



FELICIA G. BOCK, 1996
(Photo by Olan Mills)

Table of Contents

	Page
Table of Contents	i
Chapter I	1
Early Life and Education Abroad in Japan; Interim in California	1
Further Education in U.S. and Japan; Early Career and Marriage	2
International Relations and Politics Influence Felicia Bock's Future	3
Move to New York Before World War II Began in the Pacific	4
Impact of the Pending War on Japanese Nationals.....	4
Move to California, Then to Berkeley in 1947; Affiliation with U.C. Berkeley.....	6
First Affiliation with Berkeley League of Women Voters (1940s)	7
Berkeley League Studies the United Nations	7
Influence of Leaders in the Berkeley League of Women Voters	8
Irene Prescott	8
Clara Shirpser, Who Ran for Public Office.....	8
Ruth Kingman and Ruth Scheer	9
Helen Douglas.....	10
<u>Photo</u> : Members of the Men's Advisory Committee with Felicia Bock, Chairman of Berkeley Community Finance Drive for League of Women Voters (<i>Berkeley Daily Gazette</i> , April 19, 1969)	11
Chapter II	12
Involvement in Foreign Policy Study by League of Women Voters (1957); Later, Finance Chairman.....	12
Formation of a China Study Committee by the League of Women Voters (1969-1971) —Lucy Rey, Chair.....	13
Impact of League Positions from China Study During Nixon Administration (1970s)	14
League Members Working on the China Study.....	15
Leadership of Constance Mackay, Including Trade Study by the League and City of Berkeley's Involvement in Trade.....	16

Facing Environmental Pollution Issues	17
The Vietnam War	17
Later League Study on Foreign Trade (Helen Break, Chair)	18
League Studies on United Nations (Foreign Policy Workshop, 1957-1958, Chaired by Felicia Bock)	19
Establishment of European Union	20
Chapter III	21
The League of Women Voters Launches National Security Study in the 1980s, Including Arms Control and Use of Nuclear Weapons (Margaret Dumas, Chair).....	21
U.S. Relations with Developing Countries and League Support of Treaties (Such as Nonproliferation and the Anti-Ballistic Missile)	22
U.C. Berkeley Contacts Become a Resource to the League	23
Activities Outside the League of Women Voters	24
Looking Toward the League's Goals in the Next 75 Years	25
<u>Photo</u> : Sacramento Rally of Mothers for Gun Control (May, 2001)	26
Appendices	
Articles and a Letter Relevant to Felicia Bock and Her Daughter, Audie Bock	27-38
List of Presidents (from the Beginning) for Berkeley League, and later League of Women Voters of Berkeley, Albany, and Emeryville	
Legal Release Form	

ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

INTERVIEW WITH FELICIA G. BOCK

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Purpose: To cover the information relevant to the oral history, particularly of former presidents and leaders of the League of Women Voters of Berkeley, Albany, and Emeryville.

Tape 1, Side A, 30 minutes

Chapter I

TP: I'm Therese Pipe with the League of Women Voters of Berkeley, Albany, and Emeryville. I'm interviewing Felicia Bock today at her home in Oakland on March 18, 1997, in connection with our League's project for an oral history study of early members in leadership roles and the history of the Berkeley League of Women Voters.

Early Life and Education Abroad in Japan; Interim in California

Mrs. Bock, let's go back to your early biographical information. You were born in Japan, is that right?

FB: Yes, in Tokyo, in 1916.

TP: And your parents¹ were missionaries there, I believe. You lived there for a substantial amount of time. Can you describe what life was like there at the time and some of the problems your parents might have encountered?

¹ Felicia Bock's parents, James Fullerton Gressitt and Edna Linsley Gressitt, were Baptist missionaries in Japan from 1907 to 1945. [FB/TP]

FB: Well, we lived in Yokohama until the Great Earthquake and fire of 1923, when we lost our home. Up to that time, both in Tokyo and in Yokohama, we were in a very international atmosphere. We lived on the Bluff in Yokohama where there were Americans, French, Germans, Russians — many Russian emigrés, one of whom lived with us — until the earthquake. Most of Yokohama was burned up, including the school where my father was teaching. We were at our summer resort in north Japan on September 1, and afterward we lived in smaller towns for some time.

Finally, after eight months, we were able to get back to Yokohama and lived in a Japanese house. That is when I first started in a formal school, the American School in Japan in Tokyo. My sister, my brother [Florence and Linsley], and I had to travel by train from Yokohama to Tokyo every day. That started me in third grade, so for third and part of fourth grade I was commuting to the American School in Japan, which still exists. It's a very large school now with a large campus on the west side of Tokyo.

After that, in 1925, we had to come here to California because my mother had contracted tuberculosis and my brother had nearly died of typhoid fever. They were both invalids when we left Japan. That gave us actually four years living here in Oakland at the Chabot Observatory where my uncle was the director and my father became an assistant there.

Further Education in U.S. and Japan; Early Career and Marriage

TP: What years were those?

FB: That was from 1925 to 1929. I made a lot of progress with good schooling in California, excellent schools in those days; and so, when we went back to Japan in 1929, I was a sophomore in high school. After finishing high school in Tokyo, I came back to the United States and attended Mount Holyoke College. After graduating from Mount Holyoke and doing one year of teaching, I received a fellowship at Kobe College for Women. I went back to Japan in 1937 in the summer, just after the Japanese armies had taken most of northern China.

In 1938, in the spring, when Japanese schools have a long vacation, I went with two other young American teachers to China. We three women went by rail all the way from Kobe via Korea and Manchuria to Peking for spring vacation. That was my first trip to China. I saw something of Korean and Japanese people living in so-called Manchuria — that is, the three eastern provinces of China, which were all under Japanese rule at that time. After that year, I was teaching in Tokyo and met Mr. [Charles Kurt] Bock there [he was originally

from Austria]. He was working for an American company in Tokyo. We were married in 1940.

International Relations and Politics Influence Felicia Bock's Future

TP: Wonderful! Can you tell me, were there some early influences prior to your marriage that might have influenced you later to get involved in political activity — either some early teachers or your parents — did they influence you in any way?

FB: Well, I was busy in Japan in those four years studying Japanese culture, which included spoken language first of all, and written language. I also studied Japanese music and Japanese history. I was learning a whole new culture which I'd grown up with, but it hadn't penetrated before.

We got very much aware of international relations and international conflict because long before the Japanese took Pearl Harbor, they were not only advancing over the Asian continent, but their goal also was to control the Pacific Ocean. They already possessed a lot of islands in the South Pacific, and they needed to have command of the whole Pacific. More than once, Ambassador Grew had informed the State Department that the Japanese were advancing and they very likely would be attacking us, either in the Philippines or possibly even at Hawaii, because he knew how their navy and army had been built up towards these ends. Somehow, one gets the feeling that the State Department and the War Department were not communicating very closely, or else President Roosevelt just didn't take the warning seriously.

TP: You're saying now that they did *not* communicate too well; was that the problem?

FB: That's the impression you get. I read Ambassador Grew's biography more than once.

TP: What was his full name?

FB: Joseph C. Grew. He wrote his book, Ten Years in Japan, and as a matter of fact, he was our commencement speaker when I graduated from high school in 1932. That was his first year in Japan, and then he left when he was repatriated in 1942; so he literally was in Japan for ten years and he was very well-informed. He had an excellent staff, and he had warned the State Department. But at the same time, late in 1941, you may remember that the Japanese sent over a Special Envoy to talk about keeping the peace on Japan's terms. The Envoy was there at the Japanese embassy as the guest of Ambassador Nomura,

and President Roosevelt conferred with Special Envoy Kurusu and Ambassador Nomura about keeping the peace with Japan.

These conversations were going on right at December 7, when the Japanese planes struck Pearl Harbor and Hickham Field [where the U.S. planes were] and destroyed a good deal of our fleet.² The Japanese felt, no doubt, that if they could destroy our fleet, then they would have full command of the Pacific Ocean. But they underestimated the American populace. I am saying this because so many people don't realize that we were being tricked by diplomacy at that time by having this Special Envoy to distract us from what the military rule in Japan was preparing to surprise us with.

Move to New York Before World War II Began in the Pacific

TP: You had gone to Washington before the war broke — did these developments influence your making decisions, yours and your husband's decisions, to move to New York?

FB: The reason we went to New York from Japan at that time was that Mr. Bock could get a job with the same company he had worked for in Japan, namely, United Artists. He was in the film distributing business in Japan, and he got a mediocre job in New York; but at least it was something to start with.

He was very eager to get out of Japan because no one trusted the plans of the Japanese at that time, and I know that even when we were living in New York, he would ask people who knew Japan very well, "Do you think they're going to go to war with us?" Nobody could predict; but if they watched the signs, if they knew Japan very well and had *left* there because of warnings from our consular people in Japan, they were apprehensive. Our consular people warned Americans to leave, so many families left, and sometimes the husband, who was in business, would stay. But so many people had left, there was no question in their minds that danger was on the horizon. The reason I got to Washington for a job was because people were needed who could translate Japanese materials.

Impact of the Pending War on Japanese Nationals

TP: Oh, you worked in Washington?

FB: Yes, but Mr. Bock had to stay in New York City as he was not yet a citizen. I worked for half a year in Washington, D.C. in the Library of Congress. There

² Regarding the Roosevelt-Kurusu-Nomura talks: I have an entirely different conclusion about these high-level diplomatic discussions after reading Robert B. Stinnett, Day of Deceit, The Truth about FDR and Pearl Harbor, the Free Press / Simon & Schuster, Inc., New York, NY, 2000. This is a well-documented book based on facts obtained from archival research and personal interviews with U.S. Navy cryptographers involved. [FB]

was an opening there because the person who preceded me was a Japanese national; and he was so worried, he broke his contract and left in the Spring of '41. He was here alone, and his family was in Japan. He didn't want to be separated, so he must have had some inkling that something bad might happen. My boss was also a Japanese national. The evening that the Pearl Harbor news broke in Washington — not even evening, afternoon — the F.B.I. was at her door and had her moved to internment. All the Japanese nationals were treated that way. They were interned until they could be repatriated, along with the diplomats [who were confined in their embassy], to Japan in early 1942.

TP: So, when you say this “internment,” is it on the East Coast?

FB: Yes, a camp in New Jersey.

TP: And evidently, this was during the war period, or was it just prior to the war?

FB: Nobody was interned until the Japanese struck Pearl Harbor. Then, all Japanese nationals became “enemy aliens,” as did Germans and Italians, who were also interned.

TP: What else did you do when you worked in New York during the war years, from '41 to '46? What was your employment at that time?

FB: I came back to New York City from Washington at the end of February, '42, and our first baby [Linsley Fleur] was born about ten days later; so when she was about two months old, I did look for a job. By this time, the government, all branches that were concerned with war, was very desperate to get people who could read and write Japanese so there was a lot of choice. I was wooed by the F.B.I. and the New York Postal Censorship Bureau and the O.W.I (Office of War Information), but I ended up in military intelligence (G-2), which had an office in New York that was there because of all the confiscated material from Japanese and German and Italian banks and corporations that had their headquarters there. All their materials were confiscated, and from those we had a very good library [books, periodicals, maps] in the office I worked in.

I worked in New York until that office, that operation, was moved to Washington to consolidate with G-2 [Intelligence – General Staff] there. As it was not possible for us to move to Washington, I then worked for the Navy for a short period until that unit went out to the Pacific. For the last year of the war, I worked for the O.S.S. [Office of Strategic Services³], also having to do with Japan. That was a New York office. All my work was in Rockefeller Center except the Navy unit that was operating in a building on the Columbia University campus.

³ The OSS was the precursor to the CIA [Central Intelligence Agency]. [TP]

TP: Were you mostly involved in translation?

FB: That's right, technical and economic materials.

TP: That was your primary work?

FB: Yes — but once in a while interpretation, but not often. That was when some Japanese nationals had to be interviewed who couldn't speak English. That's a difficult thing. I had colleagues who were in the Navy and who had to interview people like that who couldn't speak English, and unfortunately, they were people who spoke some dialect that was difficult to understand. There are dialects in Japan, as small as it is.

Move to California, Then to Berkeley in 1947; Affiliation with U.C. Berkeley

TP: Then, from there, I believe you moved to California, is that right?

FB: Yes.

TP: Right after the war?

FB: Well, the next year. We came out here in early '46 to Oakland, and then after a year we moved to Berkeley, so we settled there in June of 1947.

TP: Then you were educated at the University of California?

FB: Yes, I started taking graduate work at U.C. Berkeley in '46 and received my Master's degree in '48. Then later, much later, I went back to graduate school to work for a doctorate in Oriental Languages [now called East Asian Languages], which was conferred in 1966.

TP: But your Master's was in Japanese, wasn't it?

FB: Yes.

TP: And then, you taught at U.C. Extension for a period, didn't you?

FB: Yes, that was from 1962 to about 1972.

TP: When you taught at Extension, was that the time when you taught about Chinese history and culture and Far Eastern Buddhism?

FB: Most of it was the history of *Japanese* culture; but one time, and that happened to be in Berkeley, I gave a course in Chinese history. Several times I taught 'Far Eastern Buddhism,' that is, history of Buddhism in China, Korea, and Japan.

TP: And this was all through Extension?

FB: Yes, they were all Extension courses.

First Affiliation with Berkeley League of Women Voters (1940s)

TP: That was in the '60s, of course, when you did all that, so we'll go into the '60s period later on. What was it that attracted you to the League of Women Voters of Berkeley, the motivation that attracted you around the early '50s or even prior to that?

FB: I first joined in 1949. Somebody I knew from earlier days told me that Berkeley had such a good League of Women Voters, I would have to get into it but I didn't join immediately. When I joined, it was when Irene Prescott was president and I had very little experience in local affairs or state affairs. The first time I ever voted was in New York when I was already 26 years old, in 1942, I guess it was. I really didn't know much about local politics or anything, and so I really felt I needed to learn.

The first group I got into in Berkeley was Helen Douglas's wonderful International Relations discussion group, and it went on and on, whether there was a specific study under the League or we just got together to discuss what was going on in all parts of the world. She was a very well-informed woman, always up-to-date in what was going on nationally and internationally. This was the most vigorous group I'd seen, almost the largest group I'd seen doing a specific study and following through year after year. It was very inspiring.

TP: So, that was in the early '50s after you'd joined that you became affiliated with this International Relations group?

FB: Yes.

Berkeley League Studies the United Nations

TP: What were some of the issues that were faced at the time, that the League was confronted with?

FB: The United Nations came up time after time, and I could see that from 1945 on, the League took a very strong position of support of the United Nations and its agencies and of the International Court of Justice and the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. The League supported those from the very beginning and was also interested in the status of nongovernmental organizations that observed the United Nations. The League has reinforced this position over the years with periodic studies of the United Nations, and they've all been very interesting. We had different leaders for these studies and different emphases for a national study, but it's always reaffirmed League support for the U.N.

I think it's really wonderful how the League has upheld and renewed its support, but I didn't feel that our League was unanimously interested in United Nations studies because our League in Berkeley had so many local issues which they studied very thoroughly, as well as state issues. It may differ from Leagues in the East, I don't know, but it's all to their credit that they have worked so hard on these. I've always been more interested in the international issues and the foreign policy issues which our League did study.

Influence of Leaders in the Berkeley League of Women Voters

Irene Prescott

TP: Going back, also — and we'll dwell on this more as we proceed with your interview — going back to the people who were involved in the early period of the League of Women Voters of Berkeley — Irene Prescott, you mentioned, was president at the time. Were you closely affiliated with her? What was her influence on you, if any? And what kinds of things were going on with the Berkeley League at that time?

FB: Well, with Irene Prescott, I was very interested in her career. She was a teacher of history. If I am right, she did teach history at U.C. Berkeley. One interesting thing — she went to Germany to help German women prepare themselves for democratic government after the war. She, as long as I knew her, was active in the American Field Service, which, as you know, raises money to send students overseas. She was very much of an internationalist, and I think eventually she and Russell both went to Australia to tell them about the International House in Berkeley [at U.C. Berkeley], which she was active in. The American Field Service got students to go abroad and learn other cultures, and to them the American Field Service and the International House in Berkeley were models for other countries to follow. In that connection, she went on a speaking tour in Australia, but she had a lot of other talents, too.

She was a good administrator and, of course, was finance chairman after she was president — I worked with her on the Finance Committee — beside the fact that she was a close neighbor at that time, so we could get together often. We were both on Santa Barbara Road, and later, having learned from Irene how to raise money, I had that job, too.

Clara Shirpser, Who Ran for Public Office

TP: So, you chaired that committee later, the Finance Committee? What about Clara Shirpser? What was your connection with her? I'm just going to quote the

time that she was active on the Board. From '48 to '49 she was president of the Berkeley League.

FB: Yes, I wasn't a member yet at that time, but I heard about her; and it so happened that where we lived at that time, we lived around the corner from Jeffrey and Evelyn Cohelan. Cohelan, at that time, was a politically active member of his union, and he had invited Clara Shirpser to a neighborhood meeting to hear her speak because she was running for State Assembly against young [Thomas W.] Caldecott. I think this was about 1952. Unfortunately, she didn't win.

People criticized her [Clara], even people within the League, I think . . . "Oh, she used her presidency as a steppingstone for running for office." I thought that was quite unjust. I think that's a very natural course for a woman to take. She was a born leader, well-informed on civic matters, on national matters, and state matters in this case. Why not run for office? We need more women in office, a good influence. I thought that was a poor criticism of her, that she really had a lot of courage to do that; and I did see her occasionally, but I was not very familiar with her. I did get to know other former presidents too.

Ruth Kingman and Ruth Scheer

TP: Such as Ruth Kingman, for instance?

FB: Well, Ruth Kingman was a really very active person, and she had a great personality. She and her husband, after he retired, I believe, spent half of their time in Washington, D.C. lobbying Congress on issues that they thought were very important. You can read their biography — a joint biography, I believe it is — in the Regional Oral History Office of The Bancroft Library. I read that and found that they had both lived very interesting lives. They were very outgoing. He'd been director of the campus Y.M.C.A., among other things.

When I visited her in her home in Berkeley, she was sewing. She showed me that she was her own dressmaker, and I thought, how wonderful! The best dressed women are those who can sew for themselves. Isn't it a pity that in the Oakland schools, I don't believe children learn to sew or cook any more, but that was one of the benefits of going to school here when I was young. I had several years of sewing, including dressmaking.

Then, there was Ruth Scheer a little earlier.

TP: Yes, now she [Ruth Scheer] was president of the League of Women Voters in Berkeley in 1941, I believe, for one year. I just want to add that she was

interviewed by the League of Women Voters of the Bay Area Oral History Project, and they have documentation on her that is also at The Bancroft Library in U.C. Berkeley. Please tell me your memories of her.

FB: Well, of course, Ruth Scheer was a very lovely person and had such poise and grace. She was always very well-dressed and I found out that she, too, did her own dressmaking, maybe not all of it, but she always looked perfectly dressed. The thing about doing your own sewing is you'll always have a good fit. But somehow women don't seem to be spending their time that way as much as they used to.

Helen Douglas

TP: Do you want to add something about Mrs. [Helen] Douglas?

FB: Well, Mrs. Douglas had been president of the League [1942], and I may have heard that, but I knew her only as the chairman of this International Relations discussion group, shall we call it. We weren't then planning on preparing materials to present to the League as a whole, but we were keeping abreast of national and international affairs under her guidance, and that was a wonderful period. I was just so privileged to know her. I was told that as many as thirty women joined the International Relations discussion group before I joined the League.

TP: Were you impressed at all by her style of running meetings, and so forth? What was your impression of her in that regard?

FB: She really *led* the group. We learned from listening to her. She always knew the latest news. I know she lived alone. Her daughter was her only relative I ever heard of — she lived in New York City — but I think they talked almost every day on the phone. She did get us to observe and pay attention to events around the world.

TP: Thank you for meeting with me today for this informative interview. We'll follow up with a second session sometime soon.



Caption taken from article in *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, April 19, 1969: Members of the Men's Advisory Committee met recently with the League of Women Voters to help plan the Berkeley Community Finance Drive, part of the National League of Women Voters' 50th Anniversary celebration. The gentlemen, from left, are Charles J. Cox, Robert E. Hink [owner and manager, Hink's Department Store], and Richard E. Erickson [U.C. Alumni Association]. They are shown with Mrs. Charles Bock, chairman for the drive.

Tape 2, Side A, 30 minutes

Chapter II

Involvement in Foreign Policy Study by League of Women Voters (1957); Later, Finance Chairman

TP: We're doing a second tape interview with Felicia Bock in her home in Oakland, on July 29, 1997, for the League of Women Voters of Berkeley, Albany, and Emeryville. Perhaps you'd like to start out by discussing a foreign policy workshop you were involved in with the League of Women Voters in 1957.

FB: That was primarily a study of our foreign policy, including foreign aid to what we called "underdeveloped" countries then. That term was changed to "developing" countries eventually. Foreign aid all along consisted of financial aid, technical aid, and also military aid. The League of Women Voters was most interested in separating military aid and to try to reduce that and put more emphasis on humanitarian aid and technical aid — now called technical assistance. We never seem to have won that battle. I think military aid has been the big thing for decades and decades, and now it's taken the form of our being the biggest arms sales agent in the world, which may be good for our economy, but it certainly supplies a lot of these civil wars that are going on. That's an unfortunate aspect of our giving military assistance to developing countries. Now they spend more money on getting sophisticated weapons than they do improving the life of their people.

And then, after '58, from '58 to '59, I was Finance Chairman, and that was an interesting way to get acquainted with our community. We had this men's advisory committee which was very helpful in getting League people to know what companies and corporations and people of the community we could approach. They met with us periodically for our finance drive and gave us names of people to solicit. I think that's when I got acquainted with Wilma Jordan because we were working on that committee together, and we went around to all the small businesses in Berkeley. Some of them weren't able to do much, but at least we got a little publicity for the League. Eventually, a lot of these people who helped us were steady donors to our finance drive. A lot of the good ideas, of course, came from Irene Prescott.

TP: There were some articles in the file about the Finance Committee work. This was actually in the '60s, and they covered the men's advisory group that you mentioned and so forth. At any rate, you were quoted as saying that "in order

to keep up with the times and enhance the effect of the League, we need increased financial support from our community to establish a special fund to provide greater use of media, wider distribution of nonpartisan materials, and have more discussions on the issues that separate and challenge us as citizens.”

There were several studies that the League was involved in at the time, and I just want to mention this as part of the record. You can talk about any of these things if you wish. Some of the items studied were Minority Employment in Berkeley, Equality in Local Housing, Relationship between Berkeley City Government and the Citizen, and Regional Government for the Bay Area. At the time — this was in the '60s when Bea Fraenkel-Conrat was president of the League — do you recall: was any of that significant to the period?

FB: It was all significant, but, as you may have noticed, I seldom got involved in local issues because these seemed to be of the greatest importance to most League people, while international relations and foreign trade didn't attract that many people.

TP: Yes, I understand.

FB: But anyway, we certainly needed financing for distribution of “Pros and Cons” and other voter information. We needed volunteers to staff the registration booths or desks that the League put up, which was a very vital part of the League's role in the community. Yes, I have that from '69 to '70, I was working on finance again, and we always looked for more people to solicit in the community; and we sometimes approached people who were outside, who had been big donors, who had left Berkeley and gone somewhere else. That wasn't so easy. But anyway, it involved more people than were on the Finance Committee; and, of course, loyal League members, many of them, donated to the Finance Drive each year.

Formation of a China Study Committee by the League of Women Voters (1969-1971) —Lucy Rey, Chair

We studied foreign aid again in '67 and also started our interest in relations with China. We had speakers on that. That's when Professor Chalmers Johnson [at U.C. Berkeley] spoke to us, and we had other prominent people from the faculty from time to time to fill us in on China and the Far East and its importance to the United States in the Taiwan-China cutoff after the communist government took over. So, by '69, a formal study was inaugurated; and we had directives from National League on the problems of China and the importance of getting diplomatic and other relations reinstated with this Chinese communist government [such as the League publication *The China Puzzle*, 1968].

That study went on from 1969, I believe Fall of '69 to Summer of '71, so it can be said to have covered '69-'71.

TP: Was this a time when Lucy Rey was chairing that particular study?

FB: Yes. When that committee was formed, Lucy Rey was asked to chair it. She had been in the China Study Committee before that, but this was a formal study that lasted a little over two years and reported back to the membership on its findings. That was a very significant study. We started by learning the history of China and all the different important events of modern times. The members of the committee — it must have been at least a dozen people — took different aspects of China to report on, and then, towards the end, we began to formulate what the United States should do and why we should take the initiative.

That's all summarized in this report of the committee and their statement to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on the subject of United States / Mainland China Relations. That summary of the study was delivered to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in June, 1971. That was a summary of our conclusions after a detailed study of the People's Republic of China. Some of the things we suggested for restoring our relations: to begin at the "people level" and exchange ping-pong, have ping-pong tournaments here — that did happen eventually (I think these were Lucy Rey's ideas) — including, we should invite a Peking Opera cast to come over here and perform.

Impact of League Positions from China Study During Nixon Administration (1970s)

These things actually came to pass. I can't be sure whether it was before, or just about the time, or just after the Nixon reestablishment by direct action in 1972. That was a very historic time. I don't know how long it would have taken if Henry Kissinger hadn't been working quietly without publicity for some time and arranging the meeting of President Nixon with the ruling body of China. This opened up not only diplomacy, diplomatic exchange, but also trade, which, we all know, has burgeoned into something big.

So it was good that the League took an initiative to make this study and to come to very important conclusions. We came to the point of informing and encouraging the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate and the Administration to take the initiative in resuming relations and to also see that mainland China got a seat in the United Nations where their conduct would be seen by all the world and they would participate in international decisions made in the Security Council, and so on. After that, of course, Taiwan had to give up the seat it had representing China to the major China of the continent, and, of

course, this is still a problem that is with us: how Taiwan and China are going to get along.

League Members Working on the China Study

TP: And some of the women who worked with you on this study included people like Helen Ansley and Eva Brecher?

FB: I think Margaret Dumas was in it, also.

TP: Ruth Kingman was in it. Was she a consultant to the China study?

FB: Yes. She was not attending this. This is a larger list that you have of people who were studying China or had done so before we formed the committee in 1969. So, yes, Ruth Kingman and her husband, of course, did a lot of observing of Congress and lobbying for things that they believed were important, so she was a valuable resource person for our committee. (Pointing to the study) Well, I can tell you from this list of people who actually participated — Helen Ansley, Marjorie Bottomly, Eva Brecher — maybe I could star these people who actually did work in the study under Lucy Rey. I don't think Charlotte Alhadeff did. She was, of course, an economist, and she was in our *Trade* study, a very important member of that very small group under Helen Break's chairmanship.

TP: Wasn't that a study later in the '70s that Helen Break chaired?

FB: Yes. But in the China study in which Sandra Napell participated, Lucy Rey was chairman, and Marianne Morgens — I guess "Mooins" is how it's pronounced (she was Danish) — I remember we'd get together at the close of our meeting and have lunch and Marianne made wonderful Danish smorrobrod for the whole group. Another time, I had them meet at our house and I served a Japanese meal.

TP: So, it was very international in the way of food.

FB: Her last name was "Ring." "Morgens" was her husband's name. I thought Margaret Dumas was in it, but . . .

TP: Her name wasn't on the list at that time.

FB: This isn't the exact list. Sonoma Cooper was in most of our International Relations studies after she retired from being a history teacher at Berkeley High. She was a very fine person, very well-informed, so yes, in United Nations studies. There were other people who were in the China study: Betty Cohn, Emily Fine.

Leadership of Constance Mackay, Including Trade Study by the League and City of Berkeley's Involvement in Trade

TP: So then, from there, you took positions and so forth. Now, a woman you had worked with earlier was Constance Mackay, I believe.

FB: Yes, Constance Mackay, President of the Berkeley League, 1955-56. We did have International Relations studies at that time. I remember attending the board meetings when Constance Mackay was president and sitting there through the whole thing and never being called on to report anything. But the fact is that we kept the International Relations group going over the years even when there was not a formal study, you know, ordained by National League.

Constance Mackay was one of the best presidents, I thought, in her manner of conducting meetings. She was Canadian, and her husband was on the faculty at U.C. Berkeley. She had a good idea of how to keep order, and she had very good training, I thought. Some League members do stand out, either for their oral delivery as presidents or for their perspective that keeps them within the subject and within the time frame and all that. We've had a lot of outstanding women, I must say, when I go through the list of Berkeley League presidents, 1922 to 1996. Constance Mackay died several years ago.

TP: She was involved in the Trade Study that the League did in the 1950s, and during it there was some discussion of how much Berkeley was involved in foreign trade, wasn't there?

FB: Oh, yes! They went around to the different companies, and it was quite interesting. We did get involved with that, although it wasn't the International Relations group particularly. But that study really went door-to-door to factories and manufacturers who exported to mainly the Far East; I suppose, Japan and so on. We got a good idea that there was a lot of foreign trade going right out of Berkeley, and that was an eye-opener! I remember getting acquainted with a man who had spent time in Turkey, had business there, and that was very interesting to me because I made a trip to Turkey in the '60s. He loaned me a book to read about Turkey before I went. I don't remember what company it was, and there's probably more information about that because the League certainly had a list of those businesses.

TP: The different companies?

FB: I can't give any names offhand, but I believe they are to be found in League archives.

Facing Environmental Pollution Issues

TP: And there was an environmental aspect about cleaning out polluters? Was that also discussed?

FB: Well, I guess that was a local issue, and it's burgeoned now. It's really overwhelming now when we discover that every gas station and, of course, every refinery is either polluting the air or the earth or the Bay with heavy metals and chemicals that are endangering our fish and our birds and everything else. There is nothing more vivid than what we've seen here in the past months, the dredging of Lake Merritt for the first time in thirty years. They've dredged for months on the other cove where the creek comes in at the Lakeshore Avenue side. After months of that, they were working over here with huge machinery that sucks up through pipes or hoses from the bottom this muck, and it went on and on. Then they removed the machinery, and they had two steam shovels working here, and everything that was brought up was pitch-black.

You could see that there was an accumulation of — probably a lot of it is oil residue — and, I believe, because of the gas station right here, probably very toxic residue which was leaching through the soil into the lake. They say that these underground tanks can leak; so if you've noticed, in Berkeley, too, wherever they've removed a gas station — there's one at University Avenue and San Pablo — after the station is phased out, the lot is empty for *years* because of the pollution in the ground. In some places, they had to dig out a whole lot and put new soil and new foundations in for something else. I think the lot at Hearst and Oxford is still empty. I think there was a Texaco station there. We've been poisoned in lots of ways without realizing it, so it was a very important thing for the League to study polluters; and more and more information comes out on that subject now.

The Vietnam War

TP: So, then, after the China Study, which apparently had its impact, wasn't there a policy on Vietnam that came out of that study?

FB: That I don't remember. I certainly was involved in what was going on with the campus during the Vietnam War because I was still doing graduate work there. There were some amazing things that went on, but I don't know whether the League got involved in policy — it would have been very difficult to take any position on a thing like that. But you read now about the people who admit the policy was wrong; I don't want to get sidetracked now, but I don't think the League could have taken any position.

Later League Study on Foreign Trade (Helen Break, Chair)

TP: Then, there was a foreign trade study done, I believe in the '70s, that was chaired by Helen Break. Did you work with that at all?

FB: Yes. That was a very small group on foreign trade. I boldly joined it to work on Japan trade because it had reached quite an active stage. We were the biggest trade partner of Japan, and Japan was exporting everything they could to us, but I found I was in the kind of company I wasn't accustomed to: people who were wives of Economics professors, Helen Break and Connie Holton and Charlotte Alhadeff, who was an economist herself, and I was scared to open my mouth. There were one or two other people, not more than five or six, and we met at Helen Break's. This was a one- or two-year study, I think. It's such a huge subject, and these people who were so far ahead of me in economics and trade. Well, nevertheless, we did report back to the League units.

TP: That was when you converted from the term of "workshop" to "unit?"

FB: No, it had been converted before that. I don't remember when the change was made. We were doing a study, and then we communicated to all the units. We had a rehearsal, and I remember I was very nervous about giving my presentation because there were all these wise critics in the rehearsal before we presented our report to the units. Anyway, that was '69.

TP: What was Helen Break like to work with? Was she organized?

FB: Oh, yes. It was a very well-planned and well-directed study.

TP: A favorable kind of experience?

FB: Oh, yes. Those women are so well-schooled and so smart, with Helen Break as chairman. We've lost Charlotte Alhadeff — she was a very valuable member of the League. Connie Holton was very well-informed, too, in economics and trade.

TP: Was she involved in that trade study?

FB: Yes, she was on the trade study. We met at her home a couple of times. There were one or two other people I don't recall right now.

TP: And then you submitted your conclusions to the units?

FB: Yes.

**League Studies on United Nations (Foreign Policy Workshop,
1957-1958, Chaired by Felicia Bock)**

TP: Was the League changing in different ways at that time? Or was it just moving along? Was its policy toward the United Nations still very strong?

FB: Well, I've mentioned U.N. studies here. I think about once in a decade — maybe not quite that often — but at least three or four times in my League career, which started before 1950, there was a United Nations study. I think I did refer to it when we talked earlier.

TP: Yes, you did, in our earlier interview.

FB: I'm not sure, but I put together a Foreign Policy Workshop in 1957-58. That probably was a U.N. study because I know we did one about then, and just one-year studies on the United Nations in order to update ourselves and to see if our position was the same. Our position through the years has been support for the United Nations and its agencies. Another time, it was support for the entire United Nations system, which means Security Council, General Assembly, and all the U.N. agencies.

Of course, now, our government has been withholding its dues — assessment is the word for it. We have a big assessment because, I guess, we are the richest country but we haven't been paying our dues, our promise on that assessment. One reason is that we were finding fault with the way that things were run. In fact, at one point, there was an unfortunate choice of the director of UNESCO, the United Nations Educational Scientific Organization, which does a lot of good things in different countries around the world. The U.S. was so disappointed in that director. What happened then was that we withdrew from UNESCO and we've never rejoined, although there is a committee, a voluntary support group for UNESCO. They have an office right here in Oakland. Maybe we'll rejoin, but the issue in Congress now is to authorize or to budget for repaying, paying up our arrears.

Of course, we have an unfortunate choice in Jesse Helms as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who has tried to hold back on this. We people who are alive and awake, we think of him as a kind of fossil. He's still back in the 19th century. There are a lot of people, and a lot of them in Congress, who don't realize we're part of a whole world community now. We can't decide, "Well, we're not going to support this," or "We're not going to participate in that," and when you see how the European people who fought each other twice in this century already are willing to drop the barriers . . .

Establishment of European Union

FB: When we traveled from Germany into Austria this summer, there was no border control. There was a checkpoint leaving Germany, but there was no Austrian checkpoint at all. I thought: boy! this is a change, but it isn't only there. They're talking about the European Union, which is an economic union. It's the talk of every nation because it means that people are having to adjust their sights and some are having to make quite big sacrifices because their products will not sell for the same prices they've been getting. There's going to be an evening-up; and if they take in East European countries, it's going to be even more distorted, unbalanced. But, they're working hard at it; they're talking about it, a single currency for the whole continent — I don't know if Britain will ever join that — but it's amazing how they can overcome the prejudices of the past and really get along together.

Tape 2, Side B, 15 minutes

Chapter III

The League of Women Voters Launches National Security Study in the 1980s, Including Arms Control and Use of Nuclear Weapons (Margaret Dumas, Chair)

TP: So let's move on to what happened in the 1980s with regard to League activity with international relations, Mrs. Bock. Wasn't it between 1982 and 1986 that the National Security study occurred? At that time, the local chair was Margaret Dumas in the Berkeley League of Women Voters.

FB: We had quite an intensive study of foreign military policy. It involved studying our whole domestic military policy with preparedness and the study of our whole military setup and weapons production.⁴

TP: Disarmament and so forth?

FB: *Nobody* ever refers to *disarmament*! We have an Arms Control and Disarmament Agency set up in the government, but it doesn't seem to concern itself with disarmament as much as the sales of weapons to countries overseas. That's been very disappointing. We studied all the policies domestically and foreign, and we learned a lot about the military budget and how it's distributed.

There were *two* two-year studies consecutively, called National Security. This involved quite a number of people. I think at the beginning, I had the names of Sonoma Cooper, Louise Costa, Margaret Dumas, and others. But in the latter part, when we were still working on this, we had Ruth Rosenfeld, Pat Wadleigh, Barbara Galewski, and Doris Mylne. For a long time we met at Doris Mylne's house, and I think that during those years Margaret Dumas was chair. Unfortunately, I don't seem to have my proper notes on those two studies. There was a lot of very important information that we dug up from official sources. The National League, of course, did have some correspondence on these military issues, and interviewed our congressman, Ron Dellums, because he is on the side of not spending so much on arming other countries when we should be spending it on improving the status and the standard of living of some Americans. He would like to see more money spent on the home front

⁴ In May 2003, an oral history with Margaret Dumas, former president of the Berkeley League of Women Voters and chair of its National Security Committee from 1982 to 1986, was published for this Oral History Project. [TP]

than going overseas. Also, there was the buildup in the Reagan administration of an enormous navy and other branches of the Defense Department when these things are already becoming obsolete.

The proof of that is that they are finally phasing out the military bases all over the country which really became obsolete in the beginning of the atomic age, because this changed the whole focus of everything. We now had weapons of *mass* destruction — mass indiscriminate destruction — and this has caused a competition among developing countries to try to get the secret of nuclear weapons without their having gone through the phases we've gone through. We know that the use of any nuclear weapon is going to backfire on the very people that use it. There has been enough research done to show that use of nuclear weapons would just spread from one point — Chernyobol is an example; it spreads all around that hemisphere before you know it, and people are being affected far away from the accident itself. If you actually use these things in warfare, it would most likely eliminate the people who used it as well as most of the population of the earth, if it were done to any great extent.

So, we hope that people are wising up about the use of nuclear weapons, but there are all kinds of other things that came up. We did quite a study of Reagan's proposal, presented by President Reagan as the Strategic Defense Initiative. The more we studied that, the more absurd it seemed because the idea was that we could direct missiles against a missile that was fired from a certain point in the Soviet Union directed at our big cities. But, if you stop to think about all the variables that could occur in a thing like that . . . then, they wanted to develop a missile which would explode so the parts of it would be sure to hit this oncoming missile. Well, they never said what would happen if the whole thing dropped on the continent somewhere because we shot it down after so many seconds had elapsed.

Scientists all over have preached against this and the fallacies of believing that it could be successful, but it still crops up in Congress. They're still voting money for it. This is the kind of thing we studied and took a position on, that this thing should be abolished. It was a big — not a boondoggle, something much worse — a tremendous expenditure and a tremendous amount of publicity was being given to this thing, but nobody would be able to test it to see if it would work.

U.S. Relations with Developing Countries and League Support of Treaties (Such as Nonproliferation and the Anti-Ballistic Missile)

TP: Now, going back to the study that was done, the National Security study in the '80s, one of the main focal points was the U.S. relations with developing countries, wasn't it?

FB: Yes, it was. We worked on supporting treaties like the nonproliferation treaty and the anti-ballistic missile treaty and, of course, we've gotten cooperation with the former Soviet Union by now. But there are always these rogue nations — Iraq being an example — who are buying nuclear know-how from France and setting up a plant.

There are others who claim to have nuclear potential — India and China, the two largest populations in the world — so it makes sense for us to get together and agree on treaties. We need to put more strength into the United Nations so that it can apprehend criminals who are plotting development of weapons of mass destruction, or are involved in genocide like the criminals that are being searched for today in Bosnia. As a matter of fact, Saddam Hussein is still holding forth. We don't get the perpetrators. The victims seem to get punished; the people in these countries who have lost their homes, and the population is decimated, some of them not getting enough food. It's the people themselves who suffer, but those leaders who perpetrate these things go scot-free. So, that's one of our problems.

U.C. Berkeley Contacts Become a Resource to the League

TP: As we wind down this interview, Felicia Bock, which I've thoroughly enjoyed, I'd like to ask you a couple of things that you had talked about a little earlier, and maybe you can add a little. Did you think there was a lot of or enough collaboration with the University of California faculty on League studies? Was there a concerted effort to draw in the faculty, or was it more of a volunteer effort on their part?

FB: Well, I think it worked through League members whose husbands were on the faculty and people like Harriet Nathan, who was very knowledgeable and an excellent president of the League. She went to work for the Institute of Governmental Studies on the U.C. Berkeley campus. She was a source of information and help.

TP: Usually as a liaison person, would you say?

FB: Well, I think so, a resource person.

TP: Incidentally, she's done a lot of work in connection with the Regional Oral History Office at U.C. and has helped document women within the League at a different level.

FB: That's great. Another thing, we had access, of course, to the Documents Section of the University library, where you could get all these things from the United

Nations and international relations. It had a lot of government documents we could consult, so that was just on our own. We could go there and borrow or read texts of treaties and other documents.

Activities Outside the League of Women Voters

TP: And then, going back to something that you probably haven't really dwelled on at all, or maybe you have just very briefly — I believe when you were first entertaining your activities with the League, didn't you also join in on a Women's Democratic Forum in Berkeley in the '50s or so?

FB: Well, that was a place where you got informed mainly about elections and you heard people speak, politicians — I like to see a little bit of political activity, and I don't think I was active in it except to attend meetings sometimes. The way I remember the people who were in it was by this cookbook that they got out, and that was at the time when Adlai Stevenson was running for President and Estes Kefauver was the Vice Presidential candidate. They both have recipes in this book! There are a couple of former League presidents in there, like Clara Shirpser and Ruth Kingman. It shows there were other League members in that book who wanted to be active not only in the League but in partisan politics, which they could do when they weren't holding League office. So, we got good training in the League, also good preparation for being active voters.

TP: Was there any other community work you would like to mention here?

FB: Not mentioned was my volunteer work for the Berkeley public schools: "School Volunteer Resources." I tutored Japanese and Chinese elementary and junior high students in English to help them keep abreast of their grade; I also tutored a Latin student in high school.

TP: Have you felt that your main contribution within the League was probably in the realm of international studies?

FB: Yes. The League is always objective and impartial and scholarly in its approach, which is very important. But on the outside, I've been active in the United Nations Association. One year I co-chaired a study, one of their annual studies, that was on space exploration, "The Last Frontier," outer space. That was very informative — I did a lot of study for that. Then, I've been active in the World Federalists all along because that's the long-term goal. If European countries can federate, why, all of the world's countries should form a federation where international law can be enforced and individual criminals can be brought before an International Criminal Court and that kind of thing. A lot of people think it's just castles in the air, but we have to have goals in order for our

civilization to survive. One of our biggest problems worldwide is, of course, overpopulation, which aggravates every social and religious and other problem that there is. Well, I've got to stop (this interview).

Looking Toward the League's Goals in the Next 75 Years

TP: Yes, all right, just one last question: what do you think the League of Women Voters needs to work at in the next 75 years? What do you think should be their goal?

FB: Oh, I'd have to think about that a long time. As I say, we're a global community now, and we have become pretty good at looking at our foreign relations and all that; but almost everything reverberates throughout the whole world. We have to think in those terms and we have to worry a lot about overpopulation. I don't think the League has ever gotten too involved in family planning, but that has to be promoted in all these countries where there are no limits. People go on having families so big that they can't support them. There isn't going to be enough food to go around unless somebody can find it on another planet, but that's unlikely.

TP: Thank you so much for the time and energy you put into this interview. I'm sure we'll all find it very worthwhile. We'll work together on the transcript.



Attending Sacramento rally of Mothers for Gun Control (Mother's Day, May 13, 2001). Felicia Bock, center, flanked by daughters Linsley, left, and Audie.

Appendix

Articles and a Letter Relevant to Felicia Bock and Her Daughter, Audie Bock

“The Future of National Security,” *National Voter*, Fall 1982.

“In Search of Noah’s Ark,” *Tower Talk*, St. Paul’s Towers, Summer 1996.

“Why I Am Not Jesse ‘the Body’ Ventura” by Audie Bock, *Op.Ed.* editorial page, *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 29, 1999.

“A Capital Daughter,” *The Tower Times*, St. Paul’s Towers Newsletter, Summer 1999.

Letter from Felicia G. Bock to Therese Pipe (Mrs. Bock’s oral history interviewer, League of Women Voters), April 9, 1999.

“A Time to Honor,” Memorial Day Commemoration, Mountain View Cemetery, May 31, 1999.

THE FUTURE OF NATIONAL SECURITY

... to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity....

Thus did the American Founding Fathers, after debating for months over issues large and small, give their reasons for establishing a national government. And thus also did they frame a broad vision of American national security. The language of national security debates is different now, but many of the intellectual underpinnings still echo those lofty phrases of 200 years ago. Contemporary views on national security diverge — to put it mildly — primarily when it comes to choosing the best means toward those ideal ends in a world that the Founding Fathers would scarcely recognize.

As measured by the rising anxiety level of the current national security debate, the world of the late 20th century seems increasingly unfamiliar and confusing to contemporary Americans as well. Just about the only given in any airing of the issues is that Americans feel distinctly less secure — however they define that feeling — than they did fifteen, ten or even five years ago. The differing explanations given for the nagging feeling of national insecurity, and the wide-ranging prescriptions

recommended for curing it, go to the heart of the national security debate.

The American plan

In 1941, Henry Luce used the term "American Century" in describing the preeminence of the United States in the modern world. Luce's hubris seemed more than justified a short time later when America emerged from the devastation of World War II stronger than ever and set about reconstructing the world according to its own image. For a time, the United States was the only superpower in this brave new world, enjoying unchallenged dominance over the economic, political, technological and philosophical processes of post-war regeneration, as well as a virtual monopoly over the ultimate weapon of destruction — the nuclear bomb. Out of that dominance flowed an extraordinary self-confidence that persisted throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s, despite the growing hostility between the United States and the emerging Soviet rival for superpower status.

By the end of the 1960s, however, the balance of power was shifting, qualitatively altering one aspect of international

relationships. Then, during the 1970s, the United States saw its economic and political preeminence crumble as well. The shocks came in quick succession: the devaluation of the dollar against foreign currencies, the retreat from Vietnam, the agony of Watergate, OPEC's oil powerplay. The brave new world had spun out of American control.

The U.S. effort to reach a new accommodation with a vastly more complicated world has yet to take on a clear direction. What new realities must Americans come to terms with and where can American resources best be invested in order to restore to the nation a secure sense of being in reasonable control of its own future?

The common defense

A widely accepted school of thought starts from the premise that the root cause and cure of the U.S. national security dilemma lie in the arena of military policy. According to this view, the lesson that the United States must learn is not a new one but a very old one, based on the hardheaded acceptance of the fact that, in a world where powerful

interests clash, there can be no security without the military means to protect it. Without a top-priority commitment to "provide for the common defense," in other words, the many "blessings of liberty" that Americans so treasure will be forever overshadowed by fear and uncertainty.

The "common defense" obviously implies far more now than it did in 1787, when the young American nation was determined to pursue a solitary "unentangled" course in the world and when its vital interests did not extend beyond its own shores. Today, U.S. vital interests, variously defined, span the globe, tremendously complicating the challenge of national security.

A look at recent history is enough to convince many observers that the shadow that looms over those diverse American interests is the shadow of the Soviet Union. Indeed, if one accepts the classic axiom of the military strategist Karl Von Clausewitz that war is politics by other means, the United States and the Soviet Union have been hovering uneasily between politics and war for nearly four decades.

Even as the United States was priming the engines of post-war recovery and thus entangling its security with a wider world, the Soviet Union was pursuing an ambitious political and military course of its own. Opposition between the two powers was inevitable. Many of our extended security interests have grown, in large part, out of a post-war commitment to contain Soviet ambitions.

Although the term "containment" fell out of favor some time ago, America's network of formal and informal alliances are the contemporary heritage of that policy and of the recognition that the days when the United States could find security in isolationism are gone for good. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is perhaps the best example of how the meaning of the

National security: More to come

This introductory overview is designed to stimulate League members' thinking about the many complex aspects of U.S. national security. During the two-year national security study process, LWVEF publications and future articles will explore many of these issues in depth. First on the agenda for League discussions are the broad topics of military policy and arms control criteria. Those discussions will then set the stage for an examination of the issue of military spending and its relationship to the overall national budget.

continued from page 12

"common defense" has evolved and expanded in response to the perceived Soviet threat.

The current crisis of confidence in American military security expressed by the Reagan administration and others did not develop overnight. Military policy analysts who maintain that the U.S. is now in a vulnerable position trace a number of causes, going back as far as the 1960s, when the Soviet build-up became evident. Over time, U.S. decision makers came to the belief that deterrence of all-out war could be achieved through the threat of "mutual assured destruction" (MAD) — the ability of each nation to respond to a nuclear attack with a devastating retaliatory strike. It became an American priority in the early 1970s to negotiate this deadly stalemate at as low a level as could be reasonably achieved.

The 1972 Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I), while not designed to halt the nuclear arms competition, was an attempt to apply some degree of control to the arms race. A SALT II agreement concluded in 1979 was not ratified by the United States, mainly because critics had begun to question whether the arms control negotiations were in fact enhancing or jeopardizing America's national security. That question is still being debated.

Some experts believe that evidence of a continuing Soviet military push raises the question of where the nuclear balance now stands. But views vary widely on the relative numbers and destructive power of various types of weapons in each nation's arsenal and even on the validity of attempts at missile-for-missile and tank-for-tank "bean counting." One school of thought on military policy now gives the Soviets the advantage of momentum and asserts that the survivability of U.S. strategic forces is in question. But other voices say that the United States continues to maintain its strategic and technological superiority.

18 *National VOTER/Fall 1982*

Get out your 1983 calendars and mark **February 5, 1983** as **League UN Day on Global Security**. This LWV session at the United Nations — focusing on the UN role in peacekeeping, disarmament and economic/social development — is an ideal way to bone up on the issues. Your League will be getting details in December.

And former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara argues that despite a Soviet military build-up, economic and political setbacks have left that nation in a weaker position than it was 15 years ago.

What about comparing the relative investment of each nation in its military? Some say that any such exercise is fraught with the problems of comparing apples and oranges, given the dissimilarity of the two economic systems and the different security needs of each nation. Even those military policy specialists who would agree that the Soviet Union has outspent the United States in the military arena for a number of years disagree as to whether the higher Soviet budget should be a cause of concern for U.S. national security.

Nevertheless, some analysts argue that the perceived dollar gap is ultimately more significant than any real or alleged missile gap. They say that reluctance to invest the necessary resources in the maintenance of a credible defense posture has created a dangerous weakness in America's national security. They believe that the international perception of that weakness has encouraged Soviet adventuresomeness, dismayed our allies and undercut the U.S. negotiating position in bilateral and multilateral forums.

But even among those who believe that strengthening the U.S. defense position is an urgent national priority, opinions differ on the strategy and tactics of such a campaign. Some experts,

for instance, put the emphasis on upgrading the technology of U.S. nuclear deterrent systems and improving the military's equipment and readiness. A number of Administration officials have said that in order to preserve the credibility of its nuclear deterrent, the United States must prepare itself for the first time to actually fight — and survive — a nuclear war.

One point on which virtually all military analysts agree is that for the foreseeable future, the United States must rely on a combination of nuclear and conventional (nonnuclear) forces. That rare consensus is based on the view that as dangerous and unpopular as nuclear weapons are, they remain a necessary deterrent to the threat of Soviet aggression. What's more, a nuclear arsenal is still more politically acceptable than financing — or drafting — a significantly larger conventional force.

But politically hard to swallow or not, many analysts believe that America's traditional distrust of a strong military is a luxury that can no longer be afforded. According to this view, security does not come easily or cheaply in a dangerous world, and continued U.S. reluctance to support a strong military stance might exact a heavy cost.

All but the hardest of the military policy hardliners emphasize that a strong military posture does not preclude a renewal of arms control efforts. On the contrary, many argue that American national security is less likely to be at risk if the U.S. enters into arms limitation or reduction talks from a position of relative strength rather than weakness.

However, pressure is mounting from some quarters to address the question of risk — specifically relating to nuclear weapons — more directly.

The nuclear gamble

Four decades ago, Albert Einstein said that "The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything save our

modes of thinking, and we thus drift toward unparalleled catastrophes." A growing number of people across the globe are now raising the alarm about the escalating gamble of the human failure to make the intellectual leap demanded by the existence of nuclear weapons.

The superpowers may be running the nuclear arms race in the name of national security, but by doing so, many argue, they are essentially holding world civilization hostage to their mutual restraint. In some minds, traditional mechanisms of military strategy and national security have lost their meaning in the face of the potential catastrophe of nuclear war.

The growing strength of the nuclear freeze movement is a telling indication that many people now feel that the most crucial security issue is not superiority or deterrence but the very existence of enough nuclear fire power on either side to destroy the world many times over. According to this view, the necessary first step back to a meaningful concept of security is to freeze the nuclear spiral once and for all and then to pressure the superpowers to begin negotiating downward. Few people realistically expect such negotiations to result in a nuclear-free world, but many think that a downward spiral would measurably increase global security.

The general welfare

One oft-mentioned benefit of a less-is-safer approach to military policy would be the freeing up of the dollars and other resources now being used to develop and deploy ever more sophisticated weapons. In fact, advocates of a broader view of U.S. national security have long argued that the money and attention invested in the "common defense" could yield much greater benefits for U.S. national security if invested elsewhere. They say that other urgent priorities — some new, some old — are at least as

central to the maintenance of genuine national security in the modern world.

Can the nation be truly strong and secure when more than 10 million of its citizens are out of work and factories sit idle? When the poor grow increasingly discouraged about their future and their children's future? When the constitutional pledge to "promote the general welfare" rings hollow in many ears?

Advocates of this more comprehensive vision of national security do not espouse a modern-day version of the old guns or butter argument. What they do want is a debate broad enough to encompass guns *and* butter — to assure that national priorities are not skewed by fear of dangers from without, while ignoring weaknesses of poverty, unemployment and social justice within.

Other pressures to broaden the parameters of national security deliberations also derive from concern for the general welfare, writ large. That concern is based on the conclusion that now, more surely than ever, the security of one people is predicated on the security of others — and not just solely or even fundamentally in terms of armed might.

Can Americans be secure when most of the world's people are so insecure that they are not even confident of the basic necessities of life? Can we truly prosper in a world where many see no path toward freedom and dignity? Quite clearly, the billions invested in the arms competition do nothing to alleviate the inequities and deficiencies of the global economy that many believe threaten the stability and survival of an interdependent world. More and more small nations and political forces are putting their faith in a military solution to their economic and social problems, and the list of nations with nuclear capability is no longer short.

But U.S. investment in world economic development is commonly considered to lie outside the purview of

the national/global security debate. And so also is the need to come to terms with the sure and steady depletion of the world's resources.

Were he alive today, Albert Einstein might observe that the energy crisis has changed everything save our modes of thinking. Because the sands of the Middle East overlie more than half of the world's proven oil reserves, that region has become the focus of many what-if military training scenarios and strategic planning sessions. Meanwhile, the ripples of disruption — in production, inflation, employment — from skyrocketing oil prices have already begun to undermine national and international security in countless ways. But efforts to foster and manage the inevitable transition of world economies to alternative energy sources are still uncoordinated and underfunded. In the United States, the most energy-hungry society in the world, such efforts do not rank high in the determination of national priorities.

Likewise, little coordinated attention has been given to coping with the increasing demands on the global network of food production and distribution, even though some argue that food and energy are two of the most basic ingredients of individual, national and international security. Others assert that other issues — including global deforestation, mineral depletion and water supplies — should also have an important place in national security discussions.

How can we be most secure?

As this quick survey shows, consensus on even the fundamental issues of national security is hard to find. In a complex world where power is so diffuse and interests diverge so widely, there seem to be no easy answers. Perhaps Americans can best forge a new sense of national direction and security by beginning at the beginning — by framing the important questions.

In Search of Noah's Ark

We lucky residents of St. Paul's Towers can look forward to a real treat on Monday, August 19th, at 7 p.m. in the Skyroom.. Felicia Bock, our fellow-resident, will share with us some fascinating experiences and show slides of a trip to Turkey with Austrian friends. This was one of the many exotic places the Bocks studied in depth and visited on their travels. If these journeys entailed putting up with a fair amount of discomfort—so be it. They were too interested and excited at seeing the sights, natural and man-made, meeting and conversing with Turkish people, etc., to worry about creature comforts. They did not travel to typical tourist haunts, but rather to rural areas and small towns “off the beaten track,” to get a real feeling for the country and its inhabitants.



Felicia was born in Japan of missionary parents and lived there most of the time until graduation from high school. She then came to the United States to attend Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts, where she earned her B.S. in classics. Later, on a fellowship, she returned to Japan to study the language, history, music and other aspects of Japanese culture.

Charles K. Bock and Felicia met in Tokyo and were married there in 1940. They spent the war years in New York City, where Felicia worked for the government as a translator of Japanese. After the war, in early 1946, they moved to California and settled in Berkeley, where they lived until their move into St. Paul's Towers in January, 1994. Welcome again in 1996!

Felicia earned her M.A. degree in Japanese and later her Ph.D. in Oriental Languages at U. C. Berkeley. After teaching Latin for three years, she taught at University of California Extension, giving courses in Japanese and Chinese history and culture and in Far Eastern Buddhism. She speaks Japanese as a second language and also French and German, with a reading knowledge of Chinese, Korean and Italian.

The Bocks' travels after Japan started in 1953, when they made the first of many trips to England, France, Switzerland, Austria, Germany and the Greek Isles. In later years came Spain, Portugal, South Africa and the voyage in eastern Turkey which we will hear about and see on August 19th.

But we really should get back to the “Search for Noah's Ark,” believed to be somewhere on Mount Ararat where Noah is said to have landed. This mountain, over 17,000 feet, rises close to the boundaries between Turkey and Iran and Azerbaijan. More about this will appear in the lecture.

One additional note: despite all the peregrinations, Felicia and Charles have two daughters living in the Bay Area and one son in Colorado. There are now four grandkids ranging from 26 years down to 8 months—some of whom you may have encountered here.

Jinny Freidenberg

Op Ed editorial page, *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 29, 1999

Why I Am Not Jesse 'the Body' Ventura

California has yet to act on campaign finance reform

By Audie Bock

HOW DID A WRESTLING champion and third party candidate win the governor's seat in Minnesota? The new Reform Party governor, Jesse "the Body" Ventura, delighted the nation with his colorful campaign and stunning success. But what happened in Minnesota can't happen here because we have antiquated election laws that keeps the little guys out.

Since the 1970s, Minnesota has thrived on an election system that qualifies any candidate for modest public funding and imposes spending limits by giving grants of those who won't comply to their opponents. It's a beautiful little scheme that ends up saving the taxpayers millions while leveling the playing field for candidates.

Here is how the Minnesota system works: After signing a voluntary agreement, candidates must raise \$1,500 from individuals, counting only the first \$50 from each, by December of the election year. Then, they must limit their campaign spending to less than \$24,000 for both primary and general elections. The state fund for campaigns is then divided among

candidates — about \$4,000 each from the general account, with 10 percent more for first-time candidates and those who won contested primaries. Then comes the state's money generated from the optional \$5 partisan contribution on state income tax forms, which amounts to about \$7,000 for major party candidates.

In this model of campaign financing,

What Do You Think?

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additional financing is allowed. Parties are not allowed to give candidates more than 10 times the maximum individual contribution of \$500; Political Action Committees have the same limits as individuals, and corporations are not allowed to contribute. No more than 20 percent of total donations can come from PACs, lobbyists and large donors. Constitutionally guaranteed free speech is preserved, yet money does not create an imbalance.

In California, the huge imbalance in campaign financing is a matter of public record. In the 16th Assembly District election, the Green Party ran a \$1,400 cam-

paign in the special election on February 2 and got 8.7 percent of the vote with only 1.3 percent of the district registration.

In Minnesota, this candidacy would have qualified for the usual state funding plus 10 percent for being a new candidate. Here two well-funded Democrats pounded on each other to the tune of some \$300,000 to \$400,000 each. One of them distributed about 3,800 chicken dinner coupons (\$5 each) in minority areas in exchange for ballot stubs, boosting his percentage to 48.7, not enough to win. He spent \$29 per vote received; the Green spent 50 cents.

Jesse the Body charms and amuses us all, but behind his win lie two questions: Why can't we have it here, and to whom is a lawmaker who accepts contributions on this scale accountable? If a candidate spends \$500,000 plus chicken dinners to win a two-year Assembly seat that carries maximum taxpayer-funded compensation of \$150,000 per year, it is not the taxpayers to whom he will answer.

Those who are pressured to contribute to major parties should question the use of their money to squelch electoral justice. Electing lawmakers who oppose term limits and fail to legislate campaign finance reform keeps democracy from working.

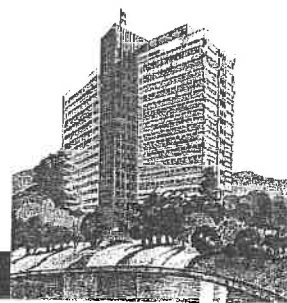
Audie Bock is the Green Party candidate for the 16th state Assembly District.

THE TOWER TIMES

ST. PAUL'S TOWERS NEWSLETTER

SUMMER 1999

35



Newly-elected
Assemblywoman
Audie Bock (right)
meets the press on
her first day in office

A CAPITAL DAUGHTER

When Green Party candidate Audie Bock won election to the California State Assembly in April, no one was more proud of her than her parents, St. Paul's Towers residents Felicia and

Charles Bock.

Just as the Bocks were enthusiastic supporters during Audie's campaign, they were beaming at her swearing-in ceremony in Sacramento. ●



Proud parents Felicia and Charles Bock
on the big day in Sacramento

DON'T MISS OUT

If you would like to find out more about full Life Care retirement living at St. Paul's Towers, plan to attend one of our friendly and informative open houses this summer.

There will be a brief presentation followed by tours of our beautiful community overlooking Lake Merritt. You will also have the opportunity to meet residents and discuss what they like most about living at St. Paul's Towers.

For more information, or to make a reservation for one of the open houses listed below, please call Karon Sullivan at (510) 891-8542. ●

SUMMER OPEN HOUSE SCHEDULE

Sunday, July 18	2 p.m.
Thursday, July 22	10 a.m. and 2 p.m.
Thursday, August 19	10 a.m. and 2 p.m.
Saturday, August 28	10 a.m.
Sunday, September 12	2 p.m.
Thursday, September 23	10 a.m. and 2 p.m.

**Letter from Felicia G. Bock to Therese Pipe (Mrs. Bock's oral history
interviewer, League of Women Voters), April 9, 1999**

Dear Therese:

As the newspapers have announced, from the *L.A. Times* to the *New York Times*, Audie's surprise winning of the Special Mar. 30 Election in the 16th Assembly Dist. of California, the State Democratic Party, as well as locals, are quite alarmed!

Audie invited us (Charles and me) to attend the Swearing-in Ceremony in the State Capitol on April 5th. She and more than 20 volunteers and supporters took the 6:30 a.m. Amtrak to Sacramento. Charles, Linnie, and I decided to drive up and back (ca. 90 mi.). Upon arriving in the Capitol bldg. we ascended to the floor where the Assembly Chambers are and the offices of officials. The Speaker of the Assembly (Dem.) and the Leader (Rep.) greeted us personally. At noon we were escorted into the Chamber and given seats on the rostrum. Reporters and photographers were milling around. Soon we were joined by daughter Linnie, "Fefo" (Felicia Jr.), and Bill Bates (Audie's friend).

The Session opened with a prayer given by a rabbi. It was truly appropriate and also pled God's mercy on the thousands of suffering, displaced people in the Serb-Kosovo war. Then all arose for the Pledge of Allegiance. A few matters of business were taken up. A Mr. Wright announced the death of Wilson Riles, former Supt. Of Public Instruction of the State of California. A moment of silence was held in his memory. Another member submitted a written eulogy of Mr. Riles to go into the Assembly record. [Wilson Riles, Jr. is one of Audie's endorsers.]

The Swearing-in Ceremony took place on the podium with the chairman holding the bible and the Chief Clerk administering the oath. (We were behind Audie and could not see this well, but a Prof. Kato here on our floor got a good videotape of the newscast that evening and has loaned it to us for a front view.) Audie's acceptance speech thanked everyone and expressed her good intentions for what is to come. She then introduced the five of us. There followed a huge applause from the Assembly floor and a long resounding applause and cheers from all the many supporters in the gallery overlooking the Assembly floor. When the applause finally died down, Audie was escorted down the center aisle to receive handshakes and congratulations from many members. We followed her, and received many warm greetings, too.

The Speaker of the Assembly later held a reception for Audie and her supporters. He again shook our hands as he departed. Then Audie held a reception in her spacious office suite (wi. view to the stately redwood grove next

to the capitol) for her supporters, friends, and family. Audie is now in Sacramento getting staff together and getting onto certain committees.

Audie was put onto four committees: Human Services, Judiciary, Environmental, and International Trade.

She now has a fine office in the new State Bldg. in downtown Oakland, and spends one day a week (Fri.) here in her District. There are many demands: the plethora of bills introduced in this session meant many, many committee sessions. AND she has many requests to speak to all kinds of groups.

Yours,

Felicia G. Bock

A Time to Honor

Mountain View Cemetery cordially invites you to our 78th annual Memorial Day Commemoration.

Monday, May 31, 1999 • 10:00 am - 11:00 am

Keynote Speaker:

Audie Elizabeth Bock, Assembly Member, Sixteenth District

This year's event will feature:

Members of the Piedmont Drum & Bagpipe Band,
Presentation of Colors, Cadets of the 4th Battalion Bulldogs,
Oakland Technical High School

Hosted by:

Rizal Post 598, The American Legion

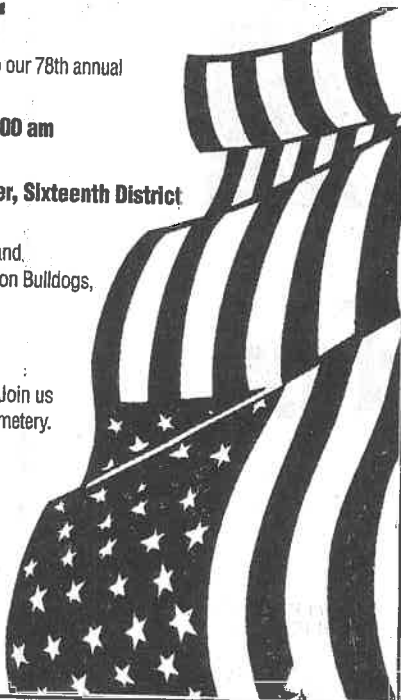
Honor those who have served our Country — Join us
in the lovely garden setting of Mountain View Cemetery.

Refreshments and docent-led tour to follow
ceremony.


Mountain View
C E M E T E R Y

5000 Piedmont Ave., Oakland, CA 94611
(510) 658-2588

A NON-PROFIT COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION



Appendix (continued)

List of Presidents

Legal Release

P R E S I D E N T S

CALIFORNIA CIVIC LEAGUE, BERKELEY FORUM

1911	Miss Blanch Morse
1912	Mrs. J. B. Hume
1913/14/15	Mrs. W. R. Coolidge
1916	Mrs. A. C. Moody
1917	Mrs. E. F. Rowell
1918	Mrs. Henry Hatfield
1919/20 .	Mrs. Ida M. Blachman
1921	Mrs. H. N. Herrick

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF BERKELEY

1922/23	Mrs. H. N. Herrick	1954	Harriet Nathan	(Ed)
1924/25	Mrs. F. G. Athearn	1955/56	Mrs. L. A. MacKay	
1926/27	Mrs. Seth Tracy	1957/58	Margaret Dumas	(Enoch)
1928/29	Mrs. George Legg	1959/60	Mrs. Victor Ferkiss	(resigned)
1930/31	Mrs. Walter S. Brown		Mrs. Hobart C. Knapp	
1932	Miss Clara B. Sikes	1961/62	Dorothy Spitzer	(George)
1933	Mrs. Frank E. Hinkley	1963/64	Ruth Rosenfeld	(Carl)
1934/35	Mrs. F. S. Bissell	1965/66	Ora Huth (Kurt)	
1936	Mrs. C. C. Conrad	1967	Jane Vinson	(Rodney)
1937	Mrs. Bradley Brown	1968	Bea Fraenkel-Conrat	(Heinz)
1938	Mrs. Harold Nachtrieb	1969	Sally Severance	(Howard)
1939/40	Mrs. Hubert Sander	1970/72	Wilma Jordan	(Carl)
1941	Ruth Scheer (George)	1972/74	Gilda Feller	(David)
1942	Mrs. W. W. Douglas	1974/76	Marilyn Couch	(Carl)
1943	Mrs. George Cunningham	1976/78	Jane Bergen	(Arthur)
1944	Mrs. Douglas Carter	1978/80	Eloise Bodine	(Alan)
1945	Mrs. S. A. Abrahams	1980/82	Anne Crowe	(George)
1946	Mrs. L. A. Doyle	1982/84	Frances Packard	(Richard)
1947	Alice Heynemann (Paul)	1984/87	Jane Coulter	(Thomas)
1948	Mrs. A. J. Shirpser	1987/89	Patricia Kuhi	(Leonard)
1949	Ruth Kingman (Harry)	1989/91	Patricia Wadleigh	(Matt)
1950/51	Irene Prescott (Russell)	1991/93	Phyllis Clement	(Robert)
1952	Mrs. Emir Gaw	1993/94	Miriam Hawley	(Robert)

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS BERKELEY/ ALBANY/ EMERYVILLE

1994/95	Miriam Hawley	(Robert)
1995/97	Anne Henderson	(Charles H.)
1997/99	Doris R. Fine	(Philip Selznick)
1999/01	Jo Ann B. Price	(P. Buford)
2001/0 4	Nancy Bickel	(Peter)

DONATED ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

We Felicia Bock, and Therese Pipe
Narrator Interviewer

do hereby give to the League of Women Voters [LWV] of Berkeley, Albany, and Emeryville such educational and informational uses as the Board of Directors of the LWV of Berkeley, Albany, and Emeryville shall determine, the following tape-recorded interview(s) recorded on Mar. 18, 1997 and July 29, 1997 as an unrestricted gift, and transfer to the LWV of Berkeley, Albany, and Emeryville legal title and all literary property rights including copyright. This gift does not preclude any use which we may want to make of the information in the recordings ourselves. This agreement may be revised or amended at any time by mutual consent of the parties undersigned.

X Felicia G. Bock
Signature of Narrator

Name and Address of Narrator:

MRS. FELICIA BOCK
ST. PAUL'S TOWERS
100 BAY PLACE, #2101
OAKLAND, CA 94610

Date July 29, 1997

X Therese M. Pipe
Signature of Interviewer

Name and Address of Interviewer:

Therese M. Pipe
1409 Oxford St. #5
Berkeley, CA 94709

Date July 29, 1997

Accepted for the LWV of Berkeley,
Albany, and Emeryville

X Doris Fine
President (Doris Fine)

18 September 1997
Dated

Subject of Interview(s) ORAL history interview with LWVB
Activist in International Relations work.