

THE ELEANOR ROOSEVELT PROGRAM

February 1, 1951

Description: In the opening segment, ER and Elliott Roosevelt answer a listener's question about the links between communism and Anna Rosenberg. In the interview segment, ER's guest is Frank Pace, Jr., Secretary of the Army.

Participants: ER, Elliott Roosevelt, Frank Pace, Jr.

[ER:] Well, what's in today?

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, this is a question, Mother, which we can't credit to any one person because several listeners have asked practically the same thing. "Should any credence at all have been given to the communist charges against Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, our new assistant defense secretary?"

[ER:] No, I personally don't think so. I think perhaps, however, that having this hearing and having brought out the things that were brought out uh was of great value because for the first time it was clearly put for everybody to read eh how you can smear a person in public office uh on the evidence of perfectly unreliable people. I think to read that Mr. Gerald K. Smith and Mr. [Benjamin H.] Freedman wrote their affidavits in se--in Mr. Rankin's office and that later Mr. Freedman said he knew nothing about the truth of what he put into that affidavit, I think it's one of the most shocking things that has ever happened! But I'm awfully glad it was all written out in the paper because I think it shows uh why it is that more and more good public officials are saying, "Well, I wish I weren't in the government." (1:45)

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Well, I think that it's about time for us to discuss the people who exist in this country who receive support uh undercover from very important uh people who have financial means who support people like Gerald L. K. Smith. He exists in this country for the sole purpose of stirring up the hatred of people who are ignorant and who have no means of-of knowing what the truth is. He exists solely for the purpose of bringing out the hatred of people on a racial ba-basis. He uh I've r-read many of the pamphlets and the magazines and things which he gets out which are devoted [ER: So have I.] to proving that the American Jew is in league with Jews all over the world to overthrow and bring a communist dictatorship into the world. He completely ignores the fact that in the Soviet Union there is going on right at the present time a systematic uh removal from all positions of uh the Jewish people, the segregation of them into a--into an area of their own where they're completely under police surveillance, putting them back into the ghetto. Uh almost the same process is being followed in the Soviet Union that was followed in Germany under Hitler, and yet this man can-can exist, can prosper, can be given credence by representatives of our government like Mr. Rankin. I think that the time has come when people in this country should stop and take a good look at our representatives, who they uh consort with, where they get their information, how they are thinking and look at it from the standpoint of what it's doing to our country and its leadership in the world, and I think that maybe it would be well for us to-to examine into whether people like Rankin who will depend on a man like Gerald L. K. Smith for information and use it in the government, in the confirmation of a-a person and who is perfectly willing to allow smear campaigns to go on against a person simply because they're of the Jewish faith, it seems to me that we've come to a pos--a point in our history when we have to examine into the qualifications of those people to hold public office.

[ER:] But you see it isn't uh--that's a trend of mind it isn't just uh anti-Semitism, it isn't just anti-Negro, uh it's of the kind of closed mind that uh takes to prejudice lightly and easily. And unfortunately um you

will find that that exists sometimes among people of great power and in groups of power. I think you would also find that uh the opposition to Anna Rosenberg was not only stirred up there, there were also people who never appeared but who undercover uh did it for totally different reasons, not because they were anti-Semitic, or anti-Jewish, or anti-foreign, but just because they thought in some of the things that she had stood for or uh didn't just agree with some of the ideas that they held and their particular group held. Now [Elliott Roosevelt: For instance--] Well, I'm not going into t-the particular things, but I happen to have heard one or two groups that opposed her, uh who never came out in the hearings, uh but I was told that among their membership uh or employees let's say uh there had been some activity in this situation. Now, I-I do believe uh that one should have a way whereby one doesn't waste two weeks looking in to a public servant's loyalty when there is a record to be read [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] and when you are weighing the word of people of character and standing in the community against the word of the type of complainers that [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] were complaining. Now I-I don't think that requires two weeks of wasted time. I think it should take um about two hours and that should be the end of it because uh--and I think it should probably be before um an appointment is even announced. It should uh--it should be done originally and that should be the end. Because this way you're never going to get good people to go into government [Elliott Roosevelt: Yes.] young or old. (7:22)

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Alright then--then we come to the problem that is ever-present, and that is the one where we elect, through uh ignorance or otherwise, officials to government positions of responsibility where they have the power to hold up appointments such as this and they have the ability to present a complete smear campaign e-untruthful and completely libelous and they're cloaked with congressional immunity and uh there is no opportunity to make them stand before a court of law and prove their allegations. I think that uh that maybe when charges are brought against someone that uh those should be--stand on their own two feet and there should not be congressional immunity of [unclear term] --

[ER:] No, it should be in a court I think where no congressional immunity's available.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] I think that there's no reason--I think it's perfectly alright to have public hearings and let the public hear smear, but why can you have no recourse to a court of law because it is up before a congressional committee, and you're allowed to say anything that comes into your head or anything that you planned to say no matter how untruthful.

[ER:] Well, I've felt that that was wrong for a long time I think that this congressional immunity in cases of this kind is very unwise. But I do think we have to be realistic, Elliott. We elect a congress, representatives who represent us. [ER coughs] They're just average human beings that we have chosen to run for Congress or for the Senate, and uh we uh elect them we pay them a living wage, uh they don't have uh tremendous prerequisites, yes they do have a certain amount of respect and standing in the community as a reward for being willing to serve but uh there are tremendous temptations put in the way of those men and women. Money is offered them to an extraordinary extent, and uh we don't somehow realize that you have to counteract that. I don't know how you counteract it but you do [Elliott Roosevelt: Mhm.] because the interests will get after people who have some kind of power.

[Elliott Roosevelt:] Mhm.

(Break 10:01 - 10:16)

[ER:] A recent trip to Washington made it possible for me to have a most distinguished guest today. I'm very happy to present to you the Secretary of the Army Mr. Frank Pace Jr. Well, now uh, Mr. Pace, that I've introduced you to the audience I uh hope you're going to be willing to answer some questions. One of them which I know is in the minds of a great many people because of my mail, I'm going to ask first: are we going to stay in Korea? (10:49)

[Frank Pace Jr.:] Well, of course, Mrs. Roosevelt, as you know, that is ultimately a decision for the United Nations. We went into Korea under United Nations auspices. We have operated in Korea under United Nations determinations. Ultimate decision as to our action in Korea is a United Nations decision. I'm sure that the American people have been heartened uh by the report from uh General Collins, General Ridgeway and I noticed recently Admiral Radford, who said that we have the capability of staying in Korea if the political determination is that staying there should be done.

[ER:] Well, that is a good answer I think to the people and their desire to know what's going on. Now the next question I find pops up most often in the mail is um the argument over drafting eightee-uh universal military service for eighteen year olds. Uh why do we need eighteen year olds now?

[Frank Pace Jr.:] Uh, Mrs. Roosevelt, let me just say that it is actually universal military service and training. It is a combination of the two that has been very carefully worked out to pry-try to provide for this nation a system of long-range manpower availability, either in times of crisis or when we are not in periods of major crisis as we are at the present time. The problem relating to eighteen-year-olds has been very very carefully considered in the Department of Defense and is being presented uh to uh the uh House Armed Services Committee at the present time. The real problem uh relates itself to the question of whether we actually need eighteen-year-olds, and a careful study has indicated that they are needed. Now obviously the proposition of taking young men is a difficult proposition in a democracy or anywhere else at any time, but it is clear at the present time that if you do not take eighteen year olds uh you must take nineteen year olds. There is some difference of opinion as to which is the more disruptive to his college career. Uh certain of the educational institutions have indicated that eighteen-year-olds are more disruptive uh others that nineteen-year-olds are. My own personal judgment, and it seems to me the preponderance of opinion is that a man at eighteen has just graduated from high school, that is a normal break in his career period. Provision is being made under this program to develop special talents that will be needed in terms of uh our ultimate advancement uh-uh in the world, and therefore, I am satisfied that from a point of view of planning, the planning to take eighteen year olds is sound. Furthermore General Marshall, with his vast experience in this field, has testified that eighteen year old uh men make good soldiers and train well uh if it is necessary to actually uh use them for that purpose, and we have come to the conclusion that it is necessary to use them for this purpose. And I feel that it will provide us with the kind of strength-- not temporary strength but permanent strength that will provide us a basis for establishing a lasting peace. Over and beyond that, if I may say only one further word, I think that fundamentally in the long run it will do a great deal of good for many of our young men to have the kind of training and experience that they can get in this particular type of operation.

[ER:] Well, I think that last consideration is valuable in the particular effort we are making now, which is an effort to create power to keep peace in the world, and I think that uh we do have to consider whether the kind of training and service we are asking of our young men will make them valuable to us uh in peace. I believe it will. I believe that uh it has great value to get this training at that particular time and to have the sense of responsibility uh of the citizen accentuated uh perhaps before, if you're going to college, uh you begin your college. You have a greater sense of responsibility for what you will do with your increased education, which I think showed up in the uh working out of the GI bill, where every college that I visited told me the GIs did such good work that they had raised the undergraduate standards everywhere. But there is one point that is brought up that I would like to ask you about, and that is some of the college presidents have said to me that they feared in taking uh people out of colleges that we would be hurting the supply of leadership material that was necessary. Now what do you think about that, because you must have had that brought up to you? (16:15)

[Frank Pace Jr.:] Certainly uh it does represent a problem. Our colleges have provided us with many of our leaders in uh local and uh national affairs. I think that there is no question but that this will to a certain extent affect the capacity of colleges to produce uh-uh leaders. However, I am satisfied that if this

program is handled intelligently and well, and it is so planned, that it will in and of itself provide the kind of men who are needed to provide the kind of leadership in the future. Now, by way of illustration, or rather homily illustration, I had two men from my home state of Arkansas call and ask if I could see them. They apologized because they knew I was busy and did not want to take too much of my time. At their own expense they flew up. And when they came in they said, "Frank", because they'd known me a long time uh, "we would like to know where our young men can best serve, and what they can best do in order to provide the kind of leadership that our part of the world is going to need in the future." Now I think that if this program is planned intelligently, and I am satisfied that it is, if it is carried out well, and I hope that it can be carried out well, that danger that you cite can be eliminated and leadership will be provided. Now remember too that the colleges are not being written out of the picture by reason of this bill. There is a delay and a deferment, but the point that you have made, that of maturity at the time that education is coming to our young men, is a tremendously important one because you get just as much out of college as you put into it. The more mature you are, the more you realize uh the nature of the threat that faces your country, the better student, the better leader you will ultimately be.

[ER:] Now you have-you have touched on something which I have a great interest in, uh the kind of training they're going to get uh in the Army. Now some people feel that uh some of the Army's training is-is out of date and unrealistic and uh that we haven't uh come up to modern standards. Um I'm going to tell you a funny story though. Um in the last war uh I had a letter from a woman who was very irate because her son was being trained to sit still in the swamps of Louisiana, and she couldn't see anything in that but the most outrageous treatment of a boy. "Why should he catch cold in the swamps of Louisiana? Why should he sit still in a swamp?" And I only answered that I thought probably the Army had a reason for the kind of training it was giving, because I really had never at that time seen any modern war, but in the summer of '43 after I'd been in the Pacific and actually seen the terrain and what the actual training there for the final thing was, I could have written her a much better answer. But I still feel that uh we want to know what kind of training is being given. (19:39)

[Frank Pace Jr.:] I think that's a very pertinent question and one in which uh the American people have a strong and legitimate interest. I'd like to say that uh prior to Korea we engaged generally in the kind of peacetime training that uh is functional within a democracy. There are limitations upon your capacity to train well when there is no uh immediate imminence of-of conflict. Since Korea there has been an extremely realistic approach to the whole problem of training. It is on a basis of complete preparation to uh the men who are being trained. We've brought back uh men from Korea who had actual experience, generally men who've been wounded over there and who are not subject to return. We've organized them into teams; we've sent them out to the divisions that are training, to the replacement training centers so that they could see that the training was actually pertinent to the problem. At the same time, we had men who were wise enough to understand that the training in Korea might not be controlling if we were forced against our will into another type of conflict and therefore it has not not limited to that. We've brought back our experienced generals who've had experience in Korea and placed them at the head of our large uh-uh infantry and artillery schools. Everything is being done on a totally realistic basis. Now I must say to you that it is impossible under those circumstances to always make clear to the individual, just as you illustrated, exactly why certain things are being done. I think we've made enormous strides in that direction, principally because many of the non-commissioned officers who play a major part of the training are veterans of the last war and thus are talking in terms of realism rather than in terms of theory. (21:37)

[ER:] That's very uh interesting thing I think for people to know and a reassuring one, because I think in modern war um we realize that training is all-important uh to the salvation of life very often, and therefore I feel sure that uh everyone will be glad to know uh of the kind of training that men are now getting. I'm sorry we have to have a break, but we will be back at this interview in a few minutes.

(Break 22:13 - 22:27)

[ER:] Now we are going to resume our talk uh with Secretary Pace, and um I think one of the first questions that we want to ask is a question that interests a great many people who want to know if the Army is preparing for psychological warfare.

[Frank Pace Jr.:] Uh it certainly is uh, Mrs. Roosevelt. I'd like to point out of course that the Army has only one part or facet in the whole problem of psychological warfare, nonetheless it constitutes an important uh part of our program. In the last year I think we've made real strides forward in this field. We have for the first time set up psychological warfare as a separate division within the Army. We have uh begun to emphasize it in a major way in our training of our men so that uh they not only are capable of performing psychological warfare functions, but so that every soldier is aware of the importance of psychological warfare and is himself capable with the real initiative that lies in the American soldier of performing certain functions in the event that uh that the situation is created so that he is able to do so. Uh General [Robert Alexis] McClure uh heads this particular branch. I wish he were here to tell you the story of what the Army is doing. It's uh a story in which uh-uh obviously we are not completely satisfied with what we are doing. There are many things more that can be done, many things more, but at least we are making a sound, aggressive, and I feel intelligent start towards one of the major problems of our time.

[ER:] Well, and it's a new problem, and I'm glad that we are experimenting with it and going forward. What is the next step in organizing SHAPE, S-H-A-P-E? [ER laughs]

[Frank Pace Jr.:] Well, I think uh for the benefit of the people who are listening in, it m-might be wise to point out that SHAPE is the organization that is headed by General Eisenhower as Supreme Commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. General Eisenhower will be back uh here I believe uh very shortly uh in Washington for a report to the American people on what he has found over there. He has been travelling uh as we all know from country to country to not only access the situation but also to create a relationship uh in Europe that is capable of carrying on a sustained function. His headquarters is being organized for him as he moves around Europe and uh it is presently being organized. Some of the very able men from my own department are going into it, and I'm satisfied that it will not be very long before SHAPE takes shape. [ER laughs]

[ER:] Takes shape, that's good. Well, now it's quite evident uh to me that uh Europe uh, the security of Western Europe and the free democracies there are necessary to our security, but I would like to know your feeling about that.

[Frank Pace Jr.:] Well, uh I think that uh it's wise to think about it from two points of view. Let's think about it for a moment from a purely--a point of view of our own national self-interest alone. I think that uh if every citizen had an opportunity to consider the economic manpower, material, and industrial potential of Europe he would realize how important is this great ally to us. I think if he or she took the time to add that potential to the potential of uh the Soviet Union, uh he or she would find that the Soviet Union would have preponderance in most important areas as against ourselves. I think if you add this potential of Europe to our own, you would find that we have a major preponderance in every field except manpower. Therefore purely from a point of view of enlightened self-interest, Western Europe is essential to the security to the United States. The second point is a moral one. The leadership in this world uh cannot come solely from physical strength, it must come likewise from moral leadership. These are our friends. These are the people of the free world. These are the people who believe in the ideals of peace. We've talked about collective security; we've talked about peace through strength, if we leave this moral posture of leadership, if we leave these people to be taken over without providing a collective security, if it is a realistic one, I insist it must be realistic, then we lose that leadership that can ultimately bring us peace.

[ER:] Well, I think there's another consideration uh and that is uh that this is-is one of the ways of strengthening the United Nations through the free people isn't it?

[Frank Pace Jr.:] There's no question about it uh the United Nations—

[ER:] Cause we are the peoples who really believe that collective security can be obtained.

[Frank Pace Jr.:] Uh that's right. Under a democratic process.

[ER:] Process. That's uh that seems to me very important. And now I want to ask you a question which is directly tied up with uh this uh whole thing that we've been talking about. What is the Army's single greatest need now? (28:27)

[Frank Pace Jr.:] I think probably the greatest need that the Army has at this particular time is the faith and confidence of the people of the United States. Remember this is a big organization. This is an organization that more than any other organization really reflects the United States of America. The people who constitute the Army, whether they are the West Point graduates who after all went to our high schools and were selected under our system as being representative of our system, or the GI who probably not long ago was uh a young boy uh playing around the home, growing up in the high school and uh uh learning uh the ordinary trades that a young man learns. It is really our country after all, with the great strengths and the great weaknesses of our country, and uh I think that the people should realize that not only are we fighting a tremendously difficult war five thousand miles away against a fanatical foe in a country that we do not know, uh either those of us who are five thousand miles away or-or those who are actually in the country at this time. I think that when you tie that to the fact that we are expanding our manpower potential by well over double, when our industrial development is uh moving up uh to a tremendous total in the next six months, that it's not possible for us not to make mistakes. We'll make mistakes and some of them uh will probably be serious mistakes. Uh those mistakes arise because in any great expansion, in any big organization, mistakes are made. I can only say that the people with whom I am associated are the highest type of people in terms of integrity, decency, uh judgment, and vision. However, despite that fact mistakes will be made. If the Army is to sustain itself, if the Army is, as it has always done in the past, met the requirements that the American people placed on it, it can only do so if the American people believe in it and trust it. If it is badly run, the people who run it should be removed under our democratic system, but if mistakes are made uh and they are frankly admitted, the confidence of the American people must be sustained even though individuals who do not know all of the facts can point out on many occasions how it could be done better. Responsibility is a terrible leveler uh, Mrs. Roosevelt, and when you have responsibility, then you must hue to a consistent course. Uh sometimes that course uh-uh is uh one that is a generally a satisfactory one, sometimes it is not too satisfactory. But nonetheless again I reiterate, that confidence in the Army which represents America which is always done the job in the past, is the greatest single need of the country.

[ER:] I-I would-would agree with you absolutely on that, and I would agree that uh confidence and appreciation must go hand in hand. I have been sometimes quite shocked at the indifference that the general public sometimes shows towards men in service and um I think one of the things that what you have just said will do for us, is that it will increase our sense of uh closeness to the Army and responsibility for the morale of the Army. Am I right there?

[Frank Pace Jr.:] You most certainly are right, and uh when I say that the Army needs it, I would like to likewise say that I'm satisfied that they will get it. The people have always responded to the needs and requirements of our armed forces. Uh the people understand it. We go through periods of doubt. This is a period of great difficulty because we are moving in this uh extreme expansion. Uh many people who can only see one small part of the problem feel that that part is not intelligently integrated. Possibly it is not,

but generally speaking as great an effort is made as is possible to see that all of the pieces are put together and made into an intelligent pattern.

[ER:] I think what you've said will give great confidence to all of us who are the people, and I want to thank you very much, Mr. Secretary, for taking the time to be on this program today. (33:33)

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