

THE ELEANOR ROOSEVELT PROGRAM

December 3, 1951

Description: In the opening segment, ER and Elliott Roosevelt respond to a listener's question about whether or not husband and wives should have vacations alone without bringing the rest of their family. In the interview segment, ER's discusses the North Side Center for Child Development with Dr. Kenneth Clark and Dr. Mamie Clark.

Participants: ER, Elliott Roosevelt, Dr. Kenneth Clark, Dr. Mamie Clark

[ER:] How do you do? This is Eleanor Roosevelt. Every Monday through Friday, my son Elliott and I have the opportunity to visit with you here in my living room at the Park Sheraton Hotel in New York City. Each day, it is our desire to bring interesting guests that we are hopeful you will enjoy meeting. Elliott, will you tell our listeners today's plans?

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Yes, thanks, I will. Today's plan is to present a husband and wife team who are associate director and director of the North Side Center for Child Development. You will find their story interesting and their project a very important one. Mrs. Roosevelt will introduce Dr. Kenneth Clark and his wife, Dr. Mamie Clark, a little later on in the program. But first, let's take a look at the mail and also hear a word from the sponsors who make this recorded program possible.

[Break 1:07-1:14]

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Mother, I have a letter here from a young lady, who evidently just recently got married, from the wording of the letter, in which she has posed a question that she'd like for you to expound upon. She asks uh, "Should husbands and wives have vacations alone away from their families?"

[ER:] You mean uh I-I wish I knew –

[Elliott Roosevelt:] She means away from the in-laws and uh--should they park the children, if there are any children, on the in-laws, and go off by themselves for a holiday?

[ER:] I think if that can--if they can-can do [Elliott Roosevelt coughs] that, it's wonderful for young husbands and wives to go off uh for holidays. But I certainly think they should leave Father and Mother if that's the-- [ER coughs] if that's the question. [Elliott Roosevelt: Well, supposing uh --] But I don't believe much, you know, in young people living with their elders unless they absolutely are forced to.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, what about the elders that uh have to live, from economic circumstances, with the young people?

[ER:] Well, that's what I said. If they were forced to. I consider that force. [ER and Elliott Roosevelt laugh]

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Yes. Well, uh what do you think of the idea of um uh going off on a holiday and, if you do have uh uh some nice in-laws who are willing to take the grandchildren in, uh of going off on a holiday?

[ER:] Well I think it's wonderful. I think that's uh the best thing that can happen to young people--

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, that's fine, [ER: to have a little time.] but what about the--what about the poor youngsters getting away for a holiday too?

[ER:] Um well they probably are having a holiday because being with grandparents is probably quite a holiday for them.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] You mean they get out from under the discipline of Father and Mother?

[ER:] Probably and probably are very much spoiled when Father and Mother come back.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, now there's another question that I might ask you, which uh is not included in this letter, but uh um uh it comes naturally to mind. What about vacations uh uh away from one's husband or a husband taking a vacation from his wife? Do you approve of uh such practices?

[ER:] No, I uh--I don't particularly, but it has uh--it sometimes has to be. It depends on circumstances. I think they always have a better time if they have good times together, and it's good for the relationship. But sometimes it has to be. I know, for instance, a couple who have a business that they run--have run together. And they've never, for twenty years, been able to go away together because one of them had to stay and run the business. Um finally, they uh reached a point where they had someone they could leave to run the business and they took a weekend off, and it was the greatest excitement, because it was the first time in twenty years they'd been away together.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well I--I uh can think of another circumstance. Supposing uh you've got several children at home, and uh-- [ER: Sometimes one of you has to stay at home with the children!] and you've got nobody you can leave with the children.

[ER:] Well, then, in that case, as--one-one of you has to stay home with the children, which is very sad. But then I do think that it is essential, in that case, for uh parents to take holidays separately, because I think it's very necessary for people to get away from the daily grind for a certain length of time. And so that I think, if that is the case, that it is essential.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Alright, well, now we do have another letter from another listener who has written in and uh would like you to advise girls uh as to whether to go in for a career instead of marriage.

[ER:] My goodness, [ER laughs] I'm not in the advising business on that question. [Elliott Roosevelt: Well, you know--] That has to be settled by the individual. Um most girls today learn to do something, and I think that's very important, because um, more and more um, in an uncertain world, women may find themselves--I noticed, for instance, the other day, for the first time, that there were more women in the United States than men. That's because women apparently have a longer life than men. [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] And um--but, in Great Britain, that's been the case for a long while, and um I--I think it's well for every girl to know how to support herself and, if necessary, uh the time ever came when she not only had to support herself but someone else, uh she would not feel as hopeless as some girls that I have had to advise who didn't know what on earth they could do [Elliott Roosevelt: Yes, well--] to earn a living.

(6:31)

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, now, supposing you're a young girl who has built a career, and uh you fall in love. Do you advocate then they-- the two young people get married, that the girl keeps on at her job as well as the husband, even though the husband may earn enough to support both of them?

[ER:] Well, I think it depends very much on circumstances. I think if the husband is working every day and there are no children that then, perhaps, it is better for the girl also to have work, because she will not, in modern circumstances, have enough to do. She may not want a full-time job. She may want a part-time job. Um but, if there are children, I think it much better for her not to have uh a job. And um there are people who can find work enough uh in a home and uh don't want to go out to work, and those people--uh it's probably right that they should do that. And perhaps their husbands uh like it and adjust to it better.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Mhm, mhm. Well, now what about when--when uh a child uh comes into the family? We've had it--uh we've had letters written in, and we've discussed it before, but I think it's worthwhile to carry on the discussion. What about when a young couple, who are both working, uh finally have a child, and then the interest at home uh falls on the mother, and she would like to return to her work. Do you think that there is--is--that that is a bad indication?

[ER:] No, because people are--are different. People are individuals. Um but I think, if possible, a child uh should be under its mother's care uh for a time, at least. Um then the question arises as to whether the mother, in going out to work, can earn enough to pay the kind of--for the kind of care that she wants her child to have. If so, then I see no reason why, if it gives her rest and she has--she is well enough and strong enough to give the child uh attention when she is home, [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] uh why she shouldn't do it. Now some women uh would be miserable if they devoted all their time to the family life and the child and never uh made the outside contacts. [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] Um and those women--I think it's undoubtedly better that they should have the kind of--of interest that they look for, need.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, of course uh, what about the attitude of men then? We've talked entirely from the ladies' standpoint. Well, what do you think of the [ER: Well, all--] man's attitude with regard to these things? [ER and Elliott Roosevelt Overlap]

[ER:] Well, look, all these things are cooperative. If you're going to get married, you might just as well make up your mind that you are no longer deciding things for yourself and purely as you want to decide them. Um from there--from that time on, you have to discuss everything as a joint relationship, a joint partnership, and whatever is going to be done has to be a joint decision. It can't just be one person's decision and remain a happy family. A uh doing what they've all decided is the best thing to do.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] But what about a man that's got a job and would like to quit his job and move to another job? Do you think he ought to talk it over with his wife and uh reach a joint decision?

[ER:] I think he--I think he ought to talk it over, but I think in that case um it almost always must be um what is um the man's uh best interest, because um we might as well face the fact that the woman is, by training and inheritance, more adjustable, and um therefore, that she is going to find all through life in all her um--in all her contacts with both her husband and her children, that she is going to have to do the adjusting, because if she doesn't, the adjusting won't get done. [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] Um, that's been woman's role for centuries. You can't take it away suddenly [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] and expect that the man is going to develop those qualities overnight. [Elliott Roosevelt laughs] So that um--

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Mother, you sound very disparaging to us gentlemen. [ER laughs]

[ER:] Well, you gentlemen aren't adjustable creatures. [Elliott Roosevelt laughs]

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, thank you for giving us all this advice to the uh home [ER and Elliott Roosevelt laugh], how to make a successful home. But now I see that the announcer would like to come in and have a few words at this point.

[Break 12:01-12:07]

[ER:] The greatest resource in any nation is its children. In their hands lie the future hopes of our culture and civilization, the security of the American way of life. Many children, however, starve for affection and understanding, or helpless victims of mishandling become confused, resentful, and fearful. To tell us of an organization working to overcome these problems, I've invited Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, associate director of the North Side Center for Child Development and Dr. Mamie Clark, director of the center, to be my guests today. I'm happy to introduce to you Dr. Kenneth and Dr. Mamie Clark.

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] We're happy to be here, Mrs. Roosevelt.

[Dr. Mamie Clark:] We certainly are.

[ER:] Well, I'm certainly very glad to have you here. Well, now, first of all--I would like to ask--I think Dr. Kenneth Clark perhaps would answer this best--to--will you tell us, what is the North Side Center?

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] Well, the North Side Center is a child guidance clinic. We seek to help children with emotional problems who get into difficulties in school, in the home, or the community. We try to help them before these problems become so serious as to warrant more intensive help. My wife, who is the director of the center, would be able to give you more of the details of how we actually work.

[ER:] Alright, how is the North Side Center um working out this problem? Are they um a part of the National Mental Hygiene movement?

[Dr. Mamie Clark:] Well, we are, Mrs. Roosevelt. We are a part of the total Mental Hygiene program in this country. Uh we receive funds from the National Mental Health Act, through the State Department of Mental Hygiene. We receive funds from the New York City Youth Board and from many other foundations interested in the total mental health program in this country, so that we do feel we are part of a total movement.

[ER:] Well, now, what do you do um with a uh--with children who are brought in?

(14:33)

[Dr. Mamie Clark:] Well, children who come, come with many problems. Uh sometimes they are truanting from school, many times they are unhappy and withdrawn, sometimes they are aggressive or possibly engaged in pre-delinquent behavior. And when the child comes, we try, with a staff of well-trained people, including psychiatrists, psychologists, psychiatric social workers, and pediatricians, to help this child work out his problems so that he is happier and so that he returns to the community and is able to make a constructive contribution.

[ER:] Well, um does that mean that you keep the child? Um do you have a place there where a child can stay, or is it just in consultation at um--for a time [Dr. Mamie Clark: Mhm.] when you talk together?

[Dr. Mamie Clark:] We see children by appointment, and generally they come once a week to see a staff member for help. For a child who is about twelve or older, we have consultation with a staff therapist. For the younger children, we use mostly play therapy, which helps the child to work out his problems and to reach a happier solution of them.

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] I think Mrs. Roosevelt wanted to know--did we have any uh in-hospitalization programs. [Dr. Mamie Clark: No.]

[ER and Dr. Kenneth Clark overlap]

[ER:] Yes, I wanted to know because I felt that, possibly, one would have to observe a child to find out what were the problems, how --

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] Yes, our program is wholly outpatient. Uh we have a child uh for our diagnostic period, but with appointments. He comes in and he sees the psychologist and the psychiatrist and sometimes a pediatrician, and by the time we uh arrive at a decision as to what is wrong with this child, he has visited us at least four or five times, wouldn't you say?

[Dr. Mamie Clark:] In other words, there is time for observation, and in addition, of course, we have reports from the school, we have reports from the home, we have reports from people who may refer the child to the center. So we have a great deal of information about the children.

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] A full case history.

[ER:] Yes, Uh I can see that, but what you really are is a um--uh is a doctor's office, only you bring together a number of different uh doctors who look at a problem as it's presented to them from their separate points of view. [Dr. Kenneth Clark: That's quite right.] Um I have wondered, though, a little bit, because with small children particularly, um I should think it would require observation. Because, as you said, you use play psychology. But unless you observe them at play, how do you know how it works?

[Dr. Mamie Clark:] Well, of course, observation is part of our program, Mrs. Roosevelt. And while we are-are observing the child playing, we're also getting to have an understanding of why he has the problem and, at the same time, helping him to work out his problem.

[ER:] I see. Um I see it would take a long time. Don't you often have these children as much as an hour or two in your office?

[Dr. Mamie Clark:] Well, we do. We have them at least an hour each week [ER: At least--] and sometimes more than that. And sometimes it takes seven months. Sometimes it takes longer than that to help a child.

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] Don't you think you should say something about the remedial program, where a child comes more often than once a week?

[Dr. Mamie Clark:] Yes, uh for the children who are of school age, we are prepared to help them with reading and arithmetic, and we call this our remedial program. We call it remedial because it is therapeutically oriented. It isn't just a tutoring program. And we have found that most of the children who come with problems are also behind in schoolwork, and we feel that this is an important thing to help children with so that they can gain self-confidence in the school setting and help with the total problem.

[ER:] I see. Well, now, uh is there anything different about your child guidance center than any of the other child guidance centers?

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] Yes uh, Mrs. Roosevelt, I think there is something slightly different. We are a completely interracial child guidance set up. By that, I mean we treat children of different races and religions. We have uh white children, Puerto Rican children, Negro children. And, more than that, our staff is completely interracial. We have uh psychiatrists, psychiatric social workers, and psychologists representing all of the various groups in America, practically, and we're quite proud of this, because we

are naturally interracial. We're not self-consciously so. We have gotten together the best people we possibly could get to provide these services for our children.

[Dr. Mamie Clark:] You must add that we have an interracial board.

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] That's right. An interracial board and advisory committee.

[ER:] Well, I think that's a really remarkable achievement, and um you do really try to cover uh all the different um racial strains that are in the country? You don't make any uh segregation on any basis?

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] Absolutely not. If a child needs help, we're there to try to help him, and we're not concerned with trivial or irrelevant factors.

[ER:] I think that's perfectly wonderful. Um now, I'd like to ask whether you've observed any particular problems uh which are more pronounced in children of the uh minority groups in our country, because you have a unique um opportunity.

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] Yes, we have been sort of worried about that. We've be trying to um organize our information to see if we could answer that question, and we are still in a state of uh confusion. As far as we can see, children, without regard to their race or religion, generally have the same problems. Uh sometimes an underprivileged uh position in our society can reinforce or intensify the problem, but we have not yet been sure that we have seen any case in which a child's adjustment problems can be definitely said to be due to his minority status. Would you agree [ER: Well isn't--] with that, Mamie?

(21:09)

[ER:] Isn't that perhaps because--uh my own observation would lead me to believe that there are very few young children who really have much uh consciousness of--of--well, we won't say differences of creed, because that, of course, they wouldn't have, but differences in color. Um I always tell a story about one of our little boys at Wiltwyck [School for Boys] um, where we have an interracial setup too, and um where we have uh workers who work with the homes. And we had one particularly Nordic looking young lady. She couldn't have had bluer eyes nor fairer hair nor a fairer skin, and she said to one little boy one day um, "Did you just come back?" from a weekend with his family, which was experimental, of course, because it's a home for delinquent little children. And um uh she said, "How did it get on?" He said, "It got on very well," but he didn't like um white people. And uh she said, "Oh Johnny, that's a little bit general. You like some white people." "No, they make my mother miserable. I don't like any white people." She said, "Oh Johnny, that isn't true." Uh, "Look at Mrs. Jones who does your mending. You like Mrs. Jones." "Oh, sure, yes." "Well, um Johnny, you like me." "Oh yes, yes Ma'am." "Well Johnny, I'm white." "Oh, Miss, you sure don't look it." [Dr. Mamie Clark, Dr. Kenneth Clark, ER, and Elliott Roosevelt laugh] I always thought that was a perfect story [Dr. Kenneth Clark: It really was a--] because practically no children are conscious of color. They just aren't conscious of it. [ER laughs] So perhaps that's why your problems don't begin that young.

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] Well I'd like to talk a little bit more about that later.

[ER:] Alright. Well, now we have to have a break for a minute and let our announcer have a few words, and then we'll come right back and discuss this.

[Break 23:17-23:26]

[ER:] Well, uh now we're coming right back to our interview with Dr. Kenneth and Dr. Mamie Clark, and I have a great many questions, but you already said, Dr. Kenneth Clark, that um, you'd like to say a little more on this question of not finding that the problems of young people varied very much [Dr. Kenneth Clark: Yes, uh I-I--] according to minority groups.

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] I was really impressed with your story of the little boy who didn't know that the person who was so obviously white was white, and it reminds me of the work that I just completed for the Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth. They asked me to uh see what the available material, experimental material, told about children's racial attitudes. And uh one of the things which uh surprised me was to find that the average youngster growing up in America is aware of color differences, although he doesn't talk about it very much. When you get him in an experimental situation and actually put the questions to him, you find that, as early as five and six, he is pretty much aware of the differences between people in terms of color. Now, that little boy that you told about was very interesting, because apparently his loving and liking of this person made him obscure this fact. But when you get a large group of youngsters together, you find that the majority of them are aware of this. And one other thing we found in this study: not only are they aware pretty early of these differences, but they seem also aware of what they mean in the larger society as far as how people are to be valued. We found, for example, that even Negro children learn pretty early that the society uh considers them inferior and that they uh tend to believe these things about themselves at five, six, and seven. And the majority of Negro children don't like to be considered uh colored or what they believe the society considers the inferiority of-of colored people. You know, the White House Conference was concerned with this problem [ER: Yes.] of healthy personality development and children, and this [ER: Yes.] was one phase of it.

[ER:] And you had this responsibility, didn't you, for the--for the White House Conference?

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] Yes, I was supposed to uh [ER: Making this study.] make this study for them and present the results as far as they were available.

[ER:] Well now, what--how do you think the children acquire racial and religious prejudices?

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] Well, Mrs. Roosevelt, I think that they acquire it from the entire society. I found that it was impossible to consider any one part of a society the--the thing which caused children to um learn these prejudices. They acquired them from school, from home, from the moving pictures, the radio, television in which they see uh consistently people of different minorities uh stereotyped, and they believe this to be true. And uh this is the picture of the world and other people that they get.

[ER:] Well then you would say that the effects of prejudice and discrimination on the personality of children um is--is pretty bad, wouldn't you?

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] Yes, I would say that in general--

[ER:] Because it gives them an inferiority complex [Dr. Kenneth Clark: Precisely.], and it also gives them a superiority complex [Dr. Kenneth Clark: Right.], which is equally bad.

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] Yes, for the-the child who is a member of a minority group, his most pressing problem, I think, is a deep-seated feeling of inferiority. He is hurt, confused, and I presume--I sup--we could say mad at uh being told so continuously that he is a member of a inferior group. Uh after he gets a little older and begins to question this, he becomes even more confused, uh and, as you pointed out, for the child who is a member of the dominant group, he becomes uh somewhat smug sometimes or feeling superior. He uh--if he becomes preoccupied with racial things, he might lose sight of his own actual

abilities by believing that race is an important determinant of personal worth. Uh it was not a pretty picture--

[ER:] He might become a Hitler Nazi. [ER and Dr. Kenneth Clark laugh]

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] It's-it's not pretty what happens to our children as they learn racism. The picture is very clear for the minority group children. It is not quite so clear for the children of the dominant group, but many of us believe that it's uh equally bad for them.

[ER:] Well now, what is being done to help children uh, both the minority group children and the other children, to overcome the detrimental personality consequences of prejudice and discrimination?

(28:42)

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] Well, um I think that all of the things that are being done to improve uh intergroup living in America will eventually uh help children. I think the work of uh--well, our government--the Supreme Court decisions, the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, the National Urban League, the NAACP, all of these very realistic approaches to the daily living problems of people, are very important. On the other hand, I also believe that it's important that uh something be done specifically to help the child now uh bear some of this burden or not be as disturbed by the present detriment to his personality as uh appears to be the case.

[ER:] Well, is that what you try to do in this clinic?

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] I think so. Uh, wouldn't you, Mamie?

[ER:] In the North Side Center, is that what you try to do?

[Dr. Mamie Clark:] Well, I would say that we try to help children become secure, to feel accepted and wanted so that these other problems--they will be helped to face, really.

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] And will be stronger.

[ER:] Well now, of course, being accepted and wanted um means really being loved [Dr. Kenneth Clark and Dr. Mamie Clark: Yes.], doesn't it? And uh any child that is loved um has more security than a child that is not loved. Um on the other hand, I-uh it wouldn't be enough for a child in a minority group to be loved by his own family, would it? It would help, but it wouldn't be enough.

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] It would help a great deal, Mrs. Roosevelt. It would help him to be able to bear with greater strength the additional problems of race. Uh I think that that's one thing we could always tell to parents, uh that it doesn't solve everything, but a child of a minority group who does not feel the security of love within the family is in a doubly vulnerable position.

[ER:] Oh yes. That-that is true, but how-how--what techniques do you use to overcome this between children, to overcome this uh really, which they acquire from their environment? Um because it does have to come from the environment in which they live. Now, how-how do you suggest that these children be helped overcoming?

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] Well, I think that the schools have an important role here. They uh--there--as you know, there's an important program of integral relations that's being developed in many schools. I think, though, in the final analysis, the basic responsibility is in the home, the parents. Parents of the dominant

group, parents of minority groups will have to first recognize that this is something which they must deal with. That it is part of their obligation to their children to help these children to develop with realistic, solid values, not the superficial values of race. The parents can only do this, I think, if they themselves seek honestly to free themselves.

[ER:] Well, that-that is your great difficulty. Now, for instance, I had a little girl--uh after I had talked about the Human Rights Declaration in a college, and I had a little girl come up to me and say, "I believe everything you said, Mrs. Roosevelt, but what do I do with my parents?"

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] Yes. Yes, I suppose um it's um part of the cycle.

[ER:] So I asked her where she came from. She came from the South, of course. But I suppose, as a matter of fact, she could have come from almost anywhere, because it's not confined to any one area.

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] That reminds me, during the war I taught an ASTP course at the College of City of New York where I teach, and um I had a young man who was in charge of the course there. He was the cadet officer as it were, and uh we were talking about prejudice and lots of things, and I noticed, in the beginning of the course, he was a little reluctant to come up to talk to me. Uh in the middle of the course, after we had discussed racial prejudice and everything, he came up to me, and he said, "You know, I wish my parents could have heard you, because as I sat and listened to you, I realized that everything that they had taught me was wrong, and I am angry with them now." Then we had a long talk, and I told him that, well, anger was not going to solve the problem. Maybe uh, when he goes home, he could talk with the parents and help-help them. Here, he recognized that probably he should help his parents.

[ER:] Well, that um--that's a wonderful way to approach it, but I think it'll take quite a little patience on the part of the young people who become convinced. I think sports has helped very much, don't you?

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] Sports?

[ER:] Sports.

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] Oh, yes. I think the uh success of Jackie Robinson and other uh baseball stars certainly has made people uh reexamine their prejudices, anyway.

[ER:] Well, I-I think that um that--that is-is one of the ways too. Uh participating in sports and participating in any kind of cultural activity, like um artistic things of any kind, I think can help very much to remove prejudice. What do you think about that?

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] I think you're quite right. I think that the eventual elimination of prejudice will depend upon an attack from many, many directions. Uh--

[ER:] In other words, really, the best way to help is to learn to work and play together until we are unconscious [Dr. Kenneth Clark: Oh--] that there is any difference.

[Dr. Kenneth Clark:] I agree a hundred percent.

[ER:] Thank you so much for being with me today. It's been a great pleasure to have both of you here, and I'm very glad to have had you on my program, the two Dr. Clarks. [ER laughs]

[Dr. Mamie Clark:] Thank you, Mrs. Roosevelt.

[Break 34:48-34:52]

[ER:] James Madison once wrote of this nation's military preparedness in time of peace, "How could a readiness for war in time of peace be safely prohibited, unless we could prohibit in like manner, the preparations and establishments of every hostile nation? The means of security can only be regulated by the means and the danger of attack. They will in fact be ever determined by these rules, and by no others.

If one nation maintains constantly a disciplined army, ready for the service of ambition or revenge, it obliges the most pacific nations, who may be within the reach of its enterprises, to take corresponding precautions. Had the example not been followed by other nations, all Europe must long ago have worn the chains of a universal monarch. The veteran legions of Rome were an overmatch for the undisciplined valour of all other nations, and rendered her the mistress of the world.

America united, with a handful of troops, or without a single soldier, exhibits a more forbidding posture to foreign ambition, than America disunited, with a hundred thousand veterans ready for combat. Every man who loves peace; every man who loves his country; every man who loves liberty, ought to have it ever before his eyes, that he may cherish in his heart a due attachment to the union of America, and be able to set a due value on the means of preserving it."

[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 Monday through Friday at this same time. And this is Elliott Roosevelt speaking and wishing you all good day.

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First Edit: Naeemah Legair

Final Edit: Andreas Meyris