The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training
Foreign Affairs Oral History Project
Information Series

MILDRED MARCY

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Initial interview date: February 15, 1991

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INTERVIEW

Education And Pre-USIA Experience

Q: Mildred, before we get into your work with USIA, please give me some of your educational and work background which led you to enter the Agency and gave the base, I know, for the kind of work you did which was a very specialized segment of the Agency program.

MARCY: I originally came from Oregon where I'd gone to college for three years at Willamette University in Salem, Oregon. After I was married in New York, I finished my BA. degree at Barnard College while my husband was doing his graduate work at Columbia University Law School and Graduate School. After graduating from Barnard, I worked in Wall Street with Stone and Webster Service Corporation and later with the Child Study Association on West 57th Street. Neither particularly prepared me for any work that I did in the Agency later, but it all goes into background and experience.

We moved to Washington in very early 1942 during World War II. My husband was employed by the State Department in a division called Special War Problems. We had two small children by the time the war ended, and I was pretty much home-bound. I found my outlet in volunteer activity with the League of Women Voters. Eventually I became the President of the Arlington/Alexandria Virginia League. Then Virginia's President and then went on the National Board of the League of Women Voters of the United States as National Organization Chairman and Treasurer.

1950's Joins League Of Women Voters; 1957, Made National Organization Chairman; 1959 Becomes Executive Director Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund Working In Europe. Excellent Background For USIS Career.

Q: When was that Mildred?

MARCY: That was 1957-59.

When I served on the National Board, Percy Maxim Lee was the National President and when she went off the Board, I did also. She became the President of what was then called the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, now called the Overseas Education Fund, and I became the Executive Director of the same Fund in 1959.

From then until 1961, I worked with the Overseas Education Fund in their programs with women leaders, primarily in Germany, Italy and Japan.

Q: What were you doing with these women...

MARCY: This is where I would like to set in context the origin of the job that I later came to hold in USIA and what was going on in the non-governmental sector at that same time.

One must remember that this was at the height of the Cold War period a good deal of this time. Soon after 1945 when the end of the war occurred, it was believed important that certain segments of the populations of the defeated countries might be receptive to democratic methods, rather than the dictatorial methods they had been subjected to under Hitler and Mussolini, and might be interested in learning more about methods that could be used by ordinary citizens in their own countries to begin to govern themselves in a somewhat more democratic fashion. At that time the State Department was not particularly interested, and USIA hadn't even thought of the possibility of working with women in these countries. But the State Department did come to the League of Women Voters and say: "We can't do it from a governmental standpoint, but we would like to see a 501(c)(3) tax exempt foundation established as an arm of the League of Women Voters, to try to transmit, translate, exhibit, discuss methods that women in the United States have found to be effective under our system of government to take an active, responsible citizenship role in the United States."

Q: Mildred, this was in the post-war period yet both in Germany and in Japan there were programs with women's activities officers in the occupation government who did outstanding jobs.

MARCY: Mildred Allport in Germany and Ethel Weed in Japan, both established programs during the military occupation period. It was partly the experience that those women had in the countries where they were working that gave the impetus to the State Department to ask: "Can we not expand this activity and put it under civilian control?" The civilian side of our government at that time said: "We think it is a good idea, but we are not

in a position to do it, let's ask some non-governmental organizations to do that." It was in that context...

From Memorial Fund (By Then Re-named "Overseas Educational Fund") (OEF), USIA Director George Allen Creates Agency Position of Women's Activities Adviser: Gives Job to Virginia Geiger

Q: Do you know who it was in the government?

MARCY: George Allen was the Director of USIA in the Eisenhower Administration and he was very receptive. In fact, it was under his administration that USIA came to have anything to do with women's activities. He created an Agency position of Women's Activities Adviser, recruited Virginia Geiger to fill it and asked her to define the job.

Discussion Reverts To An Extended Background Discussion On Events That Preceded George Allen's Establishment Of Women's Advisory Position In USIA. Covers Creation Of Several Women's Organizations, And The Role Played BY CIA In Days At End Of WWII And For Some Years Thereafter.

But, let me go back to the League of Women Voters establishment of the Overseas Education Fund first, because it took a membership decision at a National Convention for the League to decide that they would be willing to have an arm of the League become, in a sense, international.

Now there is a little background to this also, because at about that time the League of Women Voters had been asked to join the International Alliance of Women or the International Council of Women, both of which were international organizations in the sense that they had national affiliates. The League decided that it couldn't afford either the funds or the woman power or the program effort to belong to an international organization. But they would be willing on their own to try to describe and Interpret their own citizen action methods and activities in the United States as they related to the U.S. Federalist form of government to interested women leaders and women's groups in other countries. This was the origin of the OEF and the Carrie Chapman Memorial Fund.

I had been working as Executive Director of that arm of the League for two years and in my capacity there worked closely with Virginia Geiger, who was the first Women's Activities Adviser that George Allen recruited. She was in the Foreign Service, working in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs at the Department of State. She was interested in the potential represented by a new, we called them "target audiences" in those days although we don't any more, and her mother had been active in the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Virginia felt that this was a natural extension of a latent interest that she, herself, had.

Q: I think it is appropriate to add that Virginia had served as one of the education officers in Japan. She was an English language teacher but also was interested and active in the

work that was being done there with women. So it makes a very logical tie between her interest and your interest and what you are talking about.

MARCY: That's right. She was an experienced Foreign Service Officer, too, because hadn't she also served in Burma and Colombia?

Q: Subsequently she served in these other places as a regular Cultural Officer, but her early background in the government was in Japan during the occupation.

MARCY: Virginia took the [Women's Activities Adviser] job in USIA when it was created.

Q: What year was that?

MARCY: 1959. The same year that I became Executive Director of the Overseas Education Fund. Virginia and I were both feeling our way in our reasonably new responsibilities at about the same time.

Q: How early did you know Virginia, almost immediately?

MARCY: Almost immediately, yes. Not well and mostly professionally. But we were both interested in the same thing.

Q: I remember she was very professional at that point and organized her time accordingly. For instance, she was unwilling to use her lunch time to discuss business matters. I was with the American Association of University Women dealing in international relations at that time, and she was always very willing to deal with you fully and completely during business hours, but there was no moment outside such time during which she wanted to have any- thing to do with her professional life. That may have been the result of finally coming home from a Foreign Service assignment.

MARCY: Could very well have been.

Anyway, Virginia did several things in trying to define a difficult job in USIA. The title "Women's Activities Adviser" subjected Virginia (and later, me) to a lot of flak from our male colleagues, because they kept saying in a sort of snide fashion: "Well where is my men's activities adviser? I can't always go to men's activities?" Part of it was deliberate misunderstanding and part of it was just razzing. But it did raise certain hurdles.

Virginia needed officers in the field who could in effect be the local eyes and ears and transmitters of the information and assistance that she would be able to get them in the United States. As I remember there was a widow of an agricultural attaché (Dorothy Crawford) based in Tunisia, Christine Connell in India. Later, just before I joined USIA, Dr. Elsie Austin was recruited and assigned to Sub-Saharan Africa. All these officers were considered regional officers, which I later came to believe was a mistake. The cultures of

the various countries in which they worked were in many cases so different and their travel money was so limited that these Regional Women's Activities Officers were able to do only superficial jobs except for Dr. Austin who was very much more substantive.

Q: She came out of the YWCA didn't she?

MARCY: Yes, from Ohio.

Q: She had a non-governmental organizational background.

MARCY: Yes. It wasn't simply that she came out of a non-governmental women's organizational background, but that the organization was a democratically structured organization. One that was not run from the top down, but was run by the members and the Board of Directors were the agents of the members carrying out the policy determined by the members. That was crucial to the whole interpretation of the function.

Q: Let me just throw in here, Mildred, without interrupting your train of thought. It's appropriate to note that in this time frame, 1959 and '60, it was before the modern feminist movement really took off in the U.S., and certainly before all the national and federal legislation of the 60s. So this was very much a pioneering concept in terms of action by the Federal Government.

MARCY: Absolutely. In 1961, I'm jumping ahead a little bit, in 1961 when President Kennedy came in, one of the first things he did after appointing Esther Peterson as Assistant Secretary of Labor and Director of the Women's Bureau, was, at Esther's instigation, to create a Presidential Commission on the Status of Women of which Eleanor Roosevelt was the Honorary Chair. In 1963, the first report of that National Commission on the Status of Women was published. That was the same year that Betty Friedan's, Feminine Mystique was published. All of a sudden people and governments began to be aware of the different roles women were playing and could play in the total life of this and other countries.

But let me back up a little more to fill in some of the history. At the same time that Virginia Geiger in USIA was trying to develop a Women's Activities Advisory function in the Agency, and I was trying to work with exchange programs having to do primarily with Germany, Italy and Japan from the standpoint of the Overseas Education Fund, there had also been created a counterpart function within the CIA at the instigation of a group of past national presidents or national officers of a number of U.S. women's organizations. Names that come to mind are Rose Parsons of New York; Elizabeth Heffelfinger of Minnesota; Anna Lord Strauss of New York, and Mary Pillsbury Lord, also of New York (the mother of Winston Lord). All these women had had experience in U.S. women's organizations and they also had a broad concept of what was happening to women abroad with new countries coming into independent status; of women as well as men becoming enfranchised as new constitutions were written. In some cases women had struggled and gone to prison the same as their men had for freedom from colonial powers. But all of a sudden women in many, if

not most countries of the world, had the potential for responsible citizenship action that they hadn't had prior to the 1950s, at least not to such a degree. So CIA had created and funded what was called the Committee of Correspondence.

Q: Do you know what year it was created?

MARCY: It was created about 1944-45, just before the war ended.

This was not a "black" operation. In fact it never really should have been a part of CIA funded projects. Had we been more enlightened in those days we would have made it an up front, overt, publicly funded operation. It did excellent work.

Q: What did they do?

MARCY: They first identified about 4,000 women in a number of key countries who were either actually in positions of leadership or potentially had the promise of being leaders, and then they established a monthly bulletin on a single topic. It might be a topic concerned with health, with cooperatives, with problems of youth, with problems of modernization, with industrial development.

They were all issues that were in a sense national and international but were treated from a so called woman's perspective. The bulletin was written and produced by Alison Raymond, who was the Executive Director of the Committee of Correspondence in New York and although Alison was on the payroll of CIA there were only four members of the board of CIA who were in the parlance of the Agency "witting" and knew where the funding came from. Rose Parsons, Anna Lord Strauss and Mary Lord are the three that I know were "witting," and I know there were one or two others.

But the bulletin was produced and mailed to 4,000 women around the world, which was an attempt to network and to share problems. It soon became apparent that the printed word was not going to be sufficient. They needed personal contact. So for a number of years prior to the annual meeting of the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women in New York, the Committee of Correspondence would fund the bringing together in New York of the head of each national delegation which was going to be represented at the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women.

When those women came together a week ahead of time, they would determine their own agenda; what issues they wanted brought up at the formal meetings. They would use it as a time to get acquainted with each other, to learn where each was coming from, and to reach a kind of consensus about how the formal meetings of the Commission would be constructed and carried on. It was a very productive way of solidifying a network that was just forming.

Q: The Commission met more frequently, I guess it met at least once a year.

MARCY: It was at the annual meeting...

Q: Yes, I know they tried to make it every other year because of U.N. funding, but it was going to break the important ties that were developed at the time of the Commission meetings.

MARCY: But it was primarily through the use of the bulletin and other publications (How To Run A Meeting, for instance, was a little pamphlet they produced), the seminars that would be held in advance of the Status of Women Commission meetings, exchange visits, and attendance at regional seminars of the U.N. that women were encouraged to think together about matters of public concern.

Then when the rug was pulled out from under the organizations that were receiving CIA funds, student organizations being among them and certain labor organizations, the Committee of Correspondence was funded for two years, privately, out of the pockets of Anna Lord Strauss and Jean Picker, just to keep the bulletin going so that this network of women which was an ever changing network would not be totally lost in the hope that in some place, somehow the grouping could be pulled together and kept together as a unified entity.

At one time (I'm jumping the gun) after I had assumed my position at USIA, I was offered the Committee of Correspondence list of names of the 4,000 women around the world. I was new to the Agency and there was still a lot of misunderstanding about what women's activities could and should mean and I was reluctant to give those names to post officers without some kind of better understanding than I sensed existed. And the list was rapidly going out of date as people moved, died, or whatever. So I refused to accept responsibility for being entrusted with the Committee of Correspondence's list.

Q: Mildred, from my own experience with this kind of venture in the first five or ten years after the end of the war in 1945 when the CIA's activities subsequently hit the newspapers very hard, I was working in the youth field and we tried very hard to raise funds from the private sector to take care of our needs in acting internationally, but we got no where. I think Houghton from Corning was the only person who really saw the need for this and provided some funding. The same thing was true in the women's field. Without this kind of CIA support nothing would have been done and at that point we would have left both the women's field and the youth field absolutely in the hands of the rising communist fervor.

MARCY: Exactly, and this was also at the time when the Rusk Committee was formed to examine the groupings that had been partially or completely funded by CIA to see which ones were worth saving and where private money might or might not be obtained for them or which could be absorbed into government. Nothing came of the Rusk Committee that helped the women's movement in any sense. This must also be remembered in the context that this was a period of time when the Soviet Women's Committee was very, very active. They were publishing, if I remember exactly, Soviet Woman, which was their major large magazine in eleven different languages. And they were publishing at the same time a

number of publications directed towards youth and children in the same number of languages. Remember that this was also about the time of the Cohn and Schine and McCarthy period which resulted in the dissolution of many good programs and much character assassination. Anyway this was the setting.

Q: This was the McCarthy period, that of Cohn and Schine. They were the team who were the eyes and ears of McCarthy, overseas.

MARCY: That's right. And, as a matter of fact, one of the books that I dug out of my library the other day....

This is off the subject a little bit but let me back up because it's pertinent to this period of time. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee developed a set of hearings on the overseas information programs of the United States. My husband, Carl Marcy, having left the State Department and joined the staff of the Senate Committee, had the chief staff responsibility for conducting the hearings. This was the Hickenlooper Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Overseas Information Programs. McCarthy's staff (Cohn and Schine) decided to beat Sen. Bourke Hickenlooper, Sen. Karl Mundt and Sen. Alexander Smith to the gun by doing their own gumshoeing around USIS posts in Europe, primarily, although they went to some other places in the world. But this book, I think, is the only copy in existence outside of Senate archives. It is the total hearings on the overseas information program which led to a lot of the thinking that went into the Fulbright-Hays Act later.

Q: That's a very precious volume, Mildred.

MARCY: I've protected this one ever since I have been in the government because it not only was my husband's personal copy, but it was a resource of great help to me when I was trying to work in the Senior Adviser position in USIA and write guidance papers as to legislative history on the origin and purpose of the information and exchange programs.

Q: Let me just back up. For those people who might use this material, is there a set of the bulletins' of the Committee of Correspondence any where? Are there files of the Committee at Radcliffe or the Library of Congress or one of those depositories?

MARCY: For a time I had a reasonably complete file of bulletins. I left those with the International Women's Year files when I left the State Department. I have no idea where they are now. It is possible that Alison Raymond Lanier, who was the editor in New York, has a full set. Marty Wesley was my contact in CIA and if CIA preserves any of its archives, although this was pretty low priority on their list of important things to do, there might be a set somewhere in the CIA archives.

Q: Yes. I was just thinking in case there was a set avail- able in some of these government archives, although its long enough ago that they could be made available.

MARCY: Wherever the Anna Lord Strauss papers are, and I don't know where, there could be some bulletins.

Q: Maybe we could find out and put an addendum to this history where some of these files are located. That would be very useful for research purposes.

MARCY: I agree, it would be. There have been any number of times, because most people didn't even know of the existence of the Committee of Correspondence because, of course, it was operating overseas and a lot of foreign women know about it as I realized in '63 when I had a year traveling abroad and discussing with women their potential...

Q: I remember a very funny little office in New York City in the Carnegie Building...

MARCY: Very primitive...

Q: It looked like a closet.

MARCY: Yes, it did. Now, where were we?

Q: You were talking about background to your coming into the Agency.

MARCY: I'm not even in the Agency yet, right?

Q: That's right. We were talking about the governmental interests which preceded this on the outside, during the occupation and then the CIA and relationship between the non-governmental organizations and then the government action and the work of Virginia Geiger.

MARCY: Yes. Before I get off the subject of the Committee of Correspondence totally, let me put in one other name. Jean Picker, Mrs. Harvey Picker.

Q: Mildred, because it is very appropriate for USIA offices in Washington in addition to getting out the guidance papers so that you could get a reaction in from the field and working with the press section on the Women's Packet were you able to produce or see that it was produced any other products which could be used by the posts overseas?

Interview Returns To Time (circa 1959-'60) Just After Marcy Recruited Into USIA Women's Activities Advisory Job Replacing Virginia Geiger. Position Located In Agency Office Of Policy Planning. Marcy Outlines What She Considered Her Functions In This Position.

MARCY: Yes I was. But first before I get into those, let me spell out my conclusion with regard to my function within the Office of Policy Planning. In the first place, I believed there were no limitations on a "women's activities". In my view, women's activities include everything that involves the human race. So there are no primarily women's issues. I didn't

want women's issues put off behind the door some place. The second point, I wanted priority emphasis on those people who were actually or potentially influential in their own cultures in influencing political, economic, and social processes, with a particular view towards the expanded role that women were beginning to play in these countries. Third point, was that U.S. democratic methodology with regard to citizen action within our kind of government is not necessarily transferable but perhaps adaptable by others to their own cultures and their own political systems.

My function within IOP was not an operational function. I had no budget, I had a staff of an assistant and a secretary. It was purely advisory. So if I was going to make any difference in the Agency at all, it was through gaining confidence in my approach, of making suggestions, helping to redefine ideas, making introductions to non-governmental people when that was appropriate, and to work with any of the media or geographic elements of the Agency in Washington. Using that as my philosophy with regard to how I would operate, I hoped others would feel that I did not constitute a threat to any operational process within the Agency and was not stepping into anybody else's job jurisdiction. And I found, on the whole, real receptivity for most of my rationale. So that when I started to try to implement this philosophy through the mechanism of the Agency, the first was the policy guidance paper embodying the need for post personnel to rethink their target audience definition and allocation of resources.

Q: Do you have a copy of that around?

MARCY: No, I looked the other day and I don't seem to have a copy of that anymore.

Q: It might be in the Agency archives.

MARCY: It might.

Then we asked, and this goes to that paper I referred to, the post to assess and respond with regard to the local situation and to define their actual or possible efforts. Some were quite aware of changes and were very responsive; about 1/6 of the posts that I mentioned. Some were indifferent or amused by this exhibition of naivete, or so they thought. Some were actively hostile.

Q: Could you say off hand, you talk about a 6th of the posts, was there any one geographic area of the world that was either very responsive or absolutely lacking in response?

MARCY: Sub Saharan Africa was, I would say, most responsive and I think that was partly because Elsie Austin had already started in Western sub-Saharan Africa and Sara Lee Owens, who was the only field person of the Committee of Correspondence, was working in East Africa. Sara Lee Owens was a powerhouse, a dynamo. She later, after Ed Murrow and Ned Roberts saw her operating in the field, asked to join USIA and we welcomed her with open arms.

Q: She was with the YWCA, also, like Elsie.

A.
Originating Media Products To Guide Women's Activities Officers In Overseas Posts.
(Designed To Help Increase Number Of Women In Exchange Program.)

1.
Handbook On Community Action

MARCY: Yes. I guess Elsie was primarily responsible for it. You were talking about media projects.

One of the first things that Elsie and I decided that we needed to do was to put down in written form, translated into French and I think we got a Spanish translation as well, a Handbook on Leadership for organizations. Most non-governmental organizations in this country have handbooks for their board members and leaders of organizations on democratic methods. Much of it based on not much more than simple Roberts Rules of Order, but it is how to define a program, how to get members, how to keep them interested in the program, how to make progress, and how to solve problems through group decisions and action. Elsie worked on this book which was brought out in the days when we could do book development projects. It was called Community Action. One half of the book was in English and by turning the same little paperback book over there was the translation in French. This was used, I wouldn't say avidly by our posts, but for those posts that did use it, it became a mainstay of a lot of the work they did, not just with women's organizations, but with student groups as well.

Q: It was published by Nouveaux Horizons in 1970.

MARCY: That was our book development area, which no longer exists, or did not when I left the Agency.

Q: Mildred, you were talking, you were running down a list...oh, you have another book.

2.
A Second Book: "Half The World's People"
(And Walter Bastian's Snide, Hostile Reaction To Proposal For This Second Book.)

MARCY: Yes. This community action handbook for leaders of organizations was primarily to assist post officers in dealing with the incipient or the burgeoning voluntary

organizations that were beginning to appear in many countries. We felt, also, that there was need for the Agency's general public, meaning our post personnel and many of the people with whom we dealt, to be aware of the rapidity of changes that were occurring in cultures around the world having to do with industrialization and modernization of various kinds. So I went to Walter Bastian, who was heading the book program, with an outline of a potential book that I felt would be helpful in developing this whole women's program.

Q: Walter was in what position?

MARCY: Book development and maybe larger than that, I am not sure. It was in the old ICS.

Since Alison Raymond, who had been the Executive Director of the Committee of Correspondence, knew much more than I did about the working of non-governmental organizations abroad, I worked with her to get her to agree to write, on contract, a book which was later titled Half The World's People. This was published in hard back, Appleton Century and Cross. From the publisher we bought the overseas printing rights and had it published also in paperback in English, Spanish and Japanese. I don't have a copy of the Japanese, but I have the Spanish and the English hardback.

Walter Bastian was the most hostile, ribald, sneering, officer I ever met in the Agency.

Q: Mildred, you were talking about the problems involved in producing Half the World's People.

MARCY: I think I was still on the meeting with Walter Bastian in his office. I had had Alison Raymond come down at her expense from New York to talk with Walter, in my presence, about the outline of a potential book that Alison and I, between us, had put together. Walter had, to me, privately indicated that he was reasonably interested. It was something they hadn't done, he might be interested in seeing what could be pulled off. But when Alison and I actually met with him, he was rude, sneering, very hostile to the whole idea. He really ragged us unmercifully. But the result in the end, thanks largely to Alison and her ladylike, dignified, sweet manners, got an agreement from Walter that if we could find a publisher he would agree to do a book development contract on it and get the foreign language rights and have it produced in paperback. Eventually it was done.

3.
Special Press Packets On Women's Activities.

By that time I had done the guidance paper to the field, gotten responses back, and found a certain amount of receptivity. We had the press packet going. We were constantly trying to increase the number of women exchangees on the exchange program by suggesting to posts people whom they may not have known or over- looked, sending bios out to them and

saying take a look and see if it fits within your priorities. We had done the book development project. Now what other media were there? I decided well, we don't have a motion picture.

4.
Producing Film Showing Women's Volunteer Activities in U.S.

I had been learning that films were the most effective method of communication because it appeals to so many of the senses. I went down to talk with Barbara Hussie in the motion picture film division about producing a film about women volunteers in the United States and the relationship that had to the democratic process. As an example I wanted to use the League of Women Voters in Los Angeles who had some very effective projects going which were visual and could be shown. I had a good friend whom I knew would be willing to shepherd the film producer around and both educate him and find good visuals and do the story lines for him.

I called Roz Loring who was willing to do it. Bruce Herschensohn was willing to set aside some money in the budget to produce a film. Barbara Hussie was eager to work on it and very interested. The producer, a subcontractor, and his crew were sent out to Los Angeles where Roz brought together her cohorts who were working on a variety of projects related to local government and they had developed what they believed to be a pretty good story line. The producer agreed. And they did some filming.

The last night of the stay, Roz Loring gave a dinner party for the producer and his crew, at which there were many good natured toasts and much good will exhibited. At the end, when the producer got up to respond to the toasts of friendship, he said: "I have been so impressed. I'm Hungarian by birth and, although I am a naturalized American, I had never, never in my whole life imagined that American women could devote so much of their time and hard work as volunteers on such worthwhile projects and accomplish so much. I must tell you ladies, that as volunteers you have rocks in your heads. You ought to be paid for this."

Well, with that attitude, and it showed through in the film he produced, Barbara Hussie and I decided that the producer just didn't understand what he had filmed. Therefore, it does not have the message that we wanted in it. So we put the kibosh on the whole thing. At that time the budget was almost exhausted and Bruce Herschensohn was a little upset that we were not taking this film which seemed to him pretty good. He said: "Well, oh all right, if you still want a film I will give you x number of dollars but its not much and you are going to have to do it on the cheap so we don't have to pay much travel money." I said: "All right, we will do it on the Women's Job Corps in Richmond, Virginia and the work of Women In Community Service (WICS) in finding high school dropouts and preparing them and putting them into the Women's Job Corps training." He said: "All right, sounds like a good subject, but you have to do it somewhere close by." I said: "All right, we will do it in Richmond." We got a very, very good film about the Women's Job Corps and the relationship between a governmental program, which that was, and Women In Community

Service which is an interfaith group of women volunteers who did all the preparatory work for high school drop-out girls to participate in the program.

The only thing wrong with the film, and it was the only thing, was the title that Bruce chose, which was "The Tender Power." But it was such a good film that I was allowed to use the screening room 308 for Bennetta Washington, who was the head of the Women's Job Corps, and her staff and our area directors and Bruce Herschensohn, who was taking great pride in it by that time, to come for a private screening. Our legal counsel allowed us, in spite of the restrictions about Agency projects being used in the United States, to make copies of the film to be used by the Women's Job Corps as a training film for Women In Community Service volunteers.

So there really was a victory and it wouldn't have happened if had it not been for Barbara Hussie and her persistence in insisting on real quality in this particular kind of a film.

That's enough on media services. There were other things that were done. But these are the things I remember most.

Q: Mildred, I always remember that one of the valuable things you did within the Agency was that, as you looked around to produce materials or to see that others produced materials, you reached out to women officers and women staff who therefore also were able to demonstrate in ways that maybe they did not have a chance to do normally; that they had special capacities and abilities.

Janet Murrow's Program Of Luncheons At Her Home For USIA Women Officers

MARCY: That wasn't solely my doing, although I did consciously try to do it, but it was Janet Murrow's doing as well. One of the first things that Janet did when Ed Murrow took over, after Ed had reinstated Reed Harris (that did a lot for the morale of older Agency officers who had known the bludgeoning that Reed Harris took at the hands of the McCarthy committee), was to start having luncheons at her home for women Foreign Service Officers and civil service employees just to get better acquainted and to find out what the women in the Agency were doing.

Q: She really started networking...

MARCY: She started networking and although the women... Well, Barbara Hussie, for instance, in Motion Picture didn't know Ernestine Bowman in Magazine Reprints, or didn't know Ursula Devgon in America Illustrated, or Dorothy Crook in Economic Impact, or Mary Lou Fife who was in my office, or Ruth Walter, who was at the Voice of America. We knew each other by name, but many of us had never met. What Janet was able to do was by having ten or twelve of us once a week in her home for luncheon not only gave her an opportunity to meet us and hear about the work we did, but also gave the women employees of the Agency a chance to network among themselves. She is the only Agency Director's wife that I've known who had the sensitivity and the foresight to do something like that.

Q: It was very unusual. I never knew that before.

MARCY: She was a real stalwart. It was a shame when Ed's illness prevented him from continuing as Director.

Impact Of 1960's Rise In the U.S. Women's Movement On Marcy's Work in USIA

Q: Maybe what we should do is talk about the resurgence of the "women's movement" in the 60s and whether that affected your work in USIA.

MARCY: Yes. It certainly did. It gave visibility and credibility to my function within USIA but it also aroused latent antagonism and insecurities in male officers who didn't comprehend the goals of the women's movement and who also in many cases felt threatened (or de-stabilized) in their own relation- ships with women.

Q: I think all of us women officers have encountered it, in one way or another. Part of it is a defense mechanism, but also the period of time you are talking about was before the time of a pattern, universally growing within the United States, of awareness of this kind of need. I used to find, for instance, in the 60s and into the 70s that male officers who had been overseas for such a long period of time and had not encountered at first hand the changes in the United States were always much more likely to exhibit sexist tendencies than the officers who had finally come to grips with it at home. So there was a time lag which was perfectly understandable, but still it was difficult.

MARCY: The male Foreign Service Officers had been not prevented from but had not been beneficiaries of the conscious- ness-raising groups that were taking place and all the women's study programs beginning on the college campuses. GW had one of the first women's studies courses begun by Ruth Osborne. Four years later there were 500 of them on college campuses around the country and I have no idea how many there are now. The whole public attitude and societal framework was changing so rapidly in this country (and equally rapidly in many other countries), but we were not trained to be aware of it. It was only with the publication of books and with the work of the President's Commission on the Status of Women and with the ongoing work of the UN Commission on the Status of Women that the implications of the changing status of women became, finally, a respectable and important side of political science, if you want to call it that.

Q: Absolutely. But I think it is important to have this time frame recognition of why people acted the way they did and the lack of their awareness.

MARCY: And the exciting thing both for you and for me is (and we haven't gotten to your coming into the Agency in 1963 yet) the fact that the period that our careers embraced (the Women's Activities Adviser no longer exists in the Agency), was a period of great ferment and change and evolution of philosophy about women's participation in all aspects of

national and inter- national development. Now the emphasis is much more throughout the whole body politic than it ever was before.

Q: That's right.

1963: The Value Of USIA's Limited Program Of Sending USIA Domestic Officers Abroad For Short Periods To Observe Developments And USIS Workings Abroad

MARCY: Before we get to '63 when you come into the picture, let me just briefly say that a couple of other things helped me both within the Agency and with overseas personnel and in my own broadening of view point. In 1962, there was a group of about 20 women called American Women for International Under- standing, which was essentially a travel agency idea. They were mostly Republicans, including Ellie Peterson, the co-chair of the Republican National Committee, and a number of people from large corporations, who were going to make a visit to the Soviet Union. Since I had never been partisan, coming out of a League back- ground, I didn't know very many of the important Republican women. I was invited to go on this trip and Tom Sorensen gave me permission to go and paid my travel costs to and from the Soviet Union. One of the benefits to me and to the Agency I hope, eventually, was that I had two days of meeting with the members and staff of the Soviet Women's Committee in their office, going through their publication plants, learning more about their philosophy about the kinds of articles and themes they were stressing, etc. I was astounded by the breadth and scope of resources being spent on media products that they were using in Third World countries and their clear belief that women are a "target audience" for all their propaganda efforts..

Another opportunity that I had was to go to Germany as one of eight American women, and I was the only one in government, with Hanna Kiep, who was the Cultural Affairs Officer of the German Embassy in Washington and the widow of Otto Kiep who had been hung in Germany for leading one of the Hitler resistance groups. Hanna, after the Berlin Wall was erected, was allowed by her government to bring a group of eight American women to Germany. The ultimate purpose was to behold the Wall, but the process of visiting and making the whole circle around Germany and ending up in Berlin was to sense through Hanna's eyes the upheavals that had occurred in Germany during and after the war. And to spend a great deal of time with people who were involved in educating primary and secondary school children in democratic methods following World War II. In both those contexts I had occasion to broaden my acquaintanceships with German women whom I had known through the Overseas Education Fund work or known of, at least, and to see USIS posts and the American Embassy, even if only from the outside and briefly and to get slightly acquainted with some of the Foreign Service personnel.

At somewhat later periods I was able to travel with Shirley Hendsch, who was in the Department of State in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs, having to do primarily with women's work, to Istanbul and later to Jakarta, to regional U.N. seminars on the subject of status of women and family planning. All three of these overseas travel experiences, while only one of them was actually paid for by the Agency, gave me a some-

what broader view of what my role within the Agency might come to be and certainly deepened my understanding of what post personnel were doing.

Q: This was very important because, certainly from the point of view of the Foreign Service Officer who constantly views things in light of overseas reaction rather than a reaction simply in Washington, one finds that too many very good professionals in the Agency do not easily make this jump in their thinking. I would be a great supporter of any one moment of this kind of overseas experience. I know working with India we regularly used to try to bring one non-Foreign Service Officer to India to work for a period of about three months. India was such a complicated post, much less a huge country. In every instance of which I am aware the individuals who had this experience benefited and came to have a different understanding of USIA's efforts overseas.

MARCY: You are absolutely right. I would see those people back in the Washington setting and USIS/India was one of the countries that did that every year for three month periods--several other countries were doing it as well. It was a way of broadening the view of essentially civil service employees for whom no travel money was provided and who had no opportunity for temporary assignments. We were a world-wide agency and there needed to be more linkage of the overseas posts' needs and resources and thinking to what was essentially a rather insular Washington bureaucracy.

Q: Yes, absolutely.

Background Of Dorothy Robins-Mowry's Entrance Into USIA As A Women's Affairs Officer

MARCY: Well, now lets get to 1963 when you were recruited. Rather reluctantly, I might say, to begin with. Let me lay the background as I knew it, which may be different from your viewpoint.

When Ambassador Reischauer was named ambassador to Japan he had a request that came in to Katie Louchheim in the State Department, and it came to Ed Murrow in USIA and was referred to me. He wanted on the staff of the American Embassy in Tokyo someplace (and he felt it belonged in the USIS operation), a woman officer who was high status in terms of academic background and knowledge- able in the ways of democratic processes. He wanted that person to learn a great deal about the situation in Japan, and in Tokyo particularly. His theory was that during the occupation and partly as the result of the work of Ethel Weed during the occupation, but primarily as a result of what the Japanese women saw in the U.S. occupation troops, that by and large, and I am generalizing, Japanese women were potentially more receptive to America and America's way of doing things because they had seen the code of chivalry or the evidences of equality that American men seemed to exhibit towards women and the women seemed to like that. Ambassador Reischauer felt that if we could find the right person, that person could make a great deal of difference in the operation of the American post with regard to reaching and influencing Japanese women and potentially youth, labor, etc. So you, who were about to leave the

American Association of University Women and go back up to New York to work with the Foreign Policy Association where you had been, were persuaded to try this for two years. Is that about right?

Q: That's right. I really wasn't persuaded until my two years were up. I did go to New York and started the job with the Foreign Policy Association and it wasn't until the security clearance came through in about 3 weeks that I knew this was a fait accompli.

MARCY: Then through juxtaposition of fortunate circumstance you went, as I remember, July 1963?

Q: I arrived in Japan October 3, 1963. I had some training by the Agency during the summer, although I joined the Agency in June. It was important, for some reason to get me on the staff before the fiscal year turned over.

MARCY: I wonder why?

Q: I can't imagine why. [Laughter]

1963: Both Carl And Mildred Marcy Receive One Year Study Grants Abroad Through Auspices Of Institute For Current World Affairs

MARCY: Backing up as to how our careers intertwined again, my husband, Carl Marcy, was chief of staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and had been since 1954, and had left the State Department in 1951 to go up there. The Institute for Current World Affairs, which was a private foundation that had been founded by Charles Crane years ago, had as its major function the selection of about eight to ten young, under 35, Americans to study a particular cutting edge subject overseas in a country of their choice for a period of time. The foundation had been paying all their expenses. Dick Nolte, who was very briefly the Ambassador to Egypt (got off the plane in Cairo and then got right back on), was the Executive Director of the Institute for Current World Affairs in 1963. Warren Unna, who used to be with USIA and later became the Washington correspondent for the Statesman of India, recommended to Dick that professional staff members from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee should be given an opportunity for this travel/study experience, as distinct from their official duties when they undertook what the Foreign Service called "boondoggles" and the staff members called "study missions overseas."

Three members of Carl's staff had had the advantage of a year abroad at the expense of the Institute: one in Latin America, one in England and one in the Far East. The Institute came back to Carl and said: "How would you like to take a year? We know you are over 35, but would you like a leave of absence and study a project of your interest?" Carl said: "No, because Mildred's working and I would not want to be away for a year." Over dinner one night we said: "Why don't we go back to them with a counter offer. Say, they give us each a fellowship and each have a project then we would be glad to accept." Carl's project was U.S. foreign policy as seen from a number of countries, both officially and unofficially.

Mine, obviously, was the role and potential of women to affect public policy changes in their own countries. The Institute bought it and at the end of September 1963 Carl and I embarked on a year-long trip that took us to countries in all regions of the world except for Latin America. Our first stop was in Japan, where you had been on duty, what, three weeks?

Q: I was barely there, yes.

MARCY: Anyway, you looked awfully experienced because you took me to Tuda College and a number of places during your learning experience. I was learning how one went about "casing the joint" in another country.

Q: That's right. I was very glad to see you--somebody from home because I had faced up to some of those rejection kinds of attitudes on the part of many of my colleagues at the Embassy.

MARCY: Did some of them think that you were Mrs. Reischauer's social secretary?

Q: Oh, absolutely. I had to make it clear that I was not there to do tea party events, I was there to develop programs that were directly related to the country plan and the policy interests of the United States. It took a while, but it finally came about that I was accepted.

MARCY: One reason that you were so good a choice for that particular position too, was, as I remember, that your Ph.D. dissertation was entitled, "Experiment in Democracy" which had to do with the rallying around of the non-governmental sector organizations and individuals in the U.S. to make sure that the United Nations Charter was finally ratified by the Senate and didn't go the way of the League of Nations.

Q: My own experience was with non-governmental organizations doing exactly this. It made me very aware, and I know we have talked about this before, that Foreign Service Officers who are recruited right out of their university training at whatever level, without any real working experience in the United States, especially for USIA officers, do not have the kind of background which is so useful for USIS overseas. Some of the officers I encountered knew about this kind of thing because of their mothers' work in the League of Women Voters or political life. But without this background they didn't have the kind of support and strength which comes from this knowledge, it's a practical knowledge...

MARCY: It's something that can't really be explained. You have to live it yourself or you have to have observed it. That is one reason why my job suddenly became a whole lot easier when you were in Japan. You were able to do in practical terms what I was talking about back in Washington, then I was able to show Washington based officers the processes and accomplishments that you were having in Japan.

The Value To Marcy In Her USIA Work Of The Year's Study Tour Abroad

The rest of that year, I utilized both my old Committee of Correspondence contacts, my contacts that I had achieved through the Overseas Education Fund, various former exchangees, as well as the more formal official contacts within the Embassy and USIS. Again deepening my own knowledge. It gave me at least a superficial acquaintanceship with men and women officers and staff in our overseas posts.

One of the great advantages to me when I later returned to my former position in USIA a year later, was that I knew, at least superficially, a great many of the Foreign Service Officers, whom I had seen in their overseas habitat. I understood much better what their functions were and they understood much better what I was trying to do so that when they were reassigned to Washington there were friendships developed there that helped me.

Let me, just as an aside, put in a story here that I know you have heard before, Dorothy, but illustrates the rapidity of change that was occurring and that I had a chance to observe. I'm thinking of a time in Pakistan when at that time the Ford Foundation had a project, which you may remember, called "Each One Teach One" in the agricultural sector. There were a couple of projects involving Pakistani men farmers teaching them somewhat better agricultural methods and raising chickens for protein, etc. but they hadn't yet established any classes for women. At one place in East Pakistan there had been a class for women established to teach them more in the way of sanitation, child care, nutrition, etc. and one morning the director of the program arrived at his little mud hut office to find a huge bearded Sikh sitting on the step waiting for him. He rose to his full 6 foot 5 height as the project director approached, crossed his arms in front of his chest and said: "My wife shall not be attending these women's classes any longer." "No, why not, I thought they would be of advantage?" "No, this morning my wife of 13 years looked me in the eye and said, 'Husband from now on I think you had better not wash <u>our</u> water buffalo in the same pond from which we drink.'" So all of a sudden, the director said; "Here was the idea of equality. She looked him in the eye, she gave him advice, she talked about community property." That one conversation made so vivid the changes in attitudes and relationships that were occurring in many countries. And this was at a time when the previous day I had had a three hour appointment with one of the first women ever to sit on the Queen's Bench--one of the first women lawyers in Pakistan.

Q: Your story makes a very important point about working with the women's sector in many of these developing countries which is, that for USIA, our purposes were not that of development as such. That was, after all, the AID purpose.

MARCY: Except in the human development context which was not a part of the AID thinking at that time.

Q: But it did make for certain problems often, it was difficult to make this kind of distinction which people did not comprehend very readily. I know when I did a lot of TV live in Korea I was always under the gun to make sure that what I did over there was not development, meaning economic development, but I was working in development which I

did, of course by all these lectures, etc. This was a very difficult concept for the developing countries and for USIA.

1964: Back In Washington, In Late 1964, Marcy Is Enabled To Add A Whole New Range Of Activities To Her Position

MARCY: Pretty soon we will get to the Percy Amendment.

Back to the definition of the Women's Activities Adviser's function and after my year abroad. I was really convinced that there were no limits to women's activities and no women's issues per sé. At that time Hew Ryan was the director of the Office of Policy and Plans and Barbara White his deputy. Barbara was a former international relations staff associate from the League of Women Voters National Office and I had known her first in that context before she ever joined USIA's foreign service.

A.
Election's Adviser In Two Presidential Elections

Partly as a result of my own redefinition of what was possible and partly because of the supportive help that Barbara and Hew gave me in giving me my head, I was asked to be the so called elections adviser for two presidential elections. The responsibility was just added to my job portfolio, which didn't mean anything much except that I had to write a talking paper on the process of state, local and national elections in a presidential election year. I got to sit in on all the review committees that had anything to do with the elections media projects. About that time the AID legislation was turned in the direction of population matters. Although population was a subject USIA was going to stay away from, there might be a supportive role we could play to AID. Since "population control" was considered to be essentially a women's issue, Barbara and Hew made Mildred the population adviser as well.

B.
Helping USIA Define Agency Role In Undergirding AID Mandate On Population Control

My responsibility was to help the Agency appropriately define what we could and could not do with regard to undergirding the AID mandate in the field of population. Again, in order to try to develop some public understanding and to really think our way through this, we had an all day seminar at Airlie House with Margaret Mead and John Mayer, to which every area director came and every media director. It was mandatory. The Deputy Director came. Margaret Mead and John Mayer helped us think through to an appropriate definition of the sort of soft sell media products and concern that USIA could offer to our posts.

As a result of the population portfolio I was involved with the Jakarta and Istanbul conferences. Also as a result of that and with the approval of Barbara White and Hew Ryan and the legal counsel, I was enabled to become a board member of the Population Reference Bureau which is a non-governmental voluntary organization, that had been in existence for about 50 years at that time, that was concerned with family planning and spacing of one's children. I later became chairman of the Population Reference Bureau and remained so for 12 years. I am now Chairman Emeritus of the Population Reference Bureau which is not a advocacy group but an educational group which was the only rationale that the Agency could use in allowing me to take on this non-governmental responsibility.

C.
1971-2: Working On Planning U.S. Bicentennial Observance

Then in 1971 or '72, the planning for the Bicentennial started developing. Liaison with the Bicentennial Commission landed on my desk. So I began working with Bill Blue, who was seconded by the State Department to the Bicentennial Commission over on Jackson Place. Jack Masey, who had been in the exhibit section of USIA, was working very closely with Bill Blue. Jack and I had always hit it off and we started conniving and planning and having great excitement about what would be possible in printed materials and exhibits that the Agency could assist to come into being.

Episode Of Centennial Exhibit "The World Of Jefferson," The Film Made Of It, And Hal Schneidman's Anger Over Its Delivery To Recipient Other Than Himself

As a result of Jack's enthusiasm about this and the concept developed essentially by Jack and Bill Blue, and Charles and Ray Eames, the designers with whom exhibits had worked very closely, the "World of Franklin and Jefferson" exhibit was developed which premiered in France and then went on tour as a traveling exhibit. We made a film of it and did a hardback book of it.

There were some real "perils of Pauline" about that one because coming back from Guatemala City where I had been a keynote speaker at a Sister City regional convention, I was asked by Jack Masey and Bill Blue to stop off in California to spend a day with Charles and Ray Eames to see the mock-up that had been done of the exhibit and to bring back with me the little film that the Eameses had developed. They always did their presentation by film.

I brought the film back to Jack and learned to my dismay the following day that Hal Schneidman, who was in charge of the exhibits in the Agency, was absolutely furious that I had delivered this film to Jack Masey on the Bicentennial Commission, even though he was the USIA man, instead of to Hal himself, and... No, Hal was out of town for a week because during the week that Hal was out of town and I brought the film back, Jack Masey and I arranged for a screening in room 308 for all the area and media heads of this visual presentation. Hal came back and, of course, we had overstepped, as I later came to understand that Hal should have been the host of this instead of Jack and me. So Jack and I

both took back seats and Hal took over but with very, very poor grace I always thought. He later apologized to me.

Q: At that point he was the head of ICS?

MARCY: I don't remember the symbols, but Agency exhibits were under his jurisdiction.

Eventually, as I remember it, the Bicentennial Commission had such trouble with USIA's contracts office and with USIA's red tape, dealing that Masey and Blue took the whole contract away from ICS, paid for it themselves with Bicentennial funds and the exhibit was really not an Agency exhibit finally.

Q: It was a beautiful exhibit.

MARCY: A beautiful exhibit.

Q*: I was more aware of that than I might have been for a very good reason. Having finally come home from Japan, I had started a program at ICS, under Hal Schneidman, on the American political and social processes, and the Bicentennial happened to be my particular concern. I always thought the exhibit was magnificent.*

MARCY: Did you know any of this background stuff about the film?

Q: The story you are now telling I did not know.

MARCY: Well, we have always had prima donnas.

Q: In the Agency in the sense of priority of authority, especially if it seems to be something that is very valuable or likely to be very positive to the people at the highest level.

MARCY: Especially when we were treading on toes. I remember though that Jack Masey just had a wonderful sense of humor and both of us were feeling chagrined by thoughtlessly having put Hal's nose out of joint. Jack had possession of the Eames film describing the exhibit. He was to deliver it to me for the screening to Agency personnel. I was to return the film from the projection room to the Bicentennial Commission. Jack called me and said: "I will meet you in front of the Renwick Gallery." I walked out of 1750 Pennsylvania, crossed the street and met him in front of the Renwick Gallery. Here came Jack in a trench coat, a slouch hat and dark glasses. He walked up to me and said: "Thanks lady." He took the film from under his arm, handed it to me, turned on his heels, and left. Lou Olom, I think, was the only one in the Agency who knows the whole drama of the episode. Lou accompanied the film and me back to Jackson Place after the screening.

Q: Mildred, I think maybe a point to make at this particular juncture while you are talking about taking on these responsibilities in term of policy, is that the Agency at the period of time you are talking about, that is in the 60s and 70s, was organized differently from what

it is currently. Within the Policy Office, the people in charge of projects were always fairly senior officers and the word in effect came out from that Policy Office to all the other elements of the Agency. I think it is important to note how differently things functioned. I forget when the reorganization took place.

MARCY: After CU was pulled out of State.

Q: It wasn't until John Reinhardt that the organizational pattern was changed.

MARCY: That's right. In fact earlier I mentioned the level at which I was brought into the Agency and the old office of Policy and Plans. Later Tom Sorensen and Ed Murrow up graded the advisory function within IOP so that all eight advisers were moved a step higher which was equated to a GS-15 in my case. Bryan Battey, who was then our executive officer for IOP, told me that all the positions were being upgraded so I needed to fill out the paper work for it. I didn't know enough about the bureaucracy, or maybe I knew too much, and I said: "Well, if the position has been upgraded you have all my files, you do it." And he did. All the positions were equivalent to GS-15s whether Foreign Service or GS.

The Episode Of Marcy's Guidance Paper On "The My Lai Massacre" Which Is Illustrative Of Actions That Too Often Delay Issuance Of Guidance To Field Posts

Only one other expansion of the functions that I was permitted or called on to fill, and it is one that I was very proud of at the time, but I have come to not be as proud of it, came about at the time of the My Lai Massacre. Barbara White asked me to do a guidance paper to the posts that could go out almost immediately on the expected processes of civil and military justice that would be brought to bear on Lt. Calley and his men, if the facts surrounding the "alleged massacre" (as the Defense Department insisted we call it) were confirmed. So I spent a long weekend (and coming from a family of lawyers on both side it was not too difficult) working on a guidance paper concerning the way our civil and military justice processes work and what one would expect to have happen. Leonard Marks, who was by that time the Director and a lawyer, and Charlie Ablard, who was the legal counsel, both approved my guidance paper with absolutely no change. This amazed and pleased me. For six weeks the Defense Department refused to send it out saying that the facts were not yet all in and our posts did not need this kind of an explanation anyway. Marks and Ablard were livid on the subject, but the Defense Department had the last word. By the time the paper finally went out it was very much expurgated and shortened.

That was the time at which I think my faith in the processes and word of government first took a real credibility blow. Up until that time I had been operating in very good faith and feeling that everyone else was and that right would prevail. I felt it did not in that case.

Q: Let me just add a supplement here, which I think is appropriate, and may be very obvious. Too often on a critical issue there is such a delay within Washington bureaucratic framework that the people out in the field and at the posts are left hanging and have to answer questions and deal with their constituency within hours, basing responses on their

own sense of knowledge and fair play. I don't think the Washington bureaucracy fully comprehends what this means to the people overseas.

MARCY: Well those of us who were intimately involved with them certainly did. That was what added to our frustration, not being able to move it out to our posts for very shallow reasons we felt.

Q: Inter-bureau clearances can be very, very slow.

Maybe I should add here, although I know I put it into my own oral history that your interest and backup of me in Japan was critical for me to get many things done. You bird-dogged my requests, my needs. You saw to it that if I needed an expert or a visitor, or if the groups of women which I finally began to send with the great support of the Reischauers, to the United States needed assistance, it was done. This was invaluable to me and I can say this particularly because the year you and Carl were traveling, there was a very nice person...

MARCY: Laverne Kunke.

Q: Laverne, in your shop. I was new enough in the Foreign Service that I didn't know the various levels of communication with Washington. I would often write her a letter and she wouldn't respond because she was playing the game exactly according to the rules and I didn't get the backup during that year. It also taught me very quickly how to use every mechanism of communication, but certainly your role in terms of support was absolutely invaluable.

MARCY: Well, I know a number of the women leaders that you wanted to program on the American participant program in Japan and in other countries in the region. I would back stop that part of it here making sure they were available and appropriately briefed.

Q: One of the other things you did, talking about the relationship between my role in a practical case study and policy and planning back in the Agency, was when I came home on home leave. You saw to it that I talked to what was then the Executive Staff of the Agency and to other important people. You set up appointments so that I could talk about what I had been doing and the way I had been doing it. This was very rewarding to me, personally, and I think it helped to give impetus to the whole concept of the program.

MARCY: I think so too. Very much. I could see it in the dealings that I would have later with media people, for instance. They had heard from a field officer precisely the operation's function.

1972: Marcy's Role in Inaugurating--And Ultimately Gaining Passage Of--An Amendment To Foreign Aid Legislation Promoting Training Of Women In The Part They Could Play In Country Development

Let me skip to another one which is perhaps the thing I am proudest of. It was not strictly an Agency responsibility but it grew out of my Agency role. Along with this burgeoning change in public attitudes in regard to the role and influence of women in all of society, Congress was also taking a new look at the foreign assistance legislation which led to a change, a very rational change in foreign aid legislation in the act of 1973. As you remember, its emphasis was changed from economic development, the building of infrastructure, roads, highways, steel mills, industrial plants, etc., (in order to build the take off point for economic development, the old Rostowian theory), to humanitarian assistance--education, health, nutrition--to the poorest of the poor. Those were the code words for it. One night, waiting in Carl's office for him to finish..

Q: When was this?

MARCY: 1972.

I said: "Let me see the wording of the new legislation for foreign aid." So Carl gave me a copy of the bill and I sat out in the outer office and read it. It provided for health care, education access, population planning, and the "poorest of the poor" kept being repeated throughout the legislation. I sat there thinking now who are the "poorest of the poor". Obviously they are the most illiterate people on the planet, the women. Women are always at the bottom of the economic scale. There ought to be something in this legislation that directs the AID mission directors to look at the role that women are playing in their countries to see whether or not the humanitarian assistance is going to where it ought to go. So I sat down at the typewriter and drafted a two or three line amendment to the foreign assistance legislation that year--"section 116: integrating women into national economies; sections 102-107 should be administered so as to give particular attention to those programs and projects and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries thus improving their status and assisting the total developmental effort."

Let me back up a second because there was a preliminary step in this. About a week earlier I had been at a meeting in Virginia Allan's office. Virginia was at that point the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs at the State Department. She was a past national president of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women. This was a meeting with Clara Byer of the Labor Department who had just completed a round-the-world trip on behalf of the Labor Department looking into the status of women in the economy and labor sectors of various countries. And Irene Tinker, who had done a good deal of academic work on national development in economic terms and the impact on the lives of women. Her conclusion essentially was that our AID program unintentionally separated the men and the women, particularly in the rural section. It has drawn men from the rural areas to the cities on these new highways and into jobs in the industrializing sector of their countries, leaving the women back in the rural area to do the agricultural work, with children to feed and clothe and educate. So that unintentionally we were breaking up strong family systems. Men were acquiring city families and leaving their country families. It was having an effect that was deleterious. This same theory had been espoused by Esther

Boserup in U.N. publication on the tragic consequences of economic assistance programs done in the stages of economic development mode.

I had gotten up from the meeting in Virginia's office, gone to the phone in the outer room and called Norville Jones on the staff of the Foreign Relations Committee, whom I knew that day was working on the final Senate report on the bill. I said: "Norville, put your secretary on to take down this paragraph and see if you can work it in to the Senate Committee's report on foreign aid." I dictated something like the amendment that I put formally into the bill. Norville said at the conclusion of the conversation: " Gee, that sounds good Mildred but what does it mean?" I said: "Don't worry about it, just trust me, it's okay. It won't get you into any trouble." "Okay, if you say so."

Then we get to the point of my drafting the final amendment to the bill. I took it to Carl and I said: "How would this go? Do you think anyone would buy it? Is it appropriate?" Carl said: "Yes. I think it is absolutely appropriate. Who do you want to introduce it?" First we thought of Humphrey, because he would have been very receptive to this. But Humphrey also had a reputation around the Hill of being kind of a gadfly and he didn't always follow through on what he agreed to do. This was going to need a lot of bird-dogging to make sure that it finally got enacted into law. It wasn't in the House bill, so there was going to be a problem in the conference committee. Carl said: "Well, Senator Percy is making noises as though he would like to run for President this year." Percy's foreign policy assistant, Scott Cohen, had the office right next to John Ritch, who was on Carl's staff. Carl said: "Why don't I give this to John Rich and see if he can sell it to Scott." Which he did the next day.

Scott had bought the idea and was eager to have Senator Percy introduce the amendment. I had drafted a short explanatory speech about the amendment, which was the last paragraph in the bill, and Percy agreed to introduce it.

On the day that he was to introduce it, he was also due to catch a plane to Chicago. He got up from the floor, having, I understand, made prior arrangements to have the presiding officer introduce it as though Percy was still there, but Bob Dockery, another Foreign Relations Committee staff member who was sitting next to Percy when he stood up to go to the airport, pulled at his coat tails and said: "Senator, you need to introduce your amendment." So Percy asked for the floor and introduced the amendment, inserted the speech into the record and left for the airport. It was passed by the Senate and became part of the Senate bill.

There was a great deal of controversy over this whole change of the foreign aid legislation that year from economic to humanitarian assistance. The conference committee had a long hard struggle with a good many provisions of the aid legislation. When the conference committee was meeting on the last day before Christmas recess that year, they came to the last section of the Senate bill and someone on the conference committee said: "Oh, we all know why Chuck Percy introduced this, he is running for President. We don't need this one, let's knock it out." So they did. Congress went into adjournment. They all went home for

recess. John Ritch went from the conference committee room to Carl's office and said: "Well, Carl, I hate to tell you but Mildred's amendment just lost."

So Carl called me to report this and I made three telephone calls. I called Virginia Allan in the State Department; Mary Ann Guyol at the League of Women Voters; and Olya Margolin, Executive Director of the National Council of Jewish Women. We started the drums beating and the mail started flowing into the Hill. When the conference committee met again after recess (I have it from one of the staff members who was present), as the members filed into the meeting room, one after another said: "What in the world did we do with that amendment that Percy introduced? I have never had so much mail on any one subject in my whole life. We've got to put it back." So it was put back in and became known as the Percy Amendment. Later, two years later, when Senator Percy was named to the Senatorial Delegation to the U.N. General Assembly, one of his assistants, Julia Chang Bloch, who is now the ambassador to Nepal, drafted an amendment similar to the Percy Amendment (which applied only to the U.S. bilateral aid program) making it multilateral. Percy introduced it at the United Nations and it went into effect. Then, thanks to Julia and to Percy's own interest which has continued unabated up to this day, there have been filed frequent reports on the "implementation of the women and development legislation."

Not as a result of this, but concurrent to it, the Association of Women and Development was created. The Women's Committee of the Society for International Development has continued with their interest and work in this. They had started even before the Percy Amendment.

This I feel was a contribution that was in a sense over and beyond my function within USIA, but I decided to include it in my oral history, not as a matter of egotistical meandering, but as an indication of the breadth and scope that I was given in the Agency to operate both within the Agency and outside the Agency with organizations and other elements of government.

Q: And also because you knew the process, the political and democratic processes.

As Result Of The Amendment To AID Legislation (Promoted By Marcy And Known Popularly As "The Percy Amendment") A Series Of Legislative Actions Developed And New Women's Organizations Were Established

MARCY: In the book, Women and Washington, Advocates For Public Policy, which was volume 7 in Women's Policy Studies, edited by Irene Tinker, on pages 230-232 there is a summarized account of this whole effort.

Along with that sort of thing that was happening, the Federal Women's Program was established; legislation was passed of various kinds; the Women's Equity Action League was created; within the foreign affairs agencies the Women's Action Organization came into being, again as a result of a coalescing attitude and a ground swell of collective action. It was an exciting period to watch these efforts build.

In The Middle Of These Developments (1973) USIA Director Keogh Reorganized Agency's Office Of Policy And Plans, Eliminating Marcy's Position

Just at the peak of excitement, when it seemed to me everything good was happening, James Keogh, as Director of the Agency, decided to reorganize the Office of Policy and Plans and abolish all these advisory positions. Joe Glazer's position was abolished as labor adviser. Mine, I think, was the first to go. Jim Keogh didn't even have the grace to tell me, face to face, that he was reorganizing and reassigning me. I came in one morning, on a Monday, and Mr. Keogh had flown to Europe on the previous Friday, to find a typewritten note signed by him, sealed in an envelope on my desk, saying that as of that date I was reassigned from the Office of Policy to become the Deputy Equal Employment officer--deputy to George Haley who had been brought in to head that newly created office.

This was awkward because Dorothy Robins-Mowry, you, were due for a Washington assignment. This was a new position that had opened up and Lionel Mosley and we had all agreed that this was an ideal place for you to have your Washington assignment and you were on the job. So it was left to me to come to George Haley's office, where I found you and George sitting and talking about the work of the new office, to say: "Sorry, Dorothy move over, you no longer have a job."

Well, I did have a chance to talk to Jim Keogh later. He was a little embarrassed about the manner, I think, in which the job had been abolished. I said: "Well, does this mean that the responsibilities which I carried are also abolished? What about the liaison with the Federal Women's Program? What about my women's activities function?" Well, he didn't know what these involved anyway, so he said: "Oh, sure, you can take those with you." So I just refused to believe that I was curtailed in any way, even though I no longer had a base of operations that carried any credibility.

After Some Uncertainty, Marcy Assigned To Newly Created (By Executive Order) President's Commission On Observance Of International Women's Year (1975)

At any rate, about that time Virginia Allan came to my rescue along with Ann Armstrong, a counselor in the White House under President Ford. Ford had issued a Proclamation, then an Executive Order and a number of government departments had put together the required kitty of $500,000 to make the Executive Order come into being creating a President's Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year. Government departments were asked to staff and provide funds to make this operation go.

This Commission came about because the United Nations General Assembly the previous year had declared the year 1975 as U.N. International Women's Year. The President's Proclamation was in consonance with that. The Executive Order creating a President's Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year was a part of that whole thing. Since it was international, the Department of State offered space and some assistance to facilitate the work of the Commission. The IWY Secretariat, the staff which carried on

the day-by-day activities of the Commission, was also housed in the State Department. Bernice Baer was the first USIA officer seconded to the State Department to begin the setting up of the Secretariat office.

1975: Marcy Moved To Department Of State; Plays Major Role In Building Staff For President's Commission And Subsequently In Complex Preparations For 1975 UN World Wide Mexico City Conference On Status Of Women.

Q: Mildred, when did you actually move over there?

MARCY: February, 1975, I think. Bernice went over about October, 1974.

Q: I don't think that is right. I came back from Japan in '73. When you and I had the turnover....

MARCY: But I was in that EEO office for 7 or 8 months.

Q: Oh, okay. You must have been there then into '74.

MARCY: I remember when I finally got to the State Department we had to prepare for the Mexico City conference in June of '75. At the same time we only had a year to prepare the report of the President's Commission. So we had to organize all the committees of the Commission and do the planning. We refused to do the position papers for the Mexico City conference. We insisted that IO had to continue that--that was Shirley Hendsch. We had all that condensed into the first six months.

Bernice Bar had been seconded over and she had done some baseline work as to how the Secretariat was going to get organized. She was assigned to Virginia Allan's office and to Shirley Hendsch's office. There was no space yet created for the IWY Secretariat.

Q: I remember the first time I visited you at the State Department you were in a corner suite, I think on the first floor.

MARCY: It was called the transition suite.

Q: It was Mildred, Bernice, and maybe one other person--things were pretty simple except you had a private bathroom, I remember.

MARCY: They put us in what is called the transitional space in the Department where after a presidential election if the administration changes, the new secretary of state occupies that space while the transition team gets to work. We lost that space when an election came along and Carter was elected. Dick Moose, who used to be on Carl's staff, was head of the transition team for State. Dick was the one who had to oust me from the space in the State Department, but I found space over at the Columbia Plaza that State still has.

Trials And Tribulations In Mounting U.S. Part Of Mexico City Conference

There is a funny story that goes along with my first day at the State Department. I had this posh space but no personnel yet, except for an executive officer who was called executive director and thought that he was going to run the operation. He had been assigned by the Director of Foreign Service Personnel, Nathaniel Davis. But I knew enough about this particular individual by reputation to know that he was a 3 martini man at the Golden Table every noon. I was not about to have anybody like that calling any shots at the IWY Secretariat. I went to Nat and I said: "I appreciate the fact that you were trying to get the office partially staffed before I came over, but I am not satisfied with the person that you have assigned. I would like to see the dossier on the Foreign Service Officers who are available for a Washington assignment to see if I can find somebody else." He protested just a little bit. He said: "Do you have any particular objection to him? I have eleven other officers I can give you files on and you may find someone there that you prefer, but any particular reason you don't want this man?" I said: "Yes, I know him by reputation and I know also having been in USIA long enough that the new girl on the block always has a hard time in a new environment and I'm the new girl on the block in the State Department. I am not going to be known as the person who got saddled with a turkey, especially a stewed one." Nat howled and he said: "You will have the eleven files on your desk by the end of the day."

In those files was an absolutely superb officer by the name of P. Chandler Roland, who was our executive officer. I have never worked with a more efficient, more simpatico, more committed male Foreign Service Officer. He had to go home and consult with his wife before he accepted this assignment, and then he brought full commitment to the position. After a year and a half in the job I was able to write such a glowing OER on him that he received, not just on the basis of my report, a significant promotion. He was the best executive officer we have ever had and he really helped to get us off to an excellent start.

The whole process of creating a staff out of nothing, we eventually built the staff to 40 people at the time when the work was the heaviest, meant combing the availabilities, defining the jobs, defining the duties, deciding on the committees of the Commission. Jill Ruckelshaus was the first Chairman of the Commission and there were 35 members of the Commission. I won't go into the work of the Secretariat aside from saying that we had a two fold responsibility for the first six months. One was to work with the Bureau of International Organization Affairs in developing and writing the position papers to guide the U.S. delegation to the International Conference in Mexico City in June of 1975.

Pat Hutar, who was the U.S. delegate to the UN Status of Women Commission, was the head of the delegation and Mr. Daniel Parker, who was the director of AID, was the co-head of the delegation to the Mexico City conference. The delegation members were appointed by the White House and the House and Senate, as were the 35 Commission members, but they were not an identical set of people. There was some overlapping, but it was really dealing with two groups of approximately 35 people all of them politically appointed. We had also gone through a long consultation process with non-governmental

organizations about people who might be on both the Commission and on the Delegation. Of course that all had to go through the State Department and the White House appointment offices. Anyway, it was a complicated three-ring circus. The first and inspired appointment that Virginia Allan and I agreed on was to get Catherine East from the Department of Labor, the Women's Bureau, who had been the Executive Director of the Esther Peterson's Commission on Women (during President Kennedy's tenure), and was fully cognizant of all the issues and knew how to help this Commission build on previous experience. Catherine came to the staff as head of the program--the substantive work of the Commission. Gradually we were able to get and build a staff of some 35 to 40 people that worked on...

Q: Mildred, where did your budget come from for so many people?

MARCY: $500,000 brought from different government agencies. Many of the staff were seconded and paid for by their own agency. USIA paid my salary. The others were seconded from the Labor Department, HEW, etc. But we had to do a persuasion job to get their budget officers to pay their salaries.

Q: And then you had to have a budget for your expenses.

MARCY: That's right. The $500,000 that was allocated by the various cooperating government agencies at the beginning was what had to be put together initially by Anne Armstrong to justify the Executive Order. That was what we had to operate on until the women in Congress led by Bella Abzug and Margaret Heckler got together, near the end of the first year and before our report had been completely prepared and printed, and passed PL 94167. It directed this National Commission to organize and convene a national women's conference and for other purposes. The other purposes meaning state conferences in all of the fifty states and the six territories. It appropriated $5 million which was to cover the total expenses of the Commission and the state commissions.

I'm skipping over this because it is in the archives in one way or another--not in the Agency archives, but it is available wherever the International Women's Year Commission files are.

In the early summer of 1975--just five months after the Presidential Commission had started its work, the Secretariat was still in a partially organized state, and the U.S. Delegation to the UN Conference on IWY had barely been appointed--there occurred the worldwide UN Conference in Mexico City. I won't go into detail because that's all documented in UN and U.S. legislative and executive branch files. Just let me say that the World Plan of Action was adopted unanimously on the last day by voice vote. But introduced in to the deliberations leading up to the last day were the Zionist Resolutions and the New International Economic Order, NIEO. All of these were issues that were surfacing repeatedly in UN conferences. Ours happened to be the first where the two issues, Zionism and the New International Economic Order, surfaced with such vehemence and such rigid positions. The only reason we were able to pass the World Plan of Action out of the Mexico City conference was because the women delegates were determined that they

were not going to be sidetracked from the main purpose of the conference on to these other, they considered, subordinate issues.

Q: I remember the opening session at which the President of Mexico spoke. He was an ardent advocate of a policy called the New International Economic Order. He gave a very, very strong speech. After that there was concern that the conference would focus on issues other than those of the women's conference itself. Mildred, I think it is important, both for what went on at Mexico City with the establishment of the non-governmental Forum, but also because of your own organization back in Washington. Before the conference you were bringing together in that office, as workers or as representatives from organizations cooperating with what you were doing, a multiplicity of governmental operations as well as the non-governmental organizations. This was a massive diplomatic undertaking.

MARCY: Well, it was unusual in the eyes of the State Department, too, because we were insisting that the briefing papers for the U.S. Delegation reflect not simply governmental positions, but government positions derived from or reflecting public attitudes, concerns and beliefs. The only way to determine that was to call in acknowledged representatives of eminent organizations and some individual experts of one kind or another, and have them cooperate with us in defining the terms of the issues in the U.S. context, which then were incorporated into the position papers to instruct the delegates from the U.S. That whole process of having governmental personnel essentially briefed by non-governmental people with certain expertise on various women's issues, and there I will use the term women's issues because it concerned employment, health, etc. as it impacted on women, was a healthy exercise both ways and was a learning experience both ways. It developed pretty good position papers. At least there was consensus among the organizations that the U.S. delegation in the main, not entirely, but in the main, was carrying out the will of the people, if you can put it that way. It was a technique that I wish had been followed more adroitly in later periods. They still go through pro forma motions, but there is not the real consultation as I observed it.

Q: I remember being in some of those planning sessions on policy papers. We sat around one of the big conference tables at the State Department for 2 and 3 hours trying to come to some agreement but also finding out where we needed more information. My understanding was that the Mexico City Conference as a women's conference was an educational experience all around. For instance, as I recall, the delegates were not given good training on how to perform at an international conference. We often were behind the eight ball because the delegation did not know how to lobby internationally. That was changed subsequently. Also at Mexico City I remember we had an uprising among the organizations led by one or two rather militant people who felt that they were being left out. Do you want to address any of this?

MARCY: Yes, I would like to emphasis the support we got from USIS and the embassy. Particularly in the person of Ambassador John Jova who was very receptive to the whole principle of the Mexico City Conference. He made available the open air space outside the embassy offices where every morning we would have a meeting with anyone who was

interested from the U.S. delegation or the Tribune, which was the parallel non-governmental forum clear across town, to come and discuss the issues that were going to be discussed in the respective bodies that day. We had some hot and heavy discussions. At one point the Latin American groupings from the Tribune felt very, very strongly that they wanted a translation in Spanish of the Tribune's positions presented to the U.S. delegation and to the Mexico City Conference. USIS worked all night printing in Spanish the material that the Tribune developed so that there could be again a confluence of views. It was not always productive and satisfactory, but there was an attempt made to bridge the gap between the ballet, as we used to call it, of the governmental delegations and the free for all stomp and dance that was going on at the Tribune. It was an exciting experience.

After Mexico City Conference, Marcy Involved n Organizing Mechanism For Holding State Conferences On Women's Issues

Following the Mexico City Conference, coming back on the plane, some of us on the staff began thinking more seriously what we should do with regard to the Presidential Commission. There was this new legislation that extended the life of the Commission giving us a budget of $5 million, telling us to hold a state conference, a public meeting, in every one of the 50 states and 6 territories, but laid down no guidelines. The public meetings were supposed to define the issues that would be the agenda for a National Conference, which was the conference that later took place in Houston. How should we go about this?

One of the first things we did was to take the principle out of the Percy Amendment and say: "All right, let's look at the departments in the U.S. government whose budgets are tailored in such a way that their programs affect the lives of women in a definite way--like Health and Education and Welfare; or like the Tennessee Valley Authority, believe it or not; or the Social Security Administration; or the Labor Department--and ask for an impact statement (remember when that phrase was familiar?) from each of these governmental departments on the actual, the presumed or potential influence on the lives of women of their programs." That was a judgment call if there ever was one.
First, we had to establish a mechanism so that we could get cooperation from the various government departments. Jill Ruckelshaus was excited about doing this. Through her influence and with the support of Bob Ingersoll, who was the Deputy Secretary of State, we were able to issue an invitation under the name of the number one Cabinet Department over the signature of Ingersoll and the co-signature of Jill Ruckelshaus to, as I remember, 35 government agencies and departments, spelling out that we wanted them to send a representative to a meeting whose purpose was to discuss the need of the President's Commission on the Observance International Women's Year to have facts, figures, judgments, statements about the effect of these agencies' programs on the lives of women in the U.S.

You never saw a more bewildered audience convene in the Foy Kohler Auditorium at the State Department. But they did. And they thought about it. The Small Business Administration, TVA, Social Security, HEW, State Department, Agriculture...

Q: USIA, I was one of the delegates.

MARCY: That's right. They all sat and thought about it. By a certain deadline, because we had to have it in by the time the report was to be written and edited, they came in with a variety of responses. Some were very insightful and led to changes in legislation and executive changes. Others were just pushing paper. But at least it was an attempt to look at ourselves before we started preaching to others.

Let's skip. After the Commission had organized itself into a group of about 13 committees on various issues of substance and each committee had met several times and prepared its information and views and recommendations, the Commission met for several days when it developed its final position on these various subjects. The report was turned over to our writer and editor, Dorothy Jurney and Marjorie Paxson. A 400-page document, red white and blue, was produced called To Form A More Perfect Union-Justice For American Women. This report had its uses in the United States in preparing for the state conferences and helping to build their agendas. It also had its effects overseas because in a number of countries, there were national commissions on the status of women also being formed. In a sense emulating what the United States had done through the Kennedy-Peterson-Roosevelt Commission, but also indigenous to their own needs and beliefs.

Q: This was the real mobilization for the women's decade.

MARCY: Yes, that's right. This led to the United Nations declaring that a year is not enough, it must be a decade. It declared the years 1975-85 the U.N. decade for women. That was followed by a world conference in Copenhagen and another in Nairobi, five years apart--the mid-decade conference was the one in Copenhagen.

At that time I was back in USIA and Alice Ilchman was the associate director for educational and cultural affairs. With Alice's vehement support and budgetary help, our bureau put about a quarter of a million dollars into facilitative assistance for the Copenhagen conference that took the form of exchange projects, media support, etc. Deidre Ryan was PAO in Copenhagen. She gave press support and mobilized all of USIS. We pulled in officers from several European posts to augment the work of the USIS and Embassy staff in Copenhagen.

Q: That happened in Mexico City too, especially with the press support.

MARCY: Yes, that's right. That's how we got the Spanish translation of the Tribune stuff. For all the conferences we had support from the various foreign affairs agencies.

Q: Mildred, how long were you with the Commission?

1977: Marcy Becomes Deputy Assistant Secretary Of State For Educational And Cultural Affairs (CU). But Soon The Bureau Is Transferred To USIA. (Agency Renamed U.S. International Communications Agency--USICA)

MARCY: From January, 1975 until May, 1977, when I was asked by Joe Duffey to become the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs. I finally agreed after persuading Kay Clarenbach, who had been my deputy at the IWY Commission, to become the coordinator for the Secretariat. It meant leaving her family in Wisconsin and moving to Washington for the remaining period of the Commission's activities. But the day I reported to work at the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Joe Duffey announced that he was going to the National Endowment for the Humanities and Bill Hitchcock became the Acting Assistant Secretary for awhile until Alice Ilchman came in as the Assistant Secretary of State. Alice was in that position for nine days before, on April 1, 1979, the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs was pulled out of the Department of State and made a part of USIA with the new name of the International Communications Agency. Alice then headed the Associate Directorate for Educational and Cultural Affairs.

I went back with the reorganization. John Reinhardt was the Director of the new agency, Charlie Bray was the Deputy Director and I was made the Director of Institutional Relations in the E Bureau.

Q: Mildred, back up, what did you do at the State Department?

MARCY: Well, Christian Chapman and Bill Hitchcock were the other two deputies. In the Bureau I had supervisory responsibility for international visitors, the music program and what we called the American participants programs overseas. Much of the time was spent in feeling that most of the year and a half while in that position I was concerned with the transition from the Department of State to the Agency making sure that functions were protected and assigned to the right places. I sat on a number of reorganization committees.

Q: How early were you aware of the transition?

MARCY: I knew it was in the works when I went into the job because it was one of the things that the Carter Administration said it was going to do first off.

Q: What was the rationale given by the Carter people for the transition?

MARCY: Well, they didn't know or had forgotten the history of the separation of the educational and cultural affairs program from USIA, in the first place. They just felt it was more operationally efficient to have it all together. I have forgotten the name of the staffer, but it was largely as a result of the impetus of one particular staff member at the White House.

Q: Of course while working overseas I was responsible to the Department of State while executing the educational exchange program but I functioned within USIS. It sounds ambiguous but once you were functioning in the job it didn't make the slightest bit of difference because there was always cooperation between USIS and the embassy.

MARCY: The only place it was separated was in Washington. Anyway the reorganization occurred. I had no particular view, one way or another, I felt that it was probably inevitable given the circumstances of the time and that it could be handled with good will on both sides. That it could in the long run prove beneficial to the program. It eliminated, I thought, a good deal of the supposed ambiguity, but as you say I don't think it was as ambiguous as some people made it out to be. Given officers of goodwill on both sides, I thought it could work. John Reinhardt and Charlie Bray both of whom I had worked very closely with in the State Department when they were the Assistant Secretary and Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs and Virginia had been one of the other Deputy Assistant Secretaries. So I had a good relationship with Charlie and John and I figured sure this will work.

Recombination Of Educational And Cultural Functions With USIA (USICA) After 22 Plus Years Of Separation Caused Organizational Confusion And Damage To Morale Of Non-USIA Personnel

Anyway I came back to what was called ECA, Educational and Cultural Exchange, and my title for about a year was Director of Institutional Relations, which never made very much sense. An organization chart showed that international visitors, AMPARTS, voluntary visitors, the relationship with program agencies such as sister cities, people-to-people, visitor programs services, NCIV and all the non-governmental organizational contact, and the music, art and dance exchanges, all came under Institutional Relations, which was an unworkable plan in the beginning.

Q: Absolutely huge.

MARCY: Absolutely huge and with morale of non-USIA people being quite damaged by it, mostly because they felt they were not given quarters that were commensurate to what they were used to, parking was all loused up for them, their routines were loused up and it was rough.

Q: A lot of them, I think, thought working for the Department of State was more prestigious then working for USIA.

MARCY: That's right. Anyway after about a year, when Alice Ilchman was still there, they reorganized the Associate Director of ECA and abolished the Directorate of Institutional Relations which was fine with me. David Nalle and Alice Ilchman had argued with John Reinhardt that there ought to be two deputies to the associate director, one for program and one for administration. Since there had been three deputies in CU it was only right to have two in USIA. They proposed me as the second deputy to Alice. John would not buy that and Dave and Alice came back to me very chagrined that he had not bought the nice plan. David

looked at me very sheepishly and with the Foreign Service mentality that if you don't have an operational job what good are you. What can you do? No one is reporting to you, no promotions being achieved, and all this.

1978: Marcy Assumes Senior Adviser Role In USICA Bureau Of Educational And Cultural Exchange

I looked him right in the eye and said: "Well, I don't care. I wasn't operational before. Just call me senior adviser. I'm senior and I give plenty of advice." And David heaved a sigh and said: "That's a good idea. You really wouldn't mind?" And I said: "I'd love it."

Q: David at that time was deputy to Alice?

MARCY: Yes. What David appeared not to understand was that I thought this was giving me back all the freedom that I had had in the old USIA and I wanted it.

Q: That was more like being a policy officer.

In Her New Position As Senior Adviser, Marcy To Promote Launching Of New Activity: World Wide Educational TV And Book Program; Operation Subsequently Taken Over By Private Sector Both in Europe--And U.S., Where I t Continues Today On PBS As "Reading Rainbow"

MARCY: Yes. I could make my own job.

A couple of the things that happened in that context were routine things that might have happened anyway, but one of them I know would not have happened. One day I was sitting at my desk and a woman walked in off the street named, Cecily Truitt, who had just come back from an international conference in Paris of children's television producers. She was all fired up. She said: "Now that you are a new agency and have a double mandate, not simply to expound and try to influence people overseas, but you are supposed to stimulate mutual understanding in this country and help to educate the American public, and since television is a reasonably new mechanism in many countries, why don't we think about using television as a stimulation to education." We talked about it for a little while. I had Bill Blume come and sit in with us because Bill is one of these people who could spin ideas. I always found that I got a charge out of listening to Bill take an idea and then embroider it. Cecily and Bill hit it off. Bill's son is a librarian in Seattle and he immediately brought in the idea of books with television and other methods by which children learn. Well eventually what we did was to get Charlie and John to take, I think it was a $100,000 out of the Director's discretionary fund to fund a group exchange project bringing two people from each of 15 countries. Criteria for choosing the people were that they had to be involved in children education, either in television, children's books, audiovisuals of some kind, libraries or be educators themselves. It was a worldwide project.

A condition that Charlie, through me, laid on Cecily was that she had to find a matching $100,000 to pay the rest of the cost of this project. He wanted to prove that in this new agency we could elicit private sector cooperation that would make this a success. Well Cecily and Bill Blume put their heads together and they got the American Library Association through their children's book section's national convention to approve cooperation with ICA on this worldwide group exchange project on books and television, and radio, story telling, etc. A person from the children's book section was a co-chairman with Cecily from then on.

Cecily got a grant, quite a sizeable grant, from the Kellogg Foundation, and from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. She got facilitative assistance from the Public Broadcasting outlet in Miami to lend a camera crew. We got VPS, (Visitors Program Services), to be the program agency to make most of the arrangements. Cecily Truitt, Bill Blume, and the person from the American Library Association essentially planned the appointments and programs in each of the cities where the foreign participants went. But it turned out to be one of our more successful group exchange projects. At the end, I won't go through the project itself which was a six-week traveling project working with Children's Television Workshop, Corporation for Public Broad- casting, etc., it eventually led to the creation of a program that you will see on your PBS television programs every week called "Reading Rainbow."

The idea behind the whole project was that when children are just learning to read, and in this country it occurs between grades 1 and 5, they are going great guns and then they have a 3-month summer vacation and their reading skills falter. Many of the children do not go to libraries, but they sit glued in front of the television set. So, why not make books about other cultures into television fare that will encourage children to read. A program that is shown on television that will draw the kids to the library in the summer time, maintain their reading skills via television which they are going to watch anyway, and reinforce a love of reading through books about other cultures.
"Reading Rainbow" is simply one of the spin-offs from that group exchange project that is still having a positive effect in the U.S. Cecily still reads success stories from the foreign participants in that exchange program in their own countries.

That program has been running in the U.S. nearly five years now and is advertised on the sides of Kellogg cereal boxes. The Corporation for Public Broadcasting still funds it, so does Kellogg, as well as the Children's Television Workshop funds it. Cecily Truitt married the PBS producer from Miami, who was involved in the original project, and they now have two children who watch "Reading Rainbow." I got the cutest note from Mike Schneider the other day with a side of a cereal box advertising "Reading Rainbow", saying: "Here's one of your more successful projects." In fact, when Charlie Bray was Ambassador to Togo and I knew PBS had picked up "Reading Rainbow" I sent Charlie a lot of the clippings about it and said: "This is what your first $100,000 achieved and we proved all your points."

Well, that was one project which wouldn't have happened if we hadn't been open and receptive to ideas and thinking about the learning experience on the U.S. side and utilizing the experiences of other cultures as evidenced in books to....

Q: That whole concept was alien to what USIA had been about.

MARCY: It wasn't alien in theory because "mutual understanding" had always been in the language, but it was never truly understood.

Q: It was never practiced. USIA was always concerned about doing something in the United States that would get it in trouble with Congress.

MARCY: But it was Congress that had mandated the new charter for the Agency that said we will approve the reorganization only on condition that it benefits the U.S. as much as it benefits others.

Q: It's very interesting to see the different charters of the Agency and what has gone on over the years.

Programs Of The Type Of "Reading Rainbow" That Shared Ideas With Public, And Group Exchange Programs Dropped Almost Immediately Under Reagan Administration

MARCY: The "broadest sharing of ideas across national boundaries" was in the legislation that the Congress passed that allowed CU to be brought out of State and put into the new agency. It is language I happen to be very familiar with because I drafted it. But it was never understood and never really utilized. But it was this kind of mutual understanding that Alice and I were trying to emphasize. This was the purpose behind the group exchange visits that we had where we brought group projects (primarily women in this case) to Washington and had a substantive seminar with their professional counterparts in the Washington area in their fields of interest at the George Washington University under the auspices of the continuing education program. Mary Haney and Ruth Osborne, and Virginia Allan, Charlotte Conable and a number of others were very active in this program. Alice Ilchman supported these ventures with all her heart and budget as long as she was there. But it was dropped almost immediately when the Reagan Administration came in.

Q: Mildred, all of your efforts after you returned to the Agency and worked in the educational bureau as Senior Adviser--it was your title right to the end, was it not?

MARCY: Yes.

Q: You were the real strength of the outreach within the United States because so many of the non-governmental organizations, maybe not the academic institutions, but certainly on the "people" side, and this goes right back to the beginning of your career with the League of Women Voters, this was the great strength which you provided to the purposes of educational exchange.

Last Two Years With USIA Spent Mostly In Writing Chronologies Of Agency Evolution; Evolution Of Fulbright-Hays Act, Etc.--

MARCY: Well, my previously experience certainly augmented my relationship with the so-called domestic constituency, the people who worked with the program agencies, the component parts of National Council for International Visitors, etc. The last couple of years that I was in the Agency I spent more of my time not on expanded idea projects like this, in which I took a great deal of joy and delight because one could see results, but writing memos and papers and chronologies on the evolution of the Fulbright-Hays Act and the evolution of the Agency, and trying to protect the integrity as I conceived it and believed had been the intent of the various programs. Richard Bishirjian and Ronald Trowbridge replaced Alice Ilchman in succession.

Q: This was under Charles Wick as Director.

--Overseeing, Screening, And Declassification Of State Department (Bureau Of Educational And Cultural Affairs) Files; And Their Transfer To The Fulbright Institute At University of Arkansas

MARCY: Yes. Here's another example of what occupied me in the last few years. Files that had been developed in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs in the Department of State were growing dusty in a storeroom in the State Department. The State Department let it be known that they wanted that space. Would we please get rid of the files. This came to my attention through Dick Roth who was in administration at that time. We realized that there was a lot of history in those files that would be lost totally if they were retired to St. Louis or some place. They needed to be available for scholarly and journalist and agency program research if necessary. The whole era of the "brain drain" is documented in those CU files. But they needed to be declassified, sorted, organized and the job needed to be done by someone who really understood those programs and had been a part of them.

The impetus for doing something with the files, aside from just bringing them to the new Agency and finding storage space, came when I was assigned to supervise a contract that had been signed with Tom Paine, a faculty member of Hillsdale College in Michigan, who was to have exclusive use of the CU archives to write a book setting forth the theory that cultural exchange programs only burgeoned during periods of high international tension. That they were not a mechanism for peace and cooperation. They were a competition mechanism. The war of ideas. Well, that just raised the hackles on my neck, as it did on others with whom I consulted. The Fulbright Institute had recently been established at the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville. I had become acquainted with the Dean of the University and with the head of the Fulbright Institute, who were looking for material for their archives. I mentioned these files and said what better place than the Fulbright Institute for these evolutionary materials that were the implementation of, first, the Fulbright Act and then the Fulbright-Hays Act. A letter from the President of the University came to Charlie Wick asking if, in his wisdom, he would consider donating those files to the

Fulbright Institute to be used for scholarly, academic and journalistic purposes. They would be available to the Agency for program use as and whenever they wanted them.

Charlie signed the letter of acceptance that we had drafted, Dick Roth and I, saying that "sure you can have the files, we will be glad to screen and declassify them. You will have to arrange for the transportation and the storage of them and we want access to them as needed." We had a committee of senior CU officers who worked over those files for a number of weeks. Clearance was obtained from the National Archives so that we were not in any danger regarding classified material.

Date: February 20, 1991

Q: Mildred, as we finished the last tape, you were explaining the arrangements about the Fulbright papers and their going into a depository at the University of Arkansas. We may duplicate a little, but go back a little and indicate how this was handled.

MARCY: Mr. Wick received a letter from the President of the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville not too long after the Fulbright Institute had been created and housed in Fayetteville. He asked Mr. Wick whether or not in the interest of preserving the records of the old Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, which were no longer of particular program use to the new International Communication Agency, the new Agency would be willing to turn the records over to the Fulbright Institute. The records would be kept under the care of experienced librarians who would microfilm them and make them available to the Agency as needed for research, scholarly or program purposes. They would like to be the repository since so much of the work and the programs of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs was grounded in the original Fulbright Act and in the later Fulbright-Hays Act. Mr. Wick agreed to this, in fact was very pleased with this request.

Under the guidance of Dick Roth and myself, a screening committee of senior officers who had worked in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs in State was put together. They worked about six weeks going through the files working in a room about 15 by 15 which was absolutely jammed with four-drawer steel filing cabinets, back to back and face to face in some cases. The cabinets often had to be moved in order to open the drawers. Eventually the screening committee made it through the material discarding duplicates, declassifying where appropriate, retaining where it was necessary to do so, and finally receiving clearance from the head of the Archives of the United States to have them put in the Fulbright Institute subject to call from the Agency as needed. They would be open to scholars, journalists and people who might for one reason or another need them for general research and background purposes. The Fulbright Institute paid for the transfer of the files when they were finally prepared for transfer. There was quite a celebration during the week when the Fulbright annual seminar was held. Jodie Lewinsohn to Arkansas with Dick Roth and myself and a number of others, including Senator Fulbright. Jodie made the donation speech on behalf of Mr. Wick.

Q: Jodie at that time was the...

MARCY: The Deputy Director of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs in the new Agency. I have been told by Martin Manning, who was the archivist, really the historian of USIA, that there has been quite a bit of call for a number of the materials. Less so as time goes on. But Martin was given permission early on to go out and work with the librarian at the Fulbright Institute to, seems to me it was two weeks to a month, explain what the papers were, what their importance was, where they had come from, and just generally assisting in creating a useable filing system for them.

Q: That makes all the difference in the world. Do you remember the names of the members of the screening committee?

MARCY: I remember the name of only one, Dick Arndt, who was in charge of the screening committee. I'll try to get the other names. I think there were three or four others.

Marcy's Part In Establishing Women's Action Organization Which Battled Professional Discrimination Against Women

Q: One interesting project you were involved in over a series of years was the establishment of the Women's Action Organization. Can you give us a little background on that? I know there is a document that will be included with this about it. Would you like to make a comment about how it got started and what you think its implications are?

MARCY: I have gone into that probably in greater detail than you want in this oral history for the Schlesinger Library oral history / archives. Basically, I think the sequence was something like this.

When I was Federal Women's Program Coordinator and also deputy in the Office of Equal Employment Opportunity...

Q: That was in 1974?

MARCY: '73 or '74, yes. Possibly '72.

I became aware that there were a number of officers in the foreign affairs agencies, generally, women officers from civil service to foreign service staff and including the foreign service officer category, who were very disheartened and disgruntled about the fact that they had not been receiving promotions they felt were justified in line with their experience. They believed their male colleagues were moving up the promotion ladder and that the women were being held back. They were meeting informally at lunch time with brown bags lunches. AID, USIA and State personnel were involved. I was asked to come and sit in with them one time. After an hour of listening to what was essentially a gripe session, I finally said: "Well, we are not going to get anywhere if we just sit around and grouse. Is there anything from your experience that leads you to believe that there are certain regulations that can be promulgated, or practices that could be changed so that the

situation would change and improvements be made? Why don't you create an ad hoc task force and settle down and see in what areas you feel improvements could be made and see if you can come up with some rules that you would like to recommend. If you do, I think I could help to get an interview with Bill Macomber," who was Under Secretary for Administration of the Department of State.

After about a month, thanks to Barbara Good, Mary Olmsted, Bernice Baer, Georgiana Prince and others, they did come up with some recommendations and were ready to present them. I agreed to arrange a meeting with Bill Macomber for a group of about eight. Mary Olmsted, a class 1 economic officer in the Department of State, agreed to be the head of the group. I called Bill Macomber's secretary and said: "There is a group of 7 or 8 women, staff and officers in the foreign affairs agencies, who would like to talk with Mr. Macomber at his convenience on August 26." The secretary looked at the calendar and said: "Mr. Macomber is reasonably free the entire day, what time would you like it?" I said: "Well, make it 4:00 o'clock in the afternoon," feeling that if it were late enough in the day it would be awkward for Bill to turn us out of his office. I wanted to be sure we got a good hearing.

At 4:00 o'clock on the 26th we showed up. Bill had his key henchmen there, as well, which was good. After a bit of introduction as a bridge into the discussion, I turned the meeting over to Mary Olmsted. The point that tickled Bill Macomber, which he never forgot and still likes to kid me about, was that I had chosen August 26th as the date because that was the date of the ratification of the 19th Amendment which gave women the right to vote.

Another sidelight was that Bill had married Phyllis, who had been Dean Rusk's secretary. She was very, very much in favor of much of the suggestions that were being brought to Bill's attention. So we had a double receptivity on the part of the Macombers.

Q: Very clever. What came out of that meeting that afternoon?

MARCY: A number of changes in the regulations which are spelled out in that Schlesinger Library paper.

Q: So that if we refer to that... I know over the years the Women's Action Organization has waxed and waned. Have you any final thoughts about it?

MARCY: I think one of the reasons it has waxed and waned is largely a matter of leadership of the organization and the receptivity of the administration of the various foreign affairs agencies. In the Reagan years, the whole Federal Women's Program both domestically and in the foreign affairs agencies, practically disappeared because there was no receptivity at the top. There was no sense of urgency or priority. As long as constructive suggestions were made based on common sense and reasonable potential solutions were proposed we never had any problem.

Q: By we you mean USIA?

MARCY: No, State led the way in the Women's Action Organization (WAO) activity. Except under Lois Roth's presidency and that of Marjorie Ransom. Those were periods when WAO really waxed. It was because it was run by people who were reasonable, not complainers but good persuaders.

Q: Did the work of this organization have anything to do with the law case...

MARCY: Alison Palmer?

Q: That's right.

MARCY: Alison's case was I think in the courts just about the time that the Women's Action Organization was being formed. In fact, if I remember correctly, Alison Palmer, whose nickname was Tally, sat in on some of those brown bag luncheons.

Q: But her court action was separate from the Women's Action Organization.

MARCY: That's right. It came as a result of the Federal Women's Program and so did Dorothy Dillon's. Dorothy was another one who was active on the USIA side. She had been a professional historian before joining USIA. Her field of expertise was Latin America; she was bilingual in Spanish and she had served as cultural affairs officer in Guatemala, as I remember. She was assigned to the Philippines when the Federal Women's Program was inaugurated and the rule and regulations came out. Dorothy believed that she had been discriminated against on account of her gender and had not received promotions that she felt she was entitled to but her male colleagues had. She brought a complaint within the Agency--I don't think she ever went to court--that was investigated under the rules of the Federal Women's Program. She had two quotations, one I believe in writing, from area directors. One was the area director from Western Europe who said that he would never have a women officer serving in Spain with him as long as he was there. After being denied the Spain assignment, Dorothy was considered for a position as deputy in the office of research, but Oren Stephens said that he would not have a woman working there. That was said in front of Lionel Mosley, who was director of personnel, at a meeting where I was in attendance. Dorothy being pretty assertive on this question, and justifiably in my view, that she really had been discriminated against, not on the basis of professional qualifications but because of her gender. She finally got restitution from the Agency and was given a promotion and her choice of jobs within the Agency.

Q: One of those good classic stories. The Women's Action Organization had programs, and there was one not too long ago as a matter of fact, to celebrate the 20th anniversary. It was established in 1970.

MARCY: The Organization was given a Superior Honor Award at one of the ceremonies, I remember, at the State Department and the White House.

Q: And of course Mary Olmsted, who went on to do so much in this area really laid her professional head on the line. Ultimately, of course, she was made an ambassador.

Marcy's Challenge To Mr. Wick's "Project Democracy"

Mildred, before we got into the Women's Action Organization, we were following chronologically your time at the Agency and I know we are coming to the final years. One of the very interesting events was your action in regard to the matter of Project Democracy. Do you wish to talk about that and how Project Democracy fitted into your responsibilities as Senior Adviser and what occurred with all of this.

MARCY: I am just trying to remember what we put on the other tape. I guess we did cover the time I was seconded to the State Department and was coordinator of the International Women's Year.

Q: Yes, we got all that.

MARCY: Then I was going to be Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs and then I came back to the Agency after reorganization. When I became Senior Adviser within the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs in USIA, I was on hand when the whole concept of Project Democracy was being discussed in CIA, the White House and top echelons in USIA.

I'm trying to recollect from memory now, and I may be wrong on some of these details. But as I remember, when Mr. Wick went out to make his pitch for the Agency's budget, in a year when it was going to be difficult to get the full amount for the budget because all Bureaus had all been asked to take, as I remember, a 12 percent cut, he and others came up with the idea of justifying our budget on the Hill by claiming quite blatantly that our agency's purposes were to proselytize the concept of democracy through all our information media.

The arguments advanced sounded on the surface, at least, as a pretty hard sell approach, one I felt would be unconvincing and really betrayed a lot of our history and ideals. I was asked to be on the drafting committee for Project Democracy. I refused in a memorandum that I sent to Mr. Wick and circulated to the Office of Program and within our own bureau. As I remember at the time it was being distributed Mr. Wick was in Latin America and after he got back I received word in my office that he wanted to talk with me to explain how mistaken I was on Project Democracy. I have a copy of my original memorandum as well as my memorandum of my conversation with Mr. Wick, which I also will copy and add to the files if anybody wants it.
Mr. Wick.

Q: I think that will be very helpful. What was Project Democracy and what finally happened?

MARCY: It was a project that was conceived very incorrectly, in my view. Mostly as a funding gimmick to get our budget through the Congress in a year when it was going to be difficult to do so. It was a new way of packaging all our old programs with a lot of slogans and superficial treatment which seemed to me to betray the integrity of the programs that we had all sworn to uphold at the time of the reorganization of the Agency.

Q: Your objections were based on...

MARCY: Philosophical rationale entirely and on the history of the programs and on the assurances that the Agency had given to the Congress at the time of the reorganization when the Reorganization Act II was passed. The Congress finally refused to allow the project to be embedded within USIA. But there had been enough of an appeal made to certain political forces so that the National Endowment for Democracy was created with a budget and in its initial stages the grant-making power of the National Endowment for Democracy was to be distributed between business, labor and the political parties. As I understand it now it is still a functioning organization. There are two heads now, one Democratic and one Republican and they both have grant-making power. So it is essentially a partisan tool.

Marcy's Closing Comments On Changes Within USIA During Her Career There

Q: Mildred, this Project Democracy episode came up in early 1983 and I know you retired in August of '84. Do you have something else to add about your last couple of years as Senior Adviser there in the Agency? I am thinking particularly what changes you may have seen since the work of the E Bureau was brought over from State. I think it is good to have a little perspective on that.

A.
Reuniting Educational/Cultural Programs With Rest Of USIA Probably Good

MARCY: I feel that the assurances were given to the Congress and within the Executive Branch, and which underlay the passage of the Reorganization Act II and the bringing into being of the new Agency with all the functions under one umbrella having to do with an information and cultural exchange program. I believed in all the rationale of that. I thought change is probably good for an institution like this. We have learned a lot in the years since the original Fulbright Act and the Smith-Mundt Act were passed, and with good will we can work this out and preserve the integrity of the programs. Keep them nonpartisan, not nonpolitical, because granted these programs have always been political in the sense that life is politics.

B.
However, There Has Been Too Much Shallow Cynicism In Exercise Of Programs

I have seen a great deal of rather cynical chipping away at programs or programs rationalized for wrong reasons. This whole Project Democracy epitomized for me the depths to which we had sunk in a way because we were adopting Madison Avenue advertising techniques without any nuances. And doing things that in earlier times had been done, sometimes successfully, sometimes less so, by CIA. I was just concerned about the tenor, not so much about the programs because the field posts were pretty smart and, in the main, operated the programs as they knew they should be operated in order to gain host country acceptance. But the cynicism in the Washington bureaucracy was sometimes pretty palpable.

Q: Did part of this have to do, you know, when you talk about Madison Avenue, was this Mr. Wick? I think at this point increasingly there were, within the Agency, political appointees in many more positions then we had had in the past. Was this not particularly evident in the E Bureau?

C.

Politicization of Agency--Especially With Appointment Of Persons To High Positions For Which They Had No Qualifications And No Real Interest

MARCY: I don't know whether it was particularly evident. There had been a gradual politicization of jobs. It happened under Carter as well. But it accelerated immensely under Reagan and under Wick. But this was true all through the Executive Branch. I wouldn't have objected, I think, to the politicization as such, meaning partisan appointees, had I been more convinced that there was a commitment to public service, that there was sincere and appreciative knowledge of the rationale of the programs with which the Agency was entrusted. I found this lacking for the most part. These were sinecures, these jobs mostly had come out of the "plum book". People were brought in with no particular qualifications or expertise and in many cases appointees viewed their tenure with USIA as a stepping stone to better jobs than they had before they came into the Agency in the private sector. Although some of them really wanted permanent position within the Agency and tried to change from political appointment to career appointment.

D.

Essentially A Lack Of Civic Interest Or Responsibility

Essentially, I guess, what I missed because it had been so prevalent in government generally in the 60s, was a sense of civic responsibility or public duty or public service. These were just jobs to many people. Jobs to be used for personal advantage and that was disheartening to me.

Q: A different kind of spirit.

MARCY: Yes.

Comments On Prominent Figures Brought Into Agency

Q: Do you have anything special you want to say about any of the prominent figures with which you have been associated in the Agency?

A.
Mr. Wick: Dismayed By His Lack Of Expertise And Understanding Of Agency Purpose, But Does Give Him Credit For Later Coming Up With And Dedication To Youth Exchange Program

MARCY: I was quite negatively impressed with Mr. Wick when he came in because it seemed to me that he epitomized the political cronyism at the top level. It was not apparent to me for quite a while that he brought any particular expertise in terms of the programs that we had been involved in. But I must say that he was certainly willing to look at the Agency. In a way I found that exciting. Being initially turned off by his inclination for doing things in a different way because in his view it had never been done before, dismayed me. But when he came up with the idea of the Youth Exchange Program, even though there were a lot of flaws in his understanding of what had been done in the field of youth exchange, all the program agencies, the grant-making role of the E Bureau, I must say that once he allowed a group of experienced people to suggest and guide and administer the program, and particularly after he brought Steve Rhinesmith in as the special assistant with ambassadorial rank to assist on the US-USSR exchanges I somewhat reluctantly, but nevertheless sincerely, give Mr. Wick a good deal of credit for having what appeared to be an unworkable idea but which did work and I believe is still working with a great deal of success.

B.
Alice Ilchman Was Excellent Choice For Cultural Program--Did A Fine Job. Removed By Incoming Bush Administration In An Action Devoid Of Sensitivity Or Class

Q: One of the other figures of importance in the E bureau was Alice Ilchman who was put to very good use in making that transition. She, after all, came from Wellesley and then went on ultimately to become president at Sarah Lawrence College. This suggested an academic quality which has not necessarily been the case since.

MARCY: That's true. I felt that Alice was ideally suited for the position of the Associate Director for Educational and Cultural Affairs. I had known her slightly a number of years before. She was the niece of Kathryn Stone, who was one of the first women to serve in the House of Delegates in the General Assembly of Virginia at the time of the Brown vs. Board of Education decision when Virginia was attempting to desegregate the public schools. I had known Alice just as the bubbly niece of Kathryn Stone who was not only a very important role model for me but a neighbor as well. And Alice was the daughter of Don Stone who was one of the first directors of the Bureau of the Budget. She came from a family that revered and esteemed public service. She had trained for that. In addition to her rather impressive academic credentials she had all the right philosophy in my terms as to

the role of the U.S. in the United Nations. There was a subtlety about her that I found lacking in many people, particularly on the partisan-political side with some of the appointees. She had a great deal to do with the opening up of the exchange student program with the Peoples Republic of China. Just generally, a top notch person, open to ideas, willing to discuss them, not shoot from the hip in terms of affirmative or negative response to new and different ideas. She would thoughtfully pursue them, look at them from many different angles and then help to charter a course that would take the best in an idea and move it forward.

Q: Certainly she was a very good person in that job at that particular time.

MARCY: Exactly. She was only in it for about a year and a half, however. Nine days as Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, prior to the reorganization, and then a year and a half after which with no class whatsoever she was told at 5 o'clock in the afternoon after the election that she was to be out by 9 o'clock the next morning. That happened to many other people around Washington at that time too.

Q: It was a quick turnover.

MARCY: That's right.

Marcy Evaluates Contributions Of American Volunteer Civic Organization Very Highly

Q: Mildred, one of the most important things you were involved with during this whole time going back to your roots so to speak, was the work you did always with the American organizations and with the community organizations. I know that the representatives when they had a program, or a problem or wanted money would come to you for help and advice and sometimes they got some of these results and sometimes they didn't. Do you want to make any comment about your appreciation of these organizations in light of your governmental experience and the changes which you saw in them since you first began to work with the League of Women Voters in the 50s and 60s?

A.

The Interplay Of Public and Non-Governmental Organizations Is Vital--Though President Bush Seems Not Truly To Understand This Relationship

MARCY: I should say something very profound about this because I think it is one of the vital and unique elements in U.S. society--the interplay and interrelationship between public institutions and private sector non-governmental organizations. You and I both had long apprenticeships in voluntary organizations and I guess when I came into the government I carried with me an appreciation of the importance of those organizations and the knowledge, at least to me, that government couldn't function without the assistance, understanding and backstopping of those organizations because they went so far in the formation of public attitudes which had to underlie government policy decisions.

Q: Did you find that they seemed to be functioning differently, or playing a different kind of a role, a stronger one or weaker one, or simply different, 30 or 35 years after you were so deeply involved?

MARCY: I think there came to be a lot more lip service to the idea of volunteerism than real understanding of the vital role played by volunteers in making democratic processes work. Even President Bush's "Thousand Points of Light," which reflect his belief, I presume, that voluntary efforts on the part of the citizenry of the United States are very important parts of the system of representative democracy. But I think he lacks a true understanding of the fact that government doesn't often lead. Government, when it is operating best, follows the guidance of beliefs and attitudes that evolve in the voluntary organization field, whether it has to do with housing, hunger, homelessness, equity, or what ever the issue is. A program like President Johnson's "Great Society" program, which in essence was a top-down program, smacks too much of the old "lady bountiful" approach of the 1920s. Instead a true democracy in my view must operate from the grass roots up. The governmental bodies at various levels have an obligation to lead, but they also have an obligation to follow when a reasoned, rational public opinion points the direction in which government should lead.

Q: One of the interesting aspects of these two parts of your career is that the change in the status of women and the increasing movement of women into the work force meant that volunteerism, at least, began to be looked down upon as unpaid labor and was not given credence as a valid effort. It took some of the glow away from undertaking voluntary activities.

B.

Some Mild Reservations About Women's Movement of 60s/70s: Too Quickly Adopted View That Value Of Their Efforts Was Measured By Amount Of Money Earned In the Marketplace

MARCY: Yes, if I had any complaint or reservation at all about the women's movement of the 60s and 70s it was that it too quickly adopted the view that one's worth was determined by the amount of money earned in the marketplace--if you were to lead a worthwhile life you had to have a paycheck as evidence of your value. It seemed to me that women, perhaps even more than men, although men are beginning to have some of the same power of choice, had, at least women who were not under economic stringencies of some kind, a choice as to whether to be exclusively homemakers, in the true sense of that word, or combine homemaking with a full time professional career, or try for some of both. The denigration of volunteerism that the women's movement indulged in was always anathema to me. I kept pushing for the "full partnership" concept of men and women working together in the private and the public sector for both individual and the national good.

Q: I think part of that has really come about now. I think we have entered a new phase. The partnership idea is very valid and with many of the programs that now exist in the United

States this kind of partnership does exist and does function in a very normal kind of way. Well, Mildred, what finally prompted you to retire from the Agency?

MARCY: There were so many other things that I wanted to think about and do and I had the feeling that I had done everything that I would be able to do in the Agency. It was getting repetitive and I didn't want to be the voice of the past always. I was beginning to sound like that. Senior Advisers can advise only so long as they are not considered too senior.

Q: Do you have any final comments or final thoughts about your career or any of the things we have discussed, as you look back on all of this?

MARCY: I think I was very, very fortunate for someone who had no idea of having a career to have been at the right place at the right time; to have had the variety of experiences; met the numbers of people in as many countries; and been interested in as many subjects as I have.

Q: Thank you very much, Mildred Marcy. I think we are all fortunate that you were there.

End of interview