

Dear Mr. Steen,

1/26/76

You are so kind I must take adequate time for a longer response to your 1/22 that I have. I will be rushing so if anything is unclear please question me. This has been one of those days, the morning taken up by things medical and the afternoon to 3:30 with consultations on what is not going to be a nice piece in a coming issue of Playboy - the first of two on JFK where the writer did not set the doctrine. However, they are paying me for my time, if there is nothing I can do about doctrine. But it has been disagreeable.

Your Penguin friend might want to know that the London Sunday 'Times' medical correspondent, Oliver Willie, can give him an immediate impression of the first three parts (from xeroxes prior to some changes in the first two and there were later a few in the third part, where a piece of the appendix appears in the book to replace what was cut). Olivier wanted the Times to go for the ancillary rights and he wanted to do a condensation after reading it. I think he also made other efforts but they keep him busy on time-consuming work. Haven't heard from him in a while.

It is worth a try, I appreciate it, and I know there are no guarantees.

From the Times piece he and I share a number of interests and attitudes, including stimulus from association with young people, many of whom seek me out. (Six were here most of Saturday, college students.) But I envy him the luxury of taking time in writing and editing, the joy of finally coming to the precisely right word. I have to do too much work too fast, with none to edit while I go on to something else. So, I hope that when Post Mortem is read it is with content and potential in mind, not the existing literary defects. You never believe how rapidly I had to write some of it. Like the second part in two weeks, beginning late on a Sunday night in New Orleans. What an oral history that situation would make! In any event, I had it done and the material fixed in my mind, fully comprehended, by the time it was necessary. No possibility of whetting and honing.

His letters interest me because they conform to my views and actions. When the Peace Corps was launched here and gave every promise of being another futility for the new-emerging countries I launched a project that gave it the first good public attention it received. The papers dubbed it "Geese for Peace." My purpose was to bring the "aid" down to reality, to serve immediate needs immediately and to teach the impractical of our educational institutions that a student from one of those lands could take nothing back if all he learned was how to operate an automated feed mill when there was no commercial livestock feed to be made in those lands and when there were immediate basic food needs. I was farming then. And geese do convert what is otherwise waste into protein. Sargent Shriver took me to all his division chiefs but they were those who had been unable to advance elsewhere and couldn't understand common sense about chickens for those countries. Or inexpensive walking garden tractors rather than enormous machines requiring vast cleared tracts for use and constant use for economy or efficiency. His writing about ~~fascism~~ fascism and for what most adults ignore, what it does to the young, is particularly gratifying because it encourages me to hope that he'll see my intention of not addressing a whodunit and of trying to address a manifestation of growing authoritarianism and the illness of sick and corrupt society that needs cleansing and healing.

I would deceive you if I leave you with the belief it will be possible for me to get back to Tiger to Ride now. I yearn to. But first I must do a new King book, then another, both of which are needed immediately and each of which will require less time than Tiger. Your view is too limited. JFK had decided to change his own policies because he continued those he ~~inherited~~ inherited. This is one of the many reasons I so wish I had foundation support of some kind, especially if it would permit me to work with graduate students, turning some of the other work over to them with them working with me. There is so much more work I have researched and begun to write. And with the lack of remission in the phlebitis it means less working time for me and the need to vary what I do. I can't sit for long, for example. Perhaps I'll learn more about it or there will be some progress. Right now I must write my own letters and mail out my own books, hardly my preference. ...I do appreciate your effort and kindness. Many thanks,



Dear Mr. Weisberg,

22 Jan 1976

I'll write to Peter Calvocoressi right away. As soon as I receive it from you I'll airmail a copy of "Post-Mortem" to him, direct. Enclosed, please find my check for an insured copy of "Post Mortem".

I must repeat: I can guarantee nothing - but he is the only person I know in the book publishing industry. The enclosed copy of The Sunday Times article may be helpful in obtaining a slight impression of him - in addition to the few words I wrote about him. It certainly is well worth a try; I'm delighted that you have OK'ed the attempt.

I hope the "... further writing," you mention means that "Tiger to Ride" will be available reasonably soon. What is needed is the proof that Kennedy was attempting to change from the imperial foreign policy(s) that were ongoing in 1960 to more viable alternatives. And that his determined new policy(s) occasioned his murder by conspiracy - no matter at what level. I'm certain that "Tiger to Ride" will be a very important work.

I am distressed to hear of your great discomfort from the phlebitis.

I'll write to you to let you know  
that my letter and your book have been  
sent.

Till then, with my best to you and  
Mrs. Weisberg, I remain

Sincerely,

James C. Steen, Jr.

James C. Steen, Jr.  
16 Princeton Avenue  
Swatmore, Pa. 19081

P.S. I also enclose three letters of Peter Calvocotessi's  
published, as dated, in The Times.

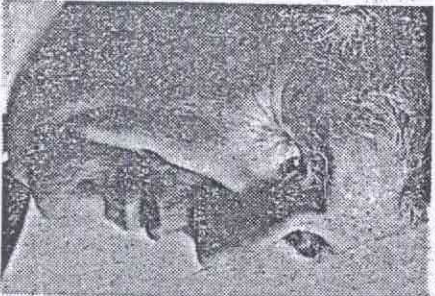


UNDER dark, greying, ruffled hair, with a quick smile and a voice at once soft and emphatic, Peter Calvocoressi takes off his spectacles and gazes thoughtfully into space.

"I was lucky. I had a good start in life—Eton and Oxford; then law, company law. In fact, though alas I was too young to profit much from that extremely profitable activity. Still, I'm not quite an innocent in business affairs. After the war, and taking part in the Nuremberg trials, I went back to the law, but I didn't like it.

"In fact—and I think I'll stand me in good stead now—I've never stuck to one thing. I suppose I have specialised in foreign affairs and international law, working at Chatham House and teaching at the University of Sussex. But then I've given quite a bit of time to race relations and African affairs and Amnesty International.

"But this has been only part of my life. Equally important to me is my home and family. When I'm in London I work; when I'm at home in the country I don't. And then there's music, an absolutely essential part of my life. When I was a boy the teaching, or anyway my teaching, was so awful that it killed any idea of playing; but listening to music, exploring new areas—after the first Viennese schools on to the second—that's vital to me."



Kevlin Brodie

"And I'm not quite an innocent in publishing either. For ten years I was a full-time working director of Chatto & Windus. I don't suppose I was an ideal editor, as publishers' editors seem to go nowadays, because I thought, and think, that the author should write the book play at publishing."

"Well, but if I left publishing in 1965, why did I come back to it, as Penguin's Editorial Director last year, at the age of 59? I certainly wouldn't have come back to any publishing work which I didn't regard as rather special. But when you get to a certain age, you go on doing things yourself, certainly—but there's an extra satisfaction in creating opportunities for younger people. And the Penguin operation seems to me to do exactly that, both in terms of selling good books cheaply—keeping prices down is a constant

PETER CALVOCORESSI, Penguin's new Publisher and Chief Executive, is an unknown quantity to most of those who buy his books. What does he bring to a national institution with a great social responsibility?

# PRACTICAL IDEALIST

headache with us—and in terms of actually running the show.

"One of the things we've resigned to is a steady flow of younger people leaving us, because our pyramid of promotion simply can't accommodate all the talented young who get their training with us. But, let me stress any idea that there's been any sort of mass exodus from Penguin. A few conspicuous departures can create a very false impression.

"Naturally, there was a lot of speculation about what would happen after Allen Lane's death. No one man could then be both owner and chief executive. And when Penguin became part of the vast Pearson conglomerate I suppose it was natural that fears should be aroused. Well, if I didn't know better I should shake those fears.

"I shouldn't have gone there as part of a strictly conventional, profit-maximising operation. And I should think Pearson's attitude

for minority interests, poetry and drama, for instance. And entertainment is a very important function: the wide range of what we call our orange list must be kept up—though not, I think, the total number of titles we publish which has been growing too fast. Pelicans, I'm inclined to think—as one who's been an avid reader of them for years—have been getting a bit stodgy. The educational side must emphasise the excitement of learning things, just as the various juvenile lists set out to making reading a natural pleasure. And Allen Lane, our hardback imprint, is I'm sure on the verge of great things.

"I could talk for hours about all the assorted and exciting possibilities. What about the future of fiction, for instance? Half our non-fiction books are high original fiction. Shall we, one day? Not in my time perhaps—but I wonder whether the time won't come when fiction in hardback is only for writers who've made good, become established. I could also talk for hours about the exhilaration created by our basically young staffs.

"I suspect that Penguin, meeting has done a lot to stimulate the appearance of many other good paperback imprints, and that's all to the good. But with surely the widest range of any publisher of any kind. And—though it's difficult not to sound both hypocritical and piggy—I do believe we have a real social function, helping to make life more interesting and yes, well, richer.

Smiling rather diffidently, as though momentarily surprised and abashed by his own self-portrait, Peter Calvocoressi puts his spectacles on again.



**Yalta Legend**

From Mr. Peter Calvocoressi

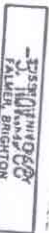
Sir.—Lord Gladwyn (August 24) says that anybody who believes that a nuclear Czechoslovakia would not have been invaded will believe anything. I believe it—perhaps not as dogmatically as Lord Gladwyn holds the opposite view but nevertheless strongly. I believe in other words that independence is ultimately incompatible with a less-than-modern armament. To that extent President de Gaulle is right, just as he was right as a younger man to say that a country must have tanks rather than horses in order to defend itself, so he is right now when he says that it needs nuclear weapons.

It does not necessarily follow that lots of states will go nuclear because, as Mr. Alastair Buchan has reminded us, the technical and economic obstacles are still daunting. But so long as states continue to prize their independence, which they do, they will wish more than ever that they could go nuclear; and some, I imagine, will.

It has been supposed for two decades that the alternative to an independent nuclear armament is alliance with somebody else who has one; that "interdependence" is a kind of independence. There may be special cases in which this is true of special relationships for a restricted period, but as a general proposition about international life it seems to me untrue. An alliance of this kind is not an answer to the problem but a palliative—a pretence or hope that independence can be secured in one direction by sacrificing it in another. This may be a sensible—or inevitable—thing to do but so far from safeguarding independence it acknowledges its passing. It is a political acceptance of the psychologically-unacceptable—as de Gaulle and others have embarrassingly pointed out.

In the absence of an effective collective security system, which we neither have nor look like having, the non-nuclear state cannot count on remaining independent. The case of Czechoslovakia is the roughest illustration we have yet of this proposition, and the clearest.

Yours faithfully,  
**PETER CALVOCORESSI,**  
 Guise House, Aspley Guise, Bletchley,  
 Buckinghamshire.



**ENDING THE NICKE TIME TO ACT**

From Mr. Peter Calvocoressi

Sir.—Your leading article of June 28 (A Policy of Famine) has rightly led to a great deal of comment and calls for action. Far too many people however are concerned to apportion blame. This is irrelevant at this moment of time.

What is indisputable is that widespread suffering and death from starvation are taking place. What is urgently needed is action from whatever source to alleviate this suffering.

The British Government's actions to date—and again we are not now concerned to apportion blame—have clearly not been enough. Its main leverage is on its own showing, the supply of arms. But it is not the only supplier and is afraid to leave the field to others—in fact to the Russians.

What is unclear to the public is whether the British Government is doing enough to institute an international embargo on arms in order to bring the two sides to talks about their political future. Only by the most vigorous efforts in this direction will it be able to claim that it has discharged its obligation as a leading member of the Commonwealth and that it has done everything in its power to stop the fighting and the starving.

Yours faithfully,  
**PETER CALVOCORESSI,** Chairman,  
 The Africa Bureau,  
 Derwent House, 2 Arundel Street,  
 W.C.2, July 4.

**DEMOCRACY IN GREECE**

From Mr. Peter Calvocoressi

Sir.—Your report (September 19) two Conservative M.P.s as praising the Greek Junta for its progressive ideas and making Greece a happy and relaxed place. Such statements are irresponsible and cruel.

There are many relaxed and happy people in Greece, especially among those whom visitors see round and about. There are also thousands of people under arrest on account of nothing except their opinions. There is also torture, fully and horribly attested. Torture is not new in Greece but it does not cease to require condemnation because it has happened before. It ill behoves British politicians to praise the men who cause it.

But that is not the whole point, perhaps, not the main one. The main point is that, once more, a new generation is growing up under a dictatorship and therefore ignorant of, and inexperienced in, more honest and more humane way of running a state. The view that the new constitution paves the way for democracy can only be held by people who have not read it. Apart from the fact that the Prime Minister has said that parts of it, including the provisions for elections, are not to be introduced "yet" the constitution gives the executive effective control over all aspects of Greek life, including the power arbitrarily to deprive individuals of the civil and human rights conferred on them by the constitution itself. Citizens in effect hold their rights at the pleasure of the executive.

The current trend on the right in this country, and more so in the United States, to whitewash the colonels and promote a coalition between them and the monarchy and Greek right wing politicians reflects a desire to push Greek fascism under the carpet and maintain a regime which preserves order of a kind and calls it law and order.

It is sad to see this crude and ill-informed Realpolitik dressed up and commended in democratic terms.

Yours, etc.,  
**PETER CALVOCORESSI,**  
 Guise House, Aspley Guise, Bletchley,  
 Buckinghamshire, Sept. 19.

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