

## THE ELEANOR ROOSEVELT PROGRAM

August 10, 1951

Description: In the opening segment, ER and Elliott Roosevelt respond to a listener's question about allowing inmates serving life sentences to serve in the military. In the interview segment, ER and Elmo Roper, the famous pollster, discuss popular sentiment toward world government.

Participants: ER, Elliott Roosevelt, Mr. Elmo Roper

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[ER:] This is Eleanor Roosevelt speaking. Our program is coming to you from my living room in the Park Sheraton Hotel in New York City. I'm very happy to have this little while with you each day. And I hope you'll enjoy the guest we've invited to be with us today. And now, for a moment, I'm going to turn the program over to Elliott.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Mrs. Roosevelt's guest today really needs no lengthy introduction or explanation. He is well known to all of us, Mr. Elmo Roper. He's going to tell us something about the popular sentiment on the question of world government and also give us some very revealing statistics on political activity on the part of the people of the United States. We will meet Mr. Roper after Mrs. Roosevelt and I try to answer a question that many of our listeners have been asking. Now here is our announcer with some information for us.

[Break 00:53-1:00]

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Should prisoners serving life terms, Mother, be drafted d-during time of war? And if they were to return with an excellent service record, what should be the disposition of their case?

[ER:] Well, it's always seemed to me that that was up to the people who have studied their cases, who have sentenced them, and the wardens of the prisons who knew them. Now um people, curiously enough, who commit crimes for which they will be interned for life um do them from different motives. Now for instance, I once saw a woman uh when I went through Alderson Prison, which is a federal prison for women, mowing the grass. She was the gentlest looking colored woman you can imagine. She had killed her husband and she was in for life. And I asked about her and they said, "Well, she wouldn't kill a fly! She's the gentlest person in the world." Now people commit crimes like that, if they do, under great stress of emotion, it's a sort of, what the French call "crime passionnel," [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] uh that doesn't mean that ever again they would be moved to do the same thing. They might never again feel that. But the thing you put them away for is that they showed a lack of being able to control themselves when that particular emotion took hold of them [Elliott Roosevelt: Yeah.] and, therefore, they're not safe to have around. Now um that same thing holds good of men as of women. And yet, you can put--you can take certain people who have other criminal sentences. Now I knew, have known, for a long time, a young man who was a typical Nazi in his makeup. He would've been a, probably, a very good officer. Uh he might've absconded with the funds of the regiment had they been anywhere that he could laid his hands on them. [Elliott Roosevelt laughs] Because in the time that I knew him, he absconded with anything that he could lay his hands on, always feeling that he was completely righteous, and always feeling that it was society that was treating him badly in not having — not only given him more to abscond, but to make good with what he absconded. [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] And um I think it probably would have been a perfectly splendid fighter. [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] But um--and-and if it had never happened that the funds of the regiment were within his hands, he might have come out with a perfectly wonderful record.

And one week after he'd been out to spend his life, he'd have been rearrested for hiking a check or um taking somebody else's money in some way.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Mhm. Well now, what about the--[ER: So you really have to take into consideration--]the individual--[ER: what the warden and the individual case is.]

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, of course, I haven't ever heard of-of a life termmer being released during a time of war in order to serve his country [ER: Well, they--] in the armed services, I've heard of them doing—

[ER:] I don't remember life-termers, but I do remember that a great many men were allowed to enlist and go to war last time. But I don't think they were life-termers. I think they were people without um a serious criminal record, you see, eh and they were allowed and I think it st-afterwards um their whole case was reopened and reconsidered. (5:15)

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, uh I do remember though [ER: And I think they were put on parole.] other cases, more serious cases of uh cases of criminals who volunteered for medical uh [ER: Examinations.] experiments. [ER: Experiments.] And uh they did remarkable work and showed great courage and were commended by uh the- their country, and their cases were opened up for consideration of parole.

[ER:] Yes, but curiously enough that sort of courage um which does exist um in prisons and among-among men like that, among criminals, um doesn't mean that you are a reformed character at all. It's um uh--and the fact that you do some particularly nice thing for someone doesn't mean that you can go out in the world and be a reformed character. Um for instance, money was collected in the prisons for the last war, there was great patriotism. I went to San Quentin, I think it was, somewhere in California, anyway, which had been a very bad—had a very bad reputation. And they had put the men to work on salvaging the--every bit of scrap from the uh ships that were destroyed at Pearl Harbor. And because you didn't pay anything for their labor it was profitable to do it. And they were salvaging a tremendous amount. And I went down and watched them work. And um I remember now a great big strapping man who looked up and said um, "Why, you're Mrs. Roosevelt!" And uh there was a photographer hovering in the distance, and I had said that I didn't think he should take photographs because I thought the men would object to being photographed when they were in prison. And um this boy looked up and he said said, "You're Mrs. Roosevelt. Gee, I'd like to have a photograph with you!" So he and I were photographed, and some of the other men wanted to be photographed. And I asked afterwards whether they were serious offenders, and they said, "Yes, everybody in this prison is a serious offender of one kind or another." [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] And um but its--in the work they were doing they took tremendous pride in doing work for the government. Just because you've been a criminal doesn't mean that all your better instincts are wiped out. It means [Elliott Roosevelt: Not all of them.] it means that for the time being, you succumbed to the--that you didn't control yourself, that's really what it means [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] it means lack of self-control [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.].

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, I-I would think though that it would be uh extremely valuable to-to search through to see whether, even though prisoners were not uh released uh if they wished to volunteer for active service uh that they might have special units that uh they were allowed to volunteer for. Uh wouldn't that uh perhaps be be uh possible to start that so as to enable able-bodied men to serve their country even if they were uh absolutely impossible of curing as convicts [ER: Might be.] or breakers of the law?

[ER:] You would have to be awfully careful what you did afterwards, and you would have to be pretty careful while they were, and well, you know, many things happen in prisons between the men themselves. Um many of these people are not just plain criminals from the point of view of the actual thing they've done, but they're drug addicts, they are people who have some kind of um--[Elliott Roosevelt: Degeneracy.] quirk of some kind--degeneracy. And they will--if you have a uh bunch of them together

they almost have to be treated as they are in prison because um they will prey on each other. [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] You'd have a pretty hard time I think in setting up a unit of that kind. (10:00)

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, you might get a whole bunch of bank robbers together and put 'em in together to keep 'em away from a bank. [ER: Ah yes, you might do that.]

[ER:] [Elliott Roosevelt laughs] Oh yes, you might do that. That might be perfectly plausible. That's why I said it's an individual thing you might have to decide with the people who knew them. [Elliott Roosevelt: Well, uh--] And of course some people say that there is no one who isn't possible to rehabilitate, and you might find that was true.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] You have mentioned that it should be--uh the decision should rest with the wardens of the prisons and-- [ER: And the judge and the parole board and the people who know them, who studied them, I should think] Have-have uh parole boards and uh the judges of this country ever made a study to see what could be done along these lines? (10:46)

[ER:] Oh, there are constant studies going on--of what can be done without a war or to uh to do things for them. And there are psychiatrists now working in many prisons. Don't you remember we-we interviewed a man, who wrote a book, uh who stayed in the prison? And uh there are many different ideas of what could be done through psychiatry to rehabilitate people through and through. And long ago, of course, the whole- the whole uh system of prison industries was built up of the idea that it was horrible to send a man back into um the life he lived before without having a skill because he was going to do exactly what he'd done before! [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] So that prison industries were designed, really, to teach people how to earn a living who'd perhaps never earned except by stealing. [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] And um then, of course, it went on to providing, through prison industries, that the state needed, that then the difficulty arose of competition with free labor on the outside, [Elliott Roosevelt: Yes.] and that has had um to be very carefully considered. But from a therapeutic point-of-view, oh the value to a man not to be kept locked up in a cell but to be able to go out and do some work every day. [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm] I um know of a very--I remember very well, a life termer with one of the New York state prisons when we were going through them as we did, so often when Franklin was governor, um who had the most beautiful garden I have ever seen. And when I asked about it, they said, "Oh, he's a very gentle person. Yes, he's in here for murder, but um he grows all these beautiful flowers and goes to all the shows, with his flowers." [Elliott Roosevelt: Uh-huh.] "And he never tries to go away, oh never, we trust him absolutely." And there he was doing something he loved to do, [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm] and he'd never done it before.

[12:58] [Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, I see now that our time is up and we have to go on to another part of the program. But I'm very fascinated by the-the sight of the man going to all the flower shows is a life-termer, and I wonder whether Mrs. Astor and Mrs. Vanderbilt and the other people exhibiting flowers ever know what their-who their fellow exhibitor is! [Elliott Roosevelt laughs]

[Break 13:18-13:26]

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Percentages are often dull, but on the other hand they can be very surprising, as are some you will hear about today from an expert in the field of surveys. Now here is Mrs. Roosevelt to introduce her guest.

[Break 13:40-13:50]

[ER:] Thank you, Elliott. I'm very happy to present to you Mr. Elmo Roper. Who I'm sure needs no further introductory remarks from me, Mr. Roper.

[Elmo Roper:] I'm very happy to be here, Mrs. Roosevelt.

[ER:] Well now, I am more than glad to have you here because I'm anxious to know much that I know you already have all settled in your own mind. During the past five years there seem to be a growing movement in this country toward world government. I know that you've done surveys on this, and as I am not at all sure um that I believe world government uh will improve and strengthen the United Nations immediately. I have a feeling it has too — um much that they want to do, has to wait a while for development within the United Nations. But I would like to know from you just what is the extent of public sentiment for world government in this country. (15:02)

[Elmo Roper:] Well, to answer that question perfectly honestly, Mrs. Roosevelt, I will have to say that there is, of course, a difference between the number of people who say that they like the general idea of world government, and the number people who understand all of the implications inherent in one or another form of world government and-and-and nevertheless believe in it with all of its implications thoroughly understood. I can report to you on the growth of uh belief in idea of world government, when it is not spelled out with its specifics such as paramilitary policy and whatnot. For example, in 1946 we found 16 percent in favor of the idea of world government, in 1947 that had grown to 19 percent, in 1948 it had grown to 24 percent and when it was measured in 1949 it was 30 percent, whereas in nineteen hundred and fifty, uh 48 percent of the people said that they believed in the idea of world government as one of the very best hopes for world peace.

[ER:] Now do you think that they have any very particular plan in mind?

[Elmo Roper:] No, they do not in-in general have any particular plan in mind. That's what I meant when I said that there was a difference in the percentage between those who said that they subscribe to the idea and the percentage who would subscribe to it if it were fully uh spelled out. I think people generally have the feeling that-at eventually, sometime perhaps in the future, the whole world will have to come under one government or-or suffer self-destruction through uh probably the worst of all wars. Um most people are not very articulate about the various plans for attaining world government. I think most people don't fully understand those plans for attaining world government. Uh but they-they do like the idea, and I think they're looking to their leaders to spell out the kind of a thing rationally that they in their heart believe in but don't know how to spell out in detail.

[ER:] Well, besides doing surveys on world government, Mr. Roper, I also know that as a citizen you are very active in the Atlantic Union Committee which has a plan for certain kind of world government. I wonder if you could tell me what the main points of the Atlantic Union program are? (17:25)

[Elmo Roper:] Well, in a sense, it would be better to say that we don't have a plan for world government so much as we have a plan that might result in world government. For example, all we are asking for is that--we are asking the Congress of the United States to ask the president to call a convention of citizens, not statesmen, necessarily, but citizens of those nations which signed the North Atlantic Pact and such other nations that those nations may decide to invite, for the purpose of sitting down in a-in a convention and deciding how far we might go towards uniting the various freedom-loving people in a federation um much as the thirteen original colonies were united uh here. But we-we are not spelling out any details. We are simply saying that we will trust to such a convention of free citizens. Uh we'll trust them to decide how far we might go towards federal union, and, indeed, how far we must go if we are to avoid uh a continuance of recurring wars.

[ER:] Well now, that is interesting to me. I gather from what you've said that you do not bar other nations that are not actually um in the Atlantic uh Union area, um that you leave it to them, those who are now in the Atlantic Pact to decide what other nations they would include in their first meeting, but that you would have our Congress um invite uh not representatives of governments but, I suppose, elected citizens

from these other nations to meet together in a convention and discuss how far they would go. Now that, of course, is a departure—a complete departure from the conception our own kind of gov--of representative government, isn't it?

[Elmo Roper:] Well, uh it may be in one sense. But let me clarify one point. The-the delegates to this convention would probably have to be appointed by the-the various governments of the nations involved. It would be our—

[ER:] Then how would they represent citizens any more than governments? (20:01)

[Elmo Roper:] Well, it would be our hope that they would include a certain number of senators, a certain number of congressmen, a certain number of governors of states, and a certain number of citizens-at-large.

[ER:] How would those citizens-at-large be chosen?

[Elmo Roper:] They-they-they would probably have to be appointed. They would probably have to be appointed. But the important thing is to remember that this convention can't bind any nation. This convention can meet, this convention can study economic and political and social problems involved and come out with a recommendation, a recommendation might go no further than to say, "let's at least have a common foreign policy," or "let's at least have a common foreign policy and a common military organization." Or it might go very considerably further and touch on currency, tariffs, and a number of other things. [ER: Well--] Whatever it arrives at, however, would have to be submitted back to the nations for approval. (20:55)

[ER:] Well, you know there is, of course, or has been already held, [ER clears her throat] a meeting in Switzerland at which uh citizens of different nations, elected, for instance, Tennessee elected a number of representatives from this country, uh from their state um, who claim to speak for the common man, so to speak. And um they eh wanted a world government made up of citizens. Now I gather from what you say, that you're not planning anything like that, you're not is not interfering with the governments of countries, you're simply having um a more-or-less um non-official convention to advise governments.

[Elmo Roper:] No, no that's not quite true. We-we want this convention to have every endorsement of the various governments involved. And we want the delegates to this to be officially appointed by the governments. Um but-but we want them not to just to be for example all from our State Department. We want the representation, our-our American, United States representation, to be on a uh broader base than that, as I say, to include senators, representatives, governors and then citizens-at-large, but it should be official. It should be—

[ER:] Now your representative for the General Assembly of the United Nations are not all State Department by any manner of means.

[Elmo Roper:] No, that's quite true. And tha-that-that, for us, is one of the virtues and one of the strengths of the United Nations is that they are not.

[ER:] But then in what way uh would this be entirely apart from the United Nations? Or are you planning to work with it? What are you planning to do?

[Elmo Roper:] It certainly not meant to be apart; it's a plan to be an organization within the United Nations. It's a—

[ER:] Just as the Atlantic Pact is.

[Elmo Roper:] Just as the Atlantic Pact is. Or just as conceivably, it would be entirely within the sphere of the United Nations if Canada and the United States were to say, "we have decided that our economic and political and social interests are so nearly identical that we're going to have one parliament legislate for us on-on these things." And set forth a list of things, uh saying, "we will reserve the right for our five provinces to legislate on these things, just as your forty-eight states legislate on separate things." Now that would be entirely in the spirit of the United Nations.

[ER:] I think the United Kingdom would be a little troubled if you started to do that.

[Elmo Roper:] That's why we-we're inclined to think that no such uh piece-meal federation would-work. That it has to be on a very much broader base than that and to include at the outset at least all of the Atlantic uh Pact countries, an-and uh an-and to go back to a point you touched on earlier, certainly the other countries are not excluded. Uh there would-there would be no thought I think in anyone's mind connected with the Atlantic Union Committee that Australia or New Zealand or peo-people like that or the Philippines should be excluded, and the door must always be kept open for any nation whose people genuinely believe in the four freedoms, and in representative government. (24:11)

[ER:] Well, that's an interesting um conception. And you believe that all the Atlantic Pact uh people today are willing to give up uh enough national sovereignty to make this union effective?

[Elmo Roper:] I can't speak for all of those countries, of course, Mrs. Roosevelt, but I do feel that our position as an extremely powerful and as an extremely wealthy nation makes it very important for us to take the lead. I would guess that if the United States with its power, and with its idealism and with its uh being a sort of a cradle of democracy were to take the lead, and affirm its belief in this, that the others would follow.

[ER:] I would be perhaps a little bit nervous about the possible effect it might have on the United Nations, but um I uh would want to consider it more carefully before I saw that much power within any group that still was supposed to be um under the-the general aegis of United Nations' groups, I mean of United Nations' functions. (25:26)

[Elmo Roper:] Well, Mrs. Roosevelt, let me say that um most of us who believe in Atlantic Union eh would not believe in it strongly if we thought it was going to undermine the United Nations. Now there-there probably is room for disagreement on that score. We feel that one of the weaknesses the United Nations is that there hasn't been a strong enough single force in there. That much of the arguments in there have been between the so-called democracies and that at least--this at least would-would take away those disagreements.

[ER:] I see. Well, I see that our time--uh our announcer must have a word, so eh we will stop this interview for a minute and come right back.

[Break 26:04-26:15]

[ER:] Now we come back to the interview with Mr. Elmo Roper um, and we have been discussing the Atlantic Union idea, uh and so I'm going to ask you, Mr. Roper, if you have any idea about what percentage of people in the United Sates have ever heard of or participated in the activities of all the world government groups, all the various ones I suppose?

[Elmo Roper:] Uh yes, Mrs. Roosevelt, surveys have shown that somewhere between 5 and 7 percent of our people, our adult population, uh have either participated in or have definite knowledge about one or

another of the world government organizations. Now the list seems small, it does add up to about five million people.

[ER:] Um well, it does seem small but you said before that about 48 percent uh of the people in 1950 voted that they liked the idea of world government. Um you'd have to do uh quite an organization job [Elmo Roper laughs] to get all of those people into some kind of organi—of work, wouldn't you?

[Elmo Roper:] And believe me, we're finding that out. Uh it's one thing to have 48 percent of the people like the general idea of world government, and it's another thing to have any considerable part of that group aware of and interested in the activities of any particular organization working for world government. I think it indicates that—that the uh the world government is one of the great educational campaigns necessary in the world today. (27:56)

[ER:] Well of course, I would agree with you there. I think all of these things are important for their educational value. And uh even if uh we don't accept any particular one in the long run, I think the fact that people are working uh to educate through their diff—through these different ideas um is of great value, but I'm amused a little bit that you've run into this difficulty of making people work on things that they daily say they believe in because um I recall that you did a survey on political activity in this eh country, and I'd like to hear how much you found out about that. [ER laughs]

[Elmo Roper:] Well, uh it was uh very revealing and in many respects a quite disappointing study, Mrs. Roosevelt. We found out, for example, how many of our people who are eligible to vote do vote and how frequently they vote. We found out how many people ah—admit to actively discussing public affairs with their friends and in groups. We found out how many try to convince others—who feel what they feel so strongly that they're willing to try to convince others that they're right. How many belong to organizations which are organized for the purpose of discussing public affairs. We found out how many work in political campaigns: making speeches or putting out handbills or whatever, and how many contribute to campaigns financially, and finally we found out how many write letters or talk to their representatives. Now the disappointing thing is that when you take these factors an—and add up the percentages of ones who do these various things, that if you use doing any three of those seven things with some regularity, if you use that as a basis for calling somebody a politically active person, then we find that of our total adult population, only 10 percent can be called politically active people. And remember that the standard was a rather loose standard. All they have to do [ER: Is—] is any three of these seven things with some regularity. (29:59)

[ER:] Well, I'm not at all surprised um because I've watched year after year the percentage of the people who merely went out to vote, which is the simplest thing, and it never approximates the—the people who are really able to vote. Anywhere near it's usually about half the number of people who are eligible and able to vote. [Elmo Roper: Half or a little less.] A little less. So um I'd like to ask you further which groups of people in the population tend to be the most active politically?

[Elmo Roper:] I'm afraid some of these are not going to make you too happy, Mrs. Roosevelt. But we find that—that if you were to group the ones who were most active, you'd say that they were men, they were older people, they were the more prosperous, they were college graduates, and they were professional and white collar people.

[ER:] Well, I'm not surprised at all at that classification. Um I think if you changed the voting age to eighteen eh you'd also change uh some of the interest because I think there is more interest in young people as they leave school than there very often is after they've been out two to three years, and I think also that, um uh sad as it may be, um there are a great many people who today are afraid of taking part actively politically for a number of reasons. They're afraid of pressures that may be brought to bear on

them, and that's one reason why the communists, small as they are, are--because I think numerically in the country they are comparatively small organized group--are dangerous. It's because they actually go to work and actually function in an organized way, whereas um other people um don't um let a lot of things interfere with their political activity. Which groups did you find were the least active politically? (32:19)

[Elmo Roper:] Well, women are less active than men, the lower income groups, the less well educated, uh the people who usually called the laboring class, and uh surprisingly enough at first glance, young people rather than old.

[ER:] How do you account for this particular category that are not active: young and others?

[Elmo Roper:] Well, uh I think the most surprising one of that group when one considers the uh um day-to-day duties that a housewife has, for example, uh as compared to being thrown with a broader segment of the population as the man who goes to work is, I think that some of those are all rather explainable. Perhaps the least explainable is that of young people. But we found in our studies that young people who went through adolescence during the war years and during the post-war years, uh don't seem to be quite as alert to their citizenship obligations as the others. Oh the emphasis during the war years um may have done that. It wasn't so much on citizenship or politics as it was on the immediate business of "will I or will I not be going to war between high school and college or-or-or when?" and certainly it wasn't uh--there wasn't as keen an interest in the internal aspects of politics as there was during the thirties uh when--when we were faced with a terrific crisis, as you know so much better than--than I, and when the emphasis was on how do we internally organize the country? The people that grew up in that area show a terrifically greater interest in-in voting and participation than this very young group that I've referred to, which, after all, was in their-in their adolescent period during a war-time when the emphasis was not on internal citizenship obligations, but fulfilling our obligations in-on the fighting front. (34:12)

[ER:] Well, that would lead to uh asking for an explanation on--we've seen in the paper at least that Congress has not had a great many letters on the price-control issue, which does affect the daily lives of our people. Now how many people did you find actually wrote to their congressman in the course of the year?

[Elmo Roper:] Well, very few. No more than 18 percent of the entire adult population reported that they had ever written, and only 5 percent of this 18 percent reported that they had ever written a congressman more than once.

[ER:] [ER gasps] Well then, how many have--when I think how the — probably um they wrote only when they were given the postcard and told what was to go on and how little that counts in Congress, I get a little worried. How many have actually worked, did you find, in a political campaign?

[Elmo Roper:] Eleven percent eh said they did, and the chances are that some of those didn't do what a really efficient eh campaign organizer would call work.

[ER:] And how many contributed to campaigns financially?

[Elmo Roper:] Only 7 percent.

[ER:] Hmm. And pretty nearly always the same uh in the same level, I imagine, isn't it, as far as financial contributions go?

[Elmo Roper:] Well, if-if you mean by that is it concen-concentrated in the upper income levels, [ER: Yes.], it isn't. [ER: It isn't?] No, it's-it's spreads pretty well uh across the boards. Now obviously the

amount of the contributions would vary by income level, [ER: Mhm.] but uh there isn't anything like the-the spread that you'd expect. However, I must say that there is a larger percentage of the prosperous and well to do than of the poor who contribute.

[ER:] Of course, I have always felt that we would get more interest in registration and in actual voting and working in campaigns if everybody contributed a small amount and felt that they uh were--had a financial interest. Finally, uh I wonder if your surveys indicate how many people belong to organizations which are active on such issues as world government, prices, and other public affairs issues. (36:37)

[Elmo Roper:] Well, I think when you consider the large number of organizations trying to do either an education job or a promotional job, in all the fields, that you have to conclude that we're really not the nation of joiners that we have the reputation for being.

[ER:] Oh, we're not? That's interesting.

[Elmo Roper:] Only 31 percent belong to an organization which either discusses public issues or takes stands on public issues. Now-now, of course, I want to exclude from there political party enrollment, [ER: Mhm.] and-and speak about the kind of organizations you spoke of, organizations which are trying to do something in a specific field. [ER: Mhm] Thirty-one percent confess belonging to one or more of those. That would include the League of Women Voters and-and all these various organizations.

[ER:] All the various gov—organizations. Well, we certainly have a job to do in getting our people to be more active on those matters which vitally concern them. Uh have you any feeling as to how we should go about it? (37:35)

[Elmo Roper:] Well of course, I think basically it's an educational process, and I don't mean educational just in the sense of the uh-uh formal school education but educational in the sense that all these various organizations such as the Atlantic Union Committee, which I have to confess has done eh a very poor job of getting active workers compared to the number of people who say they believe in the same things the Atlantic Union believe in. So that basically it is an educational process. I do think however that-that-that leadership in the country has a-a curious kind of responsibility because I think in many ways what the American public does when it votes for men in high office is to vote for men that stand for what the hearts of the people stand for. And then in effect they say to that elected man: "You seem to believe what we feel in our hearts. Now we hope you're smart enough to spell out the mental solution to what's in our hearts in terms of specific policies that'll arrive there."

[ER:] Well, that, of course, is uh, I think, perfectly true, but I just think we haven't learned how to do the kind of grassroots education that is needed in a democracy, and all I can say is that I hope we find the way before it's too late. Now I see our time has come to a close so I must tell you how grateful I am to you for coming this afternoon, and I certainly hope that your organization and many others will do a good educational job.

[Elmo Roper:] Thank you, Mrs. Roosevelt. It was a pleasure to be here.

[Break 39:21-39:27]

[Ben Grauer:] This has been the Eleanor Roosevelt Program, recorded in Mrs. Roosevelt's living room in the Park Sheraton Hotel on the corner of Fifty-Fifth Street and Seventh Avenue in New York City. Today Mrs. Roosevelt's guest was one of the nation's leading experts on public opinion, Mr. Elmo Roper. A look at the uh guest uh list for next —

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