most happy that I'm able through the medium of radio to visit with you each day at this time, and I trust that you will feel that you are friends visiting with me right here in my living room at the Park Sheraton Hotel in New York, where you will meet my guests selected from all walks of life. Sometimes just to entertain you and sometimes to be informative and increase our knowledge. Elliott, my son, who assists me on this program, will talk to you now.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Thank you. Luckily for all of us, Mrs. Roosevelt's guest today, Mr. John Gunther, has developed a rather well-known penchant for getting inside situations and places. We're delighted that he's inside Mrs. Roosevelt's living room today, for a visit I guarantee you are all going to enjoy very much. Mrs. Roosevelt will introduce John Gunther a little later on in the program, but before Mr. Gunther's interview, we're going to discuss a letter containing a question we've all asked and frequently. As soon as we hear from the sponsors who make this recorded program possible, I'll read the letter.

(Break 1:15 to 1:19)

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Uh Mother, today I have a letter from Miriam Averbach of Cleveland, Ohio, who has written in to ask what the United Nations uh can do to circumvent the Russian delegate's absenting himself from the sessions of this august body, as he has been wont to do.

[ER:] Well, he isn't absenting himself at present. Um he—

[Elliott Roosevelt:] He hasn't absented himself since way back last uh summer, has he?

[ER:] No, he came back and has been there ever since. I think what bothered him was that um he discovered that certain things uh happened whether he was there or not, and so he decided to return.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] And uh I would say that uh the real answer to this is that he's making himself thoroughly present and uh doing all that he can to slow down any action on anything that he doesn't completely approve of.

[ER:] Yes, well we know that that is going on right this--uh during the session of the Economic and Social Council in Chile. They are trying in every way they possibly can to obstruct whatever comes out.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, now how many of the councils are actually working at the present time?

[ER:] Well, the Economic and Social Council is sitting in Chile. Um now the World Health Organization works the year round, all the specialized agencies, and the International Refugee Organizations working to come to an end. Um the World Health is situated in Geneva, I can't tell you where all of them are,

[Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] um nor can I tell you how many are in session, but they are scheduled by the Secretariat. Now, for instance, the Human Rights Commission is scheduled to meet in Geneva in the middle of April for five weeks, and uh—

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Why do you say scheduled, isn't it sure to meet then? (3:20)

[ER:] Well, it's um it is sure only that uh I have uh been a little worried--I mean it was set by the Economic and Social Council, but I was a little worried over the fact that um the Economic and Social Council being in Chile possibly and uh a number of the representatives that ordinarily represent their country on the Human Rights Commission because they are the top delegates, um might feel they couldn't be away from the central uh situation here in the United States, and uh a check was made and it was found that we would have a considerable number of new members. Now that is very difficult in something which is as technical as drawing a convention [Elliott Roosevelt coughs]uh in the Human Rights Commission -- a covenant -- and therefore I am really troubled over the thought that so many new members may mean um a good deal of difficulty in getting complete understanding of the work that is to be done. And I wondered if the Economic and Social Council might decide that it would be better to hold--to change and put somebody else in Geneva and hold this meeting in New York, but I haven't heard anything, uh any indication.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Have you had any indication that any of the uh members of the Economic and Social Council might [ER: Nobody.] take, propose that this action—

[ER:] Nobody else has spoken to me about this possible difficulty. And um I apparently am the only one that am a little bit worried, because I feel that the uh General Assembly um through Committee Three delegated a--or an almost impossible task to the Human Rights Commission for this next meeting. And uh it would take, I think, the most experienced workers who did not have to fill in much background, and I'm not at all sure that even they could do what they were told to do um in the five weeks allotted to them [Elliott Roosevelt: Yes.] so that uh--and also, if uh we do not follow uh completely the lines laid down by Committee Three, I uh feel we should have uh the most experienced and the best um representatives to explain what the commission does in the next session to the General Assembly. (6:21)

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Yes. Now, what is Committee Three, if you mind explaining that again?

[ER:] Well, Committee Three in the General Assembly session, which meets in the autumn, is the committee that deals with um social, humanitarian, and educational questions. And um that committee has always dealt with human rights. Uh it-it dealt with the um original declaration and it will now deal with the covenants as they come up.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Now, is uh Russia represented on the Human Rights Commission?

[ER:] Oh yes, Russia is represented and one other satellite.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] One other satellite. And who--which country is that, Poland?

[ER:] I don't know which it will be, it has been Ukraine.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Bielo—

[ER:] It has not only a satellite but part of a one—

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Bielorussia?

[ER:] Uh we've had Bielorussia, we have had Ukraine, we have had Poland, and Yugoslavia on, and I'm not sure whether Yugoslavia is on this year or not.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Mhm. Well now, uh when they are on, are they uh working for a covenant that uh will be impossible to get approved by our Congress?

[ER:] Most uh most of us feel that they're not working for a covenant at all, because they don't want a covenant, they don't want anything.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Do they vote uh in favor of any of these proposals?

[ER:] Rarely.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Rarely.

[ER:] Rarely.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] So that uh in actuality uh they would probably uh not take any action at all uh of expressing one way or the other—

[ER:] Well, they argue at length. They argue to get in amendments which they uh wish put in, and which would make uh-- for instance, they're against all implementation, all-all measures being in the covenant which can um oblige a nation uh or bring it to book if it doesn't live up to what it has agreed by treaty to live up to.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Would we agree to do that, [ER: Well.] to have that implementation clause?

[ER:] Well, we have to have some kind. What we'll agree to, nobody knows. But there must be something, and the suggestion as it-as it first made was simply that we set up a human rights committee uh from a panel and each nation name a certain number of people to serve, uh from which they drew um a committee, um which would serve five years. [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] And that committee's efforts, if one nation complained against another nation, would be at conciliation. Now, one of the points they've made is that it's unwise to have it just a nation complaining against another, because a friendly nation wouldn't complain, and so forth. So they want to have the right given to international organizations to complain, and a great many people want to have it given to individuals. The difficulty with doing that right off is that you have no machinery, you haven't tried it out, you don't know how to sift these uh complaints, you don't know how um how you're going to enforce--there is a provision that if you can't bring about conciliation and uh compliance then you can appeal to the uh court at the Hague for an advisory opinion on the legal aspects of the difficulty, whatever it may be. But um other people would like to have a court of human rights, Australia suggested it at the beginning set up, and all those things really have to grow, I think, and have to be tried out. Now uh that whole machinery, however, is opposed by the USSR, because its insistence is that this is a purely domestic question, must be implemented by the states themselves and no outsider has any right to say boo. (10:33)

[Elliott Roosevelt:] All right now, you stated that you thought that the uh directive through Committee Three to the Human Rights Commission as to what it was to accomplish in five weeks was a lot.

[ER:] Well, of course it's supposed to be guidance. It's not really a directive. Uh it's arguments transmitted uh for their guidance.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well , they have asked you to draw up the covenant during those five weeks, have they not?

[ER and Elliott Roosevelt overlap]

[ER:] They have asked us to draw up—

[Elliott Roosevelt:] And they have made suggestions as to how it should be—

[ER:] A first--that's it, a first covenant, and they've made suggestions um asking that we include all economic and social rights and implementation even permitting individual petitions.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, um one last question before we bring this portion of the program to an end, uh and in line with the lady's question who wrote in, uh do you feel that the Russians are contributing anything constructive whatsoever by their presence in the UN?

[ER:] Yes, yes I do. I think they um make all the rest of us thoroughly aware of our shortcomings, and that is very good for us. They never let us forget anything that we have done in our countries that um uh is not really on the highest levels of democratic ideals. They bring every failure up and recite it to you, and I think that's a real contribution because it keeps us on our toes.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] At the same time that they're doing this, of course, they're extolling themselves as being rather perfect.

[ER:] Oh yes, they're perfect. But um it's good for us to have a watchdog of that sort, and then two: it gives us a chance to uh um watch what they say and what they think.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Mhm. Well, thank you very much, and now I think it's time for a word from our announcer.

(Break 12:25 to 12:38)

[ER:] A gentleman whom I hope considers himself a good friend of mine, whom I would like to consider a good friend, is with me today, and I know he will have many interesting things to tell us. He's well known to all of you, I'm sure. It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you the noted author Mr. John Gunther.

[John Gunther:] Mrs. Roosevelt, I'm so happy to be here with you today.

[ER:] Well, I'm very glad to have you. Uh we've met at a number of places. [John Gunther: We have indeed.] The last time I was asking you about Europe, in Paris, if I remember. Now I'm going to ask you about Asia, here in New York. So what uh--I don't even know exactly how long you were away.

[John Gunther:] Well, you know my whole life, Mrs. Roosevelt, seems to be a process of going places and then coming home and writing about them. Uh um my wife and I went out to Japan last summer, uh because uh uh several people thought it might be quite interesting to do a survey of what General MacArthur had done in the five years of American occupation of Japan. Then came the Korean War, which made the whole um spectacle in the Far East much more uh pressing and intimate, dangerous. Uh from Japan we went on to Hong Kong, then India, then home around the world. (14:09)

[ER:] Well, you certainly had quite a trip. Well now, did you have an opportunity to really um judge what your-your feeling was about Japan, and what had been accomplished there?

[John Gunther:] Uh actually, we had very good luck. Uh we saw General MacArthur, for instance, for a-a long and interesting lunch, we met almost all the chief American advisors, and then we met multitudinous Japanese. Most Americans out there seldom get a chance to see Japanese, but through a variety of circumstances uh we met many of them and therefore were able to get um accounts or views of what's going on in Japan from both sides.

[ER:] Well now, I heard that that was one of the policies that I'd heard criticized, that Americans didn't get uh much chance.

[John Gunther:] Well, you know one of the things that simply astonished me on arrival was to discover that General MacArthur himself, the supreme commander, has only met to talk to in a serious way about twelve to fourteen Japanese in his whole five years there.

[ER:] But how do you—

[John Gunther:] Uh the Americans are quite completely isolated.

[ER:] But how- how do you do anything for a people when you don't uh get more knowledge than that?

[John Gunther:] That question, Mrs. Roosevelt, really drives at the root of General MacArthur's [ER: And do you cover--] extremely mysterious character

[ER:] I-I-I uh I'm interested that you say "extremely mysterious character" because I just don't understand that.

[John Gunther:] I think largely that it derives from his feeling that he should act um like an old Japanese shogun, someone who is on a pedestal, aloof, removed, superior, austere, a-a stern warrior who-who never touches things on the common level. He really is, you know, something of a Caesar. Now, very many people think that that is-is a quite good thing. Nevertheless, it did strike me profoundly. For instance uh, the MacArthurs have never had a Japanese as a guest in their embassy. Mrs. MacArthur has never met the empress or the emperor. The General has never met the empress. (16:29)

[ER:] Why how perfectly astounding. Do you tell all this in your book? Because I haven't read it yet, so I haven't got a chance to--[John Gunther laughs]

[John Gunther:] I allude to it rather-rather briefly, because I was trying more or less to discuss serious political things.

[ER:] I have-I have your book and I intend to read every word of it, but I haven't had the chance yet, and I must say this is astounding information!

[John Gunther:] Well, it's quite fascinating to go on to uh little details in the same field. For instance, when General MacArthur goes from the embassy where he lives to the Dai-ichi building where he works, he takes the trip four times a day, because he always returns for lunch home. All traffic is stopped, while his car slowly uh moves through the center of Tokyo.

[ER:] All traffic is stopped?

[John Gunther:] All traffic is stopped on that route.

[ER:] All of life stops, in other words?

[John Gunther:] On that route, all traffic is under control. Uh that again is partly to impress the Japanese, partly to show that he is a kind of modern day Augustus Emperor, and it works in that the Japanese do have the most profound respect for him. Uh they admire people who are a little bit at a distance. Um then uh well, one doesn't need to go into uh his very- very great uh other qualities. Uh-uh he is a most extraordinarily interesting person to me.

[ER:] Well, now I happen to see the gentleman who went out from our Department of Agriculture to start a reform land movement there, which was supposed to be one of the things that General MacArthur was primarily interested in. He never saw General MacArthur either, but he did do his job. I wonder if you saw anything of that sort of work. (18:32)

[John Gunther:] Yes, I-I think that um-um the MacArthur record is misunderstood here. He's such a dramatic personality, uh one thinks of him as predominantly a-a military man. What I think he will go down in history as is-is MacArthur the reformer, rather than MacArthur the-the hero. Uh he has made, in five years, one of the most uh comprehensive liberal reformations of a people and a society that's ever been attempted anywhere. He worked out what most experts would say is just about the most successful land reform in history, I should think. He uh gave labor much greater rights than it ever had before. Uh I think the Japanese constitution is the only one in the world that guarantees labor the right to collective bargaining, as a matter of organic law.

[ER:] Is labor able to--uh is labor educated enough in Japan to function?

[John Gunther:] It's getting there rather rapidly. Uh before the war, for instance, I don't believe there were more than--I'm very wary of giving figures uh-uh off the cuff, but I think that before the war there were only several hundred thousand Japanese workmen organized into unions, now there are, I believe, uh several million. There's been a great um uh [ER: Upsurge.] upsurge in the labor movement. And then--then of course, also in that constitution, he emancipated the women! Just by law, he said women are the equal of men--a somewhat dubious point in some- [John Gunther laughs] in some respects. But uh women vote in Japan now. Uh—

[ER:] Yes, and I heard they turned out in great numbers to vote.

[John Gunther:] They do, there are women officials all over uh the country. There are half a dozen uh twenty-five odd women members of the Diet, I believe.

[ER:] Well, a number have been in this country on visits whom I have met, and I must say a few of them seem to me extremely intelligent women. (20:46)

[John Gunther:] They are. The-the uh-uh Japanese women had in a way been suppressed. Uh it was almost unthinkable that a woman could walk side by side with her husband down the street.

[ER:] Oh, Mr. Gunther, don't I know that very well. A women never sat down in [John Gunther: Exactly.] the same room, practically.

[John Gunther:] And now you see them in- in midi blouses uh playing softball in all uh corner lots, there are even women traffic cops, which is unbelievable for Japan.

[ER:] Why yes, that must be -- to have to obey a woman traffic cop must be something!

[John Gunther:] Of course, the joke in Japan is that people will know that the occupation is really over when for the first time a Japanese traffic cop dares to arrest an American for a violation.

[ER:] Violation! [ER laughs] Does that mean, that little joke, that Americans really are a bit high-handed and don't pay much attention [John Gunther: I um--] to their own regulations?

[John Gunther:] I-I would answer that really we have been an extremely well-behaved occupying force. Nevertheless, it is true that uh uh criticism by Japanese of the occupation is actually illegal, not merely is frowned upon, but-but uh is not permitted. What has happened is what I'm afraid what happens in every country after a war, that the victors are inclined to form a tight little clique because they don't learn the local language, they don't uh have any opportunity for social mixing. I once went to a wonderful house in Tokyo uh which was occupied by an American Air Force general, quite properly, I mean it was paid for and all of that, and then I met a little delightful Japanese lady whom I'd never uh seen before, and I said what a nice house it was, and she said well it was her own house, but she hadn't been there for five years.

[ER:] She hadn't been there for five years, and it was her house. [John Gunther: Yes.] Well, is there the same feeling uh in Japan that I find among some of the German women that they think by the end of five years they should be back in their own houses?

[John Gunther:] They do indeed. Everybody wants the occupation to end, even General MacArthur. It's gone on too long.

[ER:] Even General MacArthur feels that way?

[John Gunther:] He does, truly. You know he has very uh fine ideas in a great many spheres. He knows that after a certain time, an occupation produces diminishing returns. That after five years, you either have to use too much police power or it gets too expensive to maintain it, and he's always said that he would get out as soon as they got a peace treaty, but uh of course the Korean War has-has interrupted, for the time being, negotiations for a peace treaty.

[ER:] Well, I judge we may someday have it, and I'm glad to hear that, and I think a lot of people will be glad to hear it. I'm sorry, Mr. Gunther, just a minute, we have to let our announcer have a word, and then we'll be right back.

[John Gunther:] Uh.

(Break 24:00 to 24:07)

[ER:] Now we can resume our talk with Mr. John Gunther, and I'm having a wonderful time in uh I'm learning a great deal about a book I'm going to enjoy. Uh now, Mr. Gunther, I asked you a lot about Japan, but suppose you tell me a little bit about other parts of your trip?

[John Gunther:] We were tremendously interested, Mrs. Roosevelt, in-in India, we had several meetings with Mr. [Jawaharlal] Nehru, the Indian prime minister. Uh the Indian position is rather misunderstood in the United States. Uh we are apt to be a little impatient with a great country that wants to be neutral in the Cold War, it's almost as if one says that one is to be neutral between right and wrong, it's a little hard for us to understand, and Mr. Nehru did his best to explain that point of view to us. Uh after all, he is an Asiatic, uh China is directly next door to him, uh almost all Indians have uh an exaggeratedly sensitive feeling about what they call white imperialism, and they think that because the British were there for a

hundred and fifty years that if we become too strong we would perhaps take the same line. Uh it's a very uncomfortable situation, but Mr. Nehru himself is a-is a magnificent human being.

[ER:] Uh I-I was impressed with Mr. Nehru. I must say there's a certain type of--well a certain kind of-of feeling among Orientals that sometimes I find a little difficult. It seems so difficult to have clear cut right and wrong.

[John Gunther:] That's so true. And Nehru himself, you know, uh is an extremely well-educated man.

[ER: Oh, highly educated.] He's-he's been the head of an independent India for only two years. He's had the most onerous problems to deal with in every field. Uh to rule a country as big as that in a constitutional democratic manner [ER: Oh and to keep--] is terrifically difficult.

[ER:] To-to-to keep all those people feeling that they have hope and are moving forward uh when you can do so little for them, uh must be one of the most difficult problems of leadership that anyone has ever faced.

[John Gunther:] And you know, Mrs. Roosevelt, uh no one who hasn't been in India can quite realize the-the uh widespreadness and depth of the poverty of those millions of people who are, for the first time in their lives, now coming up and getting a-a breath of-of free air.

[ER:] Sometimes I think it would be very good for us if we realized how close to starvation many of them live, [John Gunther: Indeed.] because while we converse at length about uh just how we will give a certain amount of wheat, uh they're pretty close to the reality of whether that wheat is going to arrive in time to keep them alive or whether they'll be dead. (27:29)

[John Gunther:] Yes, and the bill to uh-to uh send wheat to India has, I believe, been held up in Congress. I hope something will be done to-to uh unlock whatever is holding it up.

[ER:] I think it's our lack of understanding, because uh we- we get annoyed at other people. We get annoyed at Nehru because we don't understand the Oriental point of view. On the other hand, it never seems to occur to us that the Oriental point of view, which is quite familiar with being within one day of starvation, uh must find it very difficult to understand why we bicker in Congress about uh sending wheat, which we have, uh as either a loan or a gift. It just uh also must be a little difficult for them.

[John Gunther:] Yeah. And the Indians are-are a proud people. Uh they will think that we are trying to extract a political price for a humanitarian gesture. I remember something that Ernest Bevin, the former British foreign minister, told me um a year or two ago. He said, you know, British policy uh is based on a very sound principle, it is to give and keep. And there's something quite shrewd, uh almost profound about that. That uh the British gave India freedom, gave Ceylon, gave Burma, gave various other countries freedom, and as a result, they're ever so much closer, both emotionally and politically, than they ever were before.

[ER:] Oh of course, they really kept uh those countries as part of the empire. If they hadn't given their freedom, they would've never kept them as part of the empire. It was a very uh--that is a very wise and selfish way to deal, but uh but an enlightened selfishness.

[John Gunther:] I think, Mrs. Roosevelt, that-that uh history you know is on our side, and uh if this isn't too much of a paradox, our chief ally in regards to India is going to be the communists themselves. The communists are going to make so many blunders, so many mistakes, are going to overreach themselves, that sooner or later Mr. Nehru and the Indian masses, I think, will-will get completely disillusioned, [ER: Well that-that--] and it's up to us to be more generous and more wise!

[ER:] Uh I-I would agree there, but I think the disillusionment may come through China. Um because there the uh USSR system will actually be seen at work, and um uh they can compare it with what we do in the rest of the world, but we've got to really do something, we can't just talk about it. (30:22)

[John Gunther:] Most people, Mrs. Roosevelt, whom we met on this long trip, including a great many uh people who'd been in-in uh Red China or folk who lived in the outskirts, uh had very interesting views about it. Uh mostly they did not think that Mao Zedong was an outright puppet or marionette of Moscow, but that in practice it amounted to the same thing or even worse, that it was the question of a young partner trying to outdo [ER: Outdo.] the elder partner in zeal.

[ER:] I see. That's uh very interesting, it's uh it's a real conviction they feel, on his part.

[John Gunther:] Yes.

[ER:] A belief in the communist theories.

[John Gunther:] But in the end there will be disillusion there too, because the worst evil of communism, uh what really makes it so serious a menace is that it exploits the idealism of the ignorant, that these impoverished Chinese masses who were so sick and tired of-of years of civil war and corruption and bad administration, they uh greeted this new regime uh hoping that it would be something that would do [ER: Yes, I do.] better for them.

[ER:] I don't wonder they look for reforms, they've been looking for reforms [John Gunther: Exactly.] for hundreds of years. [ER laughs] And it seems to me that if any part of the world needs reforms, China and India and all of Asia need those reforms.

[John Gunther:] And that, Mrs. Roosevelt, gets back to Mr. Nehru in a way uh-uh and to American policy. What Mr. Nehru thinks, as far as I can remember, is that the new countries in Asia aren't really in great danger from communism because they're so delighted to be free. That after having been in a colonial state for so many generations, now that they've achieved national freedom, they uh won't let anybody [ER: Won't let anybody--] uh interfere with it. Maybe he's a little optimistic there, and I think that his theory holds good only if there isn't a war, but-but it gives us a hint that what we should do is to try to encourage the new democratic Asian nationalisms.

[ER:] The great difficulty as is always whether you can encourage that um without uh waking up to find you've encouraged the nationalists and the-the longing for freedom, but that there is infiltrated into the group sufficient of the um communist element so that uh when they come to power they are controlled when they didn't mean to be. (33:07)

[John Gunther:] Exactly. And I think the Indians are very carefully on guard there. They're relentlessly anti-communist. And they have a very strong security organization, and so far at least the communist party in India is-is extremely weak.

{ER:] Have you any hope of Pakistan and India coming together?

[John Gunther:] Uh yes. I think it'll take a long time though, and it's uh a very dangerous and unpleasant situation.

[ER:] A very unpleasant situation now, isn't it?

[John Gunther:] I think it derives partly from the fact that Mr. Nehru, however high minded he is, and he is one of the most high-minded people I've ever met.

[ER:] He's also an emotional creature.

[John Gunther:] And he was born in Kashmir. [ER: Mhm.] And he thinks of himself as a [ER: I know it.] Kashmiri Brahmin, and he just can't bear to let that country go.

[ER:] I know, [John Gunther: Oh--] I've felt that.

[John Gunther:] Incidentally, I-I've uh--you know, time brings things so quickly nowadays. You know, I remember asking Mr. Nehru in Delhi, uh a little question. I had first met him in Bombay, about ten years ago, when he was in and out of jail. I said, Mr. Prime Minister, did you honestly think ten years ago, when you were uh-uh having political troubles with the British, that within a decade, you would be prime minister of an independent sovereign India with several hundred million people? He said, "No." [John Gunther laughs]

[ER:] No?

[John Gunther:] He thought it would've much longer than ten years.

[ER:] Much longer? Well, I'm not surprised at that, because uh I-I think that many of them were unprepared for the success that they had. Um now you have only a second. Those were the highlights of your trip?

[John Gunther:] They were indeed, Mrs. Roosevelt.

[ER:] And those are all in your book?

[John Gunther:] Most of them are [John Gunther laughs], I think.

[ER:] Well, then I shall look forward to reading the book, but I can't tell you how grateful I am to you, Mr. John Gunther, for having come and let us talk this out, because I think it means a great deal to people to hear what someone has seen, particularly someone who can talk and write about it. Thank you and goodbye.

[John Gunther:] It is I who have you to thank, Mrs. Roosevelt.

(Break 35:30 to 35:38)

[ER:] In keeping with my plan to bring to you some of the outstanding thoughts written and spoken on the subject of freedom, I would like to read from a speech delivered by Abraham Lincoln at Edwardsville, in September, 1858. "What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our crowning battlements or bristling sea coasts, our army and navy, these are not our reliance against tyranny. All of those may be turned against us without making us weaker for the struggle. Our reliance is in the love of liberty, which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands, everywhere. Destroy this spirit, and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your own doors."

[Elliott Roosevelt:] And now it's time to close the program and to remind you that you've been listening to The Eleanor Roosevelt Program, which comes to you each Monday through Friday at this same time. And this is Elliott Roosevelt speaking and wishing you all good day.

(36:57)

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