

would have a different input into the workings of American society and government than an international system where white nations controlled non-white nations and imposed a caste and class system upon them.

With the outbreak of World War II, Bunche went to work for the OSS, specializing in Africa, and especially in North Africa. He moved from there to the Department of State where he became concerned with the trusteeship plans for the new United Nations. He participated in the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in 1944 and at the United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco in 1945 where he served as the secretary of the committee dealing with trust and non-self-governing territories. At the outset of the UN he became Director of the Division of Trust Territories. In this and in similar capacities and as Under-Secretary of the United Nations and later as Under-Secretary for Special Political Affairs, he presided over the decolonization of most of the world and all of Africa except the Portuguese areas, Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa.

Bunche's 1949 armistice of the Arab-Israeli war was the UN's first success and was badly needed. As a result he received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1950. His success was not bureaucratic but personal. His basic maneuver was to remove his activities from the area of fighting and to isolate the negotiators on the island of Rhodes where public opinion would condemn the party which left first. These factors, an organized world opinion and the isolation of the negotiators, have been missing since — at Panmunjon, the Congo, Paris, the Middle East to name a few. Moreover, Bunche developed a new administrative skill, director of peace-keeping troops while simultaneously serving as peace negotiator and keeper of the armistice.

In 1955, Bunche became Under-Secretary of the United Nations, and the following year, the British, French and the Israelis tried their invasion of the Suez and Egypt. When that came to an end because of Eisenhower and the UN, Bunche was placed in charge of keeping the peace. That peace was kept until 1967 when Nasser demanded the withdrawal of the peace-keeping force from his territory, which in turn was followed by an Israeli attack and victory. Bunche's failing energies were applied thereafter elsewhere and there has been no peace in the area since.

In 1960 Bunche took over the guidance of the peace-keeping efforts in the Congo. His task here was to get the Belgians out after their return, prevent the secession of Katanga, hold off the interference of Russia and the United States, prevent a war in the Congo that would be a threat

to international peace, establish a modicum of viable services for the new state and get out. In 1963, the UN troops under Bunche ended the Tshombe-Katanga secession, and in June 1964 the UN left the country. Before the UN was out of the Congo, Bunche was keeping the peace in Cyprus.

Ralph Bunche's career with the UN spanned that organization's life from its inception until the middle of 1971. His devotion to it and to collective security allowed no sparing of himself. Grievously and totally ill, he spent most of the year before he died according to U Thant, "bearing the brunt of the complex private negotiations which finally led to the solution of the problem of the status of Bahrain." His last years were spent in seeing the world powers turn away from collective security and organized world moral authority, much in the same fashion as Woodrow Wilson spent his last years.

Woodrow Wilson, the sixth president of the APSA, was no friend of the American Negro, but with the mandates system, "a sacred trust of civilization," he started the world down the road to decolonization and self-determination. Is it a freak of history that the man most responsible for bringing to fruition the Wilsonian concept was a Black American political scientist, or is it what one would expect in the working out of American civilization, seized for almost four centuries with the curse of racism?

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Ralph Eisenberg

Ralph Eisenberg, Associate Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs and Assistant Provost at the University of Virginia, died in Charlottesville, Virginia on August 16, 1973. He is survived by his wife, Phyllis, a daughter, Andrea, and a son, Jay.

Ralph was born in Newark, New Jersey on May 17, 1930. He attended the public schools in Newark and finished high school in 1948. He entered the Newark Colleges of Rutgers University and, after one year, transferred to the University of Illinois where he received the B.A. degree in Political Science in 1952. While at Illinois he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa and Pi Sigma Alpha. In 1953 he received an M.A. degree in Political Science from the University of Illinois. After serving in the U.S. Air Force from 1953 to 1955, he entered Princeton University where he received the M.A. degree in 1957 and the Ph.D. degree in 1960, both degrees being in *Political Science*.

Ralph began his professional career while still a graduate student. He served as a Research Assistant on the staff of the New Jersey Law Revision and Legislative

Services Commission in 1957 and 1958. In the latter year he joined the staff of the New Jersey Governor's Commission to Study Institutions and Agencies. His academic career began later in 1958 when he became an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of South Carolina.

Ralph came to the University of Virginia in 1960 as an Assistant Professor of Political Science and Research Associate in the Institute of Government. He was promoted to Associate Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs in 1965, served as Assistant Director of the Institute of Government from 1965 to 1971, and was appointed during the latter year as Assistant Provost.

Early in his career at the University Ralph developed an interest in legislative reapportionment and especially legislative reapportionment at the state and local government levels. His first major effort was the preparation with Paul T. David of a two-volume work on American state legislative apportionment. These two volumes, which appeared in 1961 and 1962 under the title of *Devaluation of the Urban and Suburban Vote*, were devoted to a county-by-county statistical investigation in each of the states of a system of legislative apportionment which in most cases favored the rural over the urban areas. When the U.S. Supreme Court held shortly after the appearance of the first volume that the courts could take jurisdiction over the matter of state legislative reapportionment, these two volumes were eagerly sought and read nationwide by legislators, students, and lawyers concerned in one way or another with the mass of litigation and legislation which followed. In 1962, these same two authors wrote a follow-up volume entitled *State Legislative Redistricting: Major Issues in the Wake of Judicial Decision*.

Ralph's interest in legislative redistricting continued throughout his life. He served as a staff member for the Virginia Commission on Redistricting of the Virginia General Assembly in 1961 and for the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the Virginia State Senate in 1971. In 1970, Ralph turned his attention to local government redistricting through his authorship of a *Guide to County Redistricting* which was widely used throughout the Commonwealth in the redistricting of county governing bodies as required by the new Virginia Constitution.

Meanwhile in 1964 Ralph published the first of a series of articles on statewide elections in Virginia for the University of Virginia News Letter. In the years that followed seven additional articles appeared in the News Letter analyzing U.S. Senatorial and gubernatorial elections in Virginia. A close reading of these articles will show that Ralph was one of the first

students of Virginia politics to foresee the profound changes that were to occur in Virginia politics in the late sixties and early seventies.

Two additional examples of the pioneering efforts of Ralph Eisenberg in the study of Virginia government and politics will have to suffice as tributes to his research and writing. One was his authorship of *Virginia Votes: 1924-1968*, a compilation by city and county of the results of statewide elections in Virginia during those years. The appearance of this work made available for the first time election results of great value to both the student and the practitioner of Virginia government and politics. The second example was his contribution in 1972 of a chapter, entitled, "Virginia: The Emergence of Two-Party Politics," to *The Changing Politics of the South*, a volume designed to chart what has happened in Southern politics since the appearance of V. O. Key's monumental *Southern Politics* in 1949. The favorable reviews of that volume, and of Ralph's contribution, attest once more to the high quality of his work.

His services as Assistant Provost, though confined to a brief period of time, were outstanding. Vice-President and Provost David A. Shannon has spoken on another occasion of the high quality of his work in this position.

Ralph Eisenberg's contributions were also known away from the Grounds. The numerous expressions of regret by both the general citizenry and governmental officials at the State and local level amply attest to the high opinion they had of his work. Staff work for legislative study commissions, serving as consultant to legislative committees on election laws, advising city councilmen, county supervisors, and city and county managers on the problems of the day — all these are examples of the kinds of activities which involved Ralph so deeply in public service in Virginia. In a very real sense he was one of the few people who could successfully bridge the gap between the classroom and academic life and government in action.

These, then, are some of the things for which Ralph Eisenberg will be remembered at the University of Virginia and, more specifically, by his colleagues in the Institute of Government and the Department of Government and Foreign Affairs and by those with whom he worked in the Vice-President and Provost's office. We hope their recounting will be of some comfort to his widow and his children in the coming years.

Weldon Cooper on behalf of the
Woodrow Wilson Department of
Government and Foreign Affairs
University of Virginia