

THE PUBLIC PAPERS AND ADDRESSES OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

HAROLD J. LASKI*

THESE stately volumes represent an interesting and illuminating innovation in the public life of the United States. They contain not merely all the more important state papers and addresses of Mr. Roosevelt's administration, but each of them is annotated by the President himself; and there is also an ample, and largely verbatim, selection of the Press Conferences at the White House which have been so significant a feature of the Presidency since 1933. We are thus able, as it were, to see Mr. Roosevelt at work in his more public context. We catch glimpses of the inner personality, of the man who, in himself, has been so outstandingly the driving force of his administration. As a revelation of the dynamics of the greatest democratic institution in the modern world, the volumes are of incomparable value. As an insight into their working, I know nothing of similar importance save that unique *Diary* of John Quincy Adams which, even yet, has not received its proper recognition by students of the social sciences.

There are many points of view from which these volumes could be discussed. They are a portrait of Mr. Roosevelt himself. They are a revelation of the range of the Presidential function in its daily operation. They are a clue to the changing contours of American life, both in its national and in its international aspects. They are a clue, further, to the purposes of the present administration at an epoch of American history that is, on any showing, vital. It is not easy for a foreigner to comment upon these things; however delicately he tread, like Agag, he runs the risk of being torn in pieces. If I venture, therefore, to move over dangerous ground, the fault must be attributed less to my own temerity, than to the editorial sense of a fitness which I have not had the courage to call into question.

The outstanding qualities of the President that these papers reveal are first, courage, and, second, the experimental temper. I venture to doubt whether he has, beyond a general faith in the rights and virtues of the common man, any considered and systematic philosophy. He is immensely aware of the power of, and need for, state-action. He conceives that it must be unfailingly applied to mitigate the consequences of social

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