

## Princetonians in the Nation's Service

# Cleveland of State Department

By JOHN ARMSTRONG

*(This is the third in a series of interviews with Princeton alumni in government. The interviews will be run one a week until Election Day. —Eds.)*

"Princeton students in my day were certainly uninformed," J. Harlan Cleveland '38 recalled, as he reminisced in his State Department office recently. "Why, in the election of '36 they were three to one in favor of Alf Landon!"

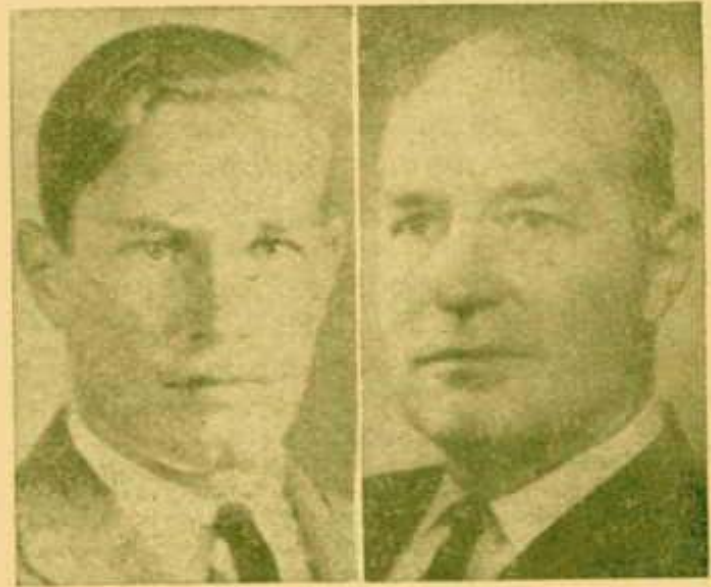
If Mr. Cleveland was among the "uninformed" in those days, he certainly is not any more. As Assistant Secretary of International Organization Affairs, the 47-year-old diplomat is playing a vital role in the determination and execution of President Johnson's foreign policy.

Describing what his job entails, he speaks of himself as "the man on the flying trapeze between Dean Rusk and Adlai Stevenson." More precisely, Mr. Cleveland works on behalf of the Secretary of State to insure that ambassadors to international organizations are promoting and protecting U.S. interests and not just speaking for themselves.

In particular, his "liveliest" concern is to insure U.S. interests at the U.N. and a dozen affiliated organizations, and to "backstop" Adlai E. Stevenson '22.

Mr. Cleveland's critical position in the conduct of U.S. affairs abroad is not evident unless one first understands the U.N.'s role in foreign policy.

The U.N. is an "active instrument in the for-  
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J. Harlan Cleveland '38  
*As Student . . . . . As Diplomat*

# Cleveland Speaks Out

(Continued from page one)

eign policy of this country and every country," according to Mr. Cleveland. The happenings in the U.N. and how they affect the world situation are taken into account in State Department decisions.

"U.N. presence is felt in every potential danger spot in the world except Southeast Asia," Mr. Cleveland commented. "We welcome U.N. involvement because if the U.N. were not involved, we would be even more deeply involved than we are."

The United States' first desire is to keep the peace, according to Mr. Cleveland, and as long as the U.N. keeps it, the U.S. does not have to worry. "But if they failed anywhere," Mr. Cleveland pointed out, "we would have to move in."

## 'U.S. in Residual Power'

"We are the residual power in the world—if all else fails, the baby falls in our laps," he added. "This is what it means to be a great power."

Mr. Cleveland explained that this is why the U.S. is willing to finance more than its share of the cost of U.N. operations. The choice is between paying a large part of the cost through the U.N., or paying the entire cost independently.

When asked to specify where Sen. Goldwater stood on the U.N., Mr. Cleveland quipped, "Well, it all depends on which day you ask him." He then produced a sheaf of papers that documented six distinct stances Sen. Goldwater has taken on the U.N.

They included his unreserved demand to get out if Red China were admitted and his most recently expressed desire to strengthen the

the U.N. "a debating society," which is how Khrushchev has described it. He also pointed out that the GOP standard-bearer once advocated weighted voting according to population—a policy that would favor the Communists.

Sen. Goldwater's views started to "mutate" when he became a candidate, Mr. Cleveland said. "He tried to criticize but lost, so he joined the mainstream."

When asked what he thought would happen if Sen. Goldwater were elected, Mr. Cleveland simply replied, "It would be a major disaster."

## U.S. Position in Vietnam

Explaining the United States' position in Vietnam and the lack of a U.N. force there, Mr. Cleveland pointed out that "the U.N. only works where powers want peace, and Hanoi and Peking don't. We aren't trying to win the war there, we're only trying to convince them that they can't win there either. When they agree, there would be a place for some kind of U.N. peace-keeping agency."

Mr. Cleveland agreed with President Johnson that no nuclear weapon is "conventional." He also felt that only the President should have power to authorize the nuclear weapons because when they are used, he pointed out, "It will be the most dramatic political event of our time."

Mr. Cleveland was confident that the use of one nuclear weapon in an attack would not lead to inevitable escalation. "There is always time to talk if both sides are willing," he pointed out.