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(on our cover) for “political science.” P.S. because alumnae (and their husbands) respond more enthusiastically to News articles of a continuing education nature than to anything else. P.S. because we salute the United Nations’ twenty-fifth anniversary. As Cynthia Enloe ’60 (assistant professor of political science, Miami University), our advisor for this issue, recently wrote, “Too often we talk about the UN’s political impact as if it were related only to its non-technical, headline activities. But technical programs are profoundly political, and therefore should be watched with as much attention as votes on the Israeli-Arab war. At the present time, the cholera epidemic from Japan to Russia is being handled by the UN’s World Health Organization. And the “Green Revolution” (doubling rice production in the Philippines, etc.) is channeled through its Food and Agriculture Organization. FAO men are frequently in key political positions because on agricultural improvement often hangs a government’s survival. Then, too, President Nixon’s program for basic reform in our foreign aid program calls for more of U.S.’s aid in the future to go via the UN and other international bodies. If there is an alternative to a simple (and equally disastrous) choice between isolationist ostrich-ism and naive ‘police-and-save the world alone’ evangelism in the post-Vietnam world, then the UN had better be made to work — and had better be made more interesting to the general public.” P.S., finally, because this has been an election year, as good a time as any to examine policies past and present. Americans tend to expect their government to be greater than its parts; perhaps, through continuing education, it can be.
The Paradox of Power

Robert E. Lorish
Professor of government

This past September four airliners were seized by Palestinian guerillas. The planes were destroyed, and some of the passengers were, for a time, held for ransom. Among the hostages were American nationals. During the crisis that developed the United States had available a military force that included the Sixth Fleet, an alerted paratroop division, an Army brigade at the ready in Germany, a Marine brigade afloat in the Mediterranean, all backed up by our tremendous nuclear capability. Fortunately, the situation developed in such a way as to make the direct use of this power unnecessary. The questions, whether or not either showing the power affected events or a decision to use it would have been made can be answered only speculatively. During the first decade of the 19th century, American ships and nationals were seized by the corsairs of the Barbary states. Ransom was demanded of the United States. At the time the military force available to us consisted of a few sailing ships, a handful of marines, and officers like Preble and Decatur. The United States acted militarily against the "Tripolitan Pirates." Unfortunately, our attempts at the use of available power did not prove very successful. Ransom was still paid.
"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Thus speaks Mao. In September 1970, the United States had more "guns" than any other nation-state in the world. Why, then, could it not work its will on the world? In 1805 American leaders were determined to end the insults against the young United States. Unfortunately, it would appear they did not have enough "guns." It will be the purpose of this short essay to explore the possibility that Mao is not entirely correct. His "gun" may be an essential ingredient of power, but so too are the identification of the correct target, aim, and the will to pull the trigger. To be more specific: What do we mean by political power in international affairs? Is the United States powerful? Are there significant factors that determine whether or not we use our power and in what ways?

For most political scientists, the term, "power," is defined capacity to affect results. It is the ability of A to determine, in some way and to some degree, the actions of B. In international affairs political power is the capacity of one state (A) to force another state (B) to pursue policies that are, at the minimum, not unacceptably inimicable to the national interest of state A. Absolute political power has been measured in terms of the total military establishment (Mao's guns?), in terms of Gross National Product, in terms of the level of technological development, and in terms of a variety of other factors such as population, national character and so on. In what might be called the "hard" categories — weapons systems, economic output, technology, population resources, available territory — the United States is powerful. It is one of a very small group of Great Powers in the world today. While several states outrank it in territorial size and population, in the other areas it ranks well ahead of all others. In technology, for example, according to the Computer Installation Data Files maintained by the International Data Corporation, at the end of 1969 the United States was using almost twice as many computers as the rest of the world combined, twelve times those of the nearest state, Japan. There is no other state that statistically challenges our ability to produce. So far as weapons systems are concerned, the Institute of Strategic Studies in its Strategic Survey, 1969 reports that the United States had 4,325 deliverable nuclear warheads in comparison to 1,880 in the Soviet Union. In short, the United States is powerful compared to the rest of the world. Why, then, can it not work its will on the world?

First, let us look at some general factors that determine how power is used, or more importantly, whether or not available power will be used at all. One characteristic of international politics today is that problems are highly complex, filled with ambiguities, and seldom presented one at a time. It is most difficult for those responsible for foreign policy to be the least bit certain that they have perceived the problem accurately or that they have assessed its particular significance correctly in the context of a host of equally ambiguous problems. When we enter into the field of international affairs and foreign policy, we enter into a particularly indeterminate enterprise in which relevant data are often obscured or unavailable and the other participants are largely uncontrollable. In other words, there are significant difficulties that attend identifying the proper situation in which our power should be brought to bear. It is not enough to assume, as some of our leaders did in the years immediately following W.W.II, that because our motives are noble and our hearts pure we can use our power on anything and the results will be judged good.

Two other universal conditioning factors affecting the use of power in international affairs can be mentioned. One is the nature of modern weapons systems. Man does have the capacity, effectively and quickly, to destroy himself and his world. True, at the present time the capability rests exclusively with the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, if and when it enters into force, may confine this one particular weapons system. But there will be others, and the basic condition will remain. Therefore, we have reached a point in international dealings where a major problem within each foreign policy problem is that each state faces the requirement of using only such power as is necessary to accomplish its objective. Paradoxically, the juxtaposition of U.S. and U.S.S.R. nuclear capabilities has created a condition in which they feel inhibited in the use of their military power while less powerful states feel encouraged to act irresponsibly in their international dealings. This leads to the second factor — the responsibility of the powerful to use their power responsibly. In interpersonal, intergroup, or international relations it has ever been the hope that the powerful will act constructively and in the ultimate interest of all. At times, the hope does approach reality. In international affairs, given the dimensions of power, the hope must be the reality.

Finally, among the general factors, the historical experience and tradition of a state are conditioning factors. Until the 20th century the United States was not really pressed by the exigencies of international relations or their attendant frustrations as an actor on the international scene. For a variety of reasons we were able to devote our attention and expend our energies building a
country in a continental expanse of unheard of resources and productivity. The land was there to exploit. Its bounty was great. In the main, man’s efforts seemed to force nature to submit to his will. Small wonder we drew the conclusions from our heritage that problems are solved by hard work, that there was little, if any, need to become familiar with, let alone involved in, the affairs of “foreigners.” The strictures contained in Washington’s Farewell Address seemed to be validated by our historical experience. Unfortunately, what was not comprehended then and, to a degree, is not now comprehended was that the United States had been twice blessed during the period. It was blessed by a technology that made the Atlantic and Pacific oceans moats protecting the new land. It was blessed by an international political environment that deterred the powerful states from taking advantage of our comparative weakness. Even though both of these conditions no longer exist, we, at times, act internationally as if they do. The shadow of our past, more particularly of our conception and interpretation of the past, conditions not only the way we perceive contemporary international problems but also our national ability to cope with those problems we do perceive.

Prior to W.W.II the United States had been more an observer of and commentator on, at times most didactically, rather than a responsible participant in, the affairs of the world community. W.W.II left us not only a full-fledged participant, but also for the moment, the only significant one. In retrospect, it can be argued that our drastically altered position, from observer to participant, necessitated significant changes in our attention to international affairs, our conceptions of the nature of problems, and our political and governmental structure. Again, in retrospect, it is a moot question whether or not adequate change in any of these factors has occurred. Here, an argument can be made that as a nation we have developed neither adequate understanding nor the will to use our power.

To be somewhat more specific: Whether it is called isolationism or neo-isolationism there is a faddish and intermittent quality to our national attention span in foreign affairs. In part this might be explained by our historical tradition. It is faddish in the sense that a particular method or end will be acclaimed as the key to world problems, it may be international organization or it may be foreign aid or it may be something else. In the beginning, it is set forth as the answer to all problems, but time passes and the problems are not solved; then, we lose interest. The Alliance for Progress is an example. It is intermittent in the sense that it appears we have not yet been able to accept the possibility that, as a nation, we must concentrate our attention on international affairs more fully and much more constantly. Our interest is aroused, too often, after the fact. In an article published in World Politics back in 1952, Frank Klingberg discussed this matter in terms of American moods. He suggested that the American people go through extraverted and introverted mood periods so far as foreign policy is concerned. Extraverted periods, he asserts, seem to be about 27 years long, introverted periods 21 years. The last introverted period ended in 1949. Therefore, if his thesis is correct, the extraverted period would last from 1941-1968. The present evidence seems to suggest that Professor Klingberg was on to something. Whether faddishness, intermittent attention, or mood, none provides much basis for the wise and prudent use of power.

In addition, there is some evidence that our political and governmental system has not yet been able to adjust to the contemporary demands on policy makers and for policy making. The conflict over authority and responsibility in foreign affairs between the executive and legislative branches of government is a case in point. A political system which tends to maximize local or sectional concerns at the expense of national concerns helps to confuse the issue. A bureaucratic structure that tends toward unimaginative professionalism or careersmanship may force those responsible for a particular policy to move outside the established and expected avenues as President Kennedy seems to have done.

One last point in this area of the ability of the United States, or more correctly, the American public to adjust to their new role as a participant on the world scene is our difficulty to entertain the possibility that a problem may be insoluble or that our answer may be wrong. Again, our historical experience no doubt contributes to this difficulty. We did tame a wilderness, and our efforts have brought forth a wondrous industrialized society. However, as we look at our environmental pollution, we may develop doubts about our past successes. Nor can we overlook our attitudes toward success and failure that seem a part of our social fabric as a contributor to this adjustment problem. If, by chance, there is a failure, the tendency seems to be to look everywhere except within ourselves or the nature of the problem. According to an earlier Senator McCarthy, our policy toward China failed because of “subversives.” neither the Chinese nor the nature of the problem had anything of consequence to do with it. Finally, our educational system cannot be ignored. A system that puts so much emphasis on learning as opposed to thinking, on the social acceptability of schooling as
opposed to either learning or thinking, on the
inculcation of the idea that academic failure will
scar you for life, is hardly one that is apt to
develop either habits of rigorous analysis or the
ability to stand off from a problem and view it
dispassionately. It is difficult to act if you cannot
accept the possibility that the action may be in
in vain, that it may fail.

The United States is indeed powerful, perhaps
the most powerful nation-state the world has
ever seen. Yet we have not been able to work
our will on the world, no more than any other
state before us. The reason is simple. While
power may be great, the use of power is always
inhibited. It is inhibited by the nature of the
problem that is being faced, by its ambiguity,
by inadequate information or understanding. It
is inhibited by the necessity of the powerful to
tackle the situation. For the powerful these are most frus-
trating outcomes, but we must learn to live with
them; if we do not, it is questionable whether
we shall long live. In 1605 the United States was
weak and could not act impulsively on the in-
ternational scene. Its actions accomplished little.
In 1970 United States is powerful and must act
prudently on the world scene. Our “successes”
may be no greater than those of the past, but the
cataclysmic failure that could attend imprudent
and irresponsible action is beyond calculation.
Political power may grow out of a barrel of a
gun, but the powerful must handle their “guns”
with extreme care. Paradoxically, this the United
States has done not consciously but because our
will and our ability to act have been inhibited
by a distorted image of the past, a somewhat
inadequate political system, and incomplete suc-
cess in shifting our attitudes in the light of our
present role. It may be that this is one paradox
we should not resolve.

P.S.

The Bookshop Recommends:

Kohler, F. D., Understanding the Russians, Harper
and Row, 1970, $10.00.
A survey of the Soviet System by the former
U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Galbraith, John K., Who Needs The Democrats,
An analysis of the Democratic party, its
programs, shortcomings and potential as an
instrument of change.

Frankel, Charles, High On Foggy Bottom, Harper
and Row, 1970, $6.95.
An account of the author’s reaction to his
experience as Assistant Secretary of State.

Moynihan, Daniel P., ed., Toward A National
An evaluation of what is being done and can be
done to improve the quality of urban life by 24
leading experts.

Chomsky, Noam, At War With Asia, Pantheon,
1970, $7.95 (Vintage paperback $1.95).
An examination of the Indochina War and its
effect on both Asians and Americans.

Scammon, Richard M. and Ben J. Waltenberg,
The Real Majority, Coward-McCann, 1970, $8.95.
America’s leading election expert and a former
White House aide dissect the American
electorate, using polls and surveys to obtain a
portrait of the average American voter.

Goldwater, Barry, The Conscience Of A Majority,
Prentice Hall, 1970, $7.95.
The former Presidential candidate’s view of the
great issues of the ’70s.

Roszak, Theodore, The Making Of A Counter
Culture, Anchor Doubleday, 1969, paper, $1.95.
An examination of some of the leading
influences on the youthful counterculture which
concludes that we must subordinate technical
expertise to the creation of a visionary world
view.

Lubell, Samuel, The Hidden Crisis In American
A noted public opinion analyst discusses
conflicts that are dividing the nation and
themselves a threat to the revolution and a realign-
ment of our political parties.

Gerberding, William and Duane Smith, eds., The
Radical Left: The Abuse Of Discontent,
Houghton Mifflin, 1970, $8.95.
An evaluation of the current radical movement
and the conditions that have fostered it by two
professors of Political Science at UCLA.
Did We Really Transform Japan?

Thomas R. H. Havens
Associate professor of history

Most American and many Japanese observers account the Occupation of Japan during 1945-1952 as a great success in rebuilding a defeated nation and redirecting its energies from military conquest to peaceful growth. Isolated from virtually all outside influences save those from America, Japan was an ideal laboratory for testing novel reform programs that would turn her, in Gen. Douglas MacArthur’s phrase, into “the Switzerland of the East.”

But Japan was a proud, if stunned, country with a long history of cultural distinctiveness when the American occupationnaires arrived in the autumn of 1945. It did not seem likely that the victorious nation, preoccupied with European reconstruction and taxed with war weariness, could easily remake the Japanese state and society even if it wished to do so. What were America’s objectives and programs during the Occupation, and to what degree did we really transform our former enemy?

The psychological impact of defeat was very great in Japan, smoothing the way for Gen. MacArthur and his government (known as SCAP, for Supreme Commander, Allied Powers). Not only was this Japan’s first military defeat in her history, but also she was almost totally unprepared for surrender because of strict state censorship of warfront news. The nation’s value system, built around reverence for the imperial throne, was crushed by Emperor Hirohito’s announcement of surrender and denial of personal divinity. In this climate of puzzlement and shattered social cohesiveness, Gen. MacArthur’s military government was accepted, perhaps even welcomed, as a source of authority.

MacArthur was a vain and self-assured leader with a fine sense of history as well as self-importance. Rather like Gen. deGaulle, he fitted the role of forceful leader exquisitely. He asserted his authority, covering up dissent within SCAP in order to carry out his noble dream for East Asia: pacifism and democracy, attributes the Japanese still admire greatly.

The first objective of the Occupation, emphasized between September 1945 and February 1946, was demilitarization. SCAP was determined to avoid the mistake of Versailles. Japanese soldiers overseas were repatriated and restored to civilian status, remaining ordnance was destroyed, and the shell of Imperial Japan’s military machine was dismantled. Demilitarization was completed remarkably quickly and efficiently.

After early 1946 the predominant motif was democratization. Now that the army and navy were demobilized and the initial period of suspicion and mistrust between Japanese and Americans was over, SCAP set about systematically implementing reform programs in five major areas: politics, land, law, education, and the economy. The Americans had been quite careful and practical in their pre-surrender planning for Japan, and in general they were sensible in implementing the programs they brought with them from Washington. Note that this was a real occupation, since SCAP took over the existing Japanese organs of state and occupied them. There was no radical overturn of either polity or society; all the reforms were put through the Diet (parliament), not to

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create the illusion that the reforms were Japanese in derivation but to emphasize the legitimacy of the new order as well as continuity with the past.

During the phase of democratization, which lasted from February 1946 until January 1948, remarkable political reforms were instituted. More than 200,000 persons were purged from office in political, military, and economic organizations in order to force a change in national leadership. The Americans wrote a new constitution to replace the Meiji Constitution of 1889 and forced it through the Diet in 1946. Although the language of the document has a very foreign ring to Japanese ears, it has endured as the fundamental law of the nation ever since.

SCAP also forced a massive decentralization of governmental authority, shoring up local self-government units and reforming the civil service. Important changes in electoral procedures were introduced, and considerable energy was expended encouraging new political parties.

It is easy to make too much of the American contribution to these important political changes. Much of what was done between 1946-1948 was actually a culmination of changes which began before the war during the 1930's. Some programs represented little more than needed housekeeping delayed by the national war effort during 1941-1945. Even the new constitution drew heavily on the de facto condition of Japanese politics and political thought during the earlier 20th century, although it made a crucial transfer of sovereignty from emperor to people.

Perhaps the most far-reaching reform was the redistribution of land, a thorny problem in any modernizing country. By SCAP edict, farm land holdings in excess of one hectare were forcibly purchased by the prefectural governments and sold cheaply to the cultivators, most of whom had previously been tenants. Land democratization was almost immediately realized: the percentage of land in tenancy was reduced from 49% of the total cultivated area to 9% within two years, and the figure has fallen to about 3% today. The result was great growth in agricultural output and self-sufficiency in staple foodstuffs, despite a jump in population, by the mid-1950's.

Land reform is certainly the major reason for these startling changes in the rural economy, but we should remember that plans had already been laid in the 1930's in Japan to redistribute land, and that despite the depression tenancy was slowly receding well before Pearl Harbor. SCAP's actions confirmed trends which were already in the wind, although without military defeat no doubt the reforms would have been greatly delayed.

Legal reform was tied to constitutional reform, and here too the Americans' efforts were reformist, not revolutionary. Human and civil rights were constitutionally guaranteed and enforced in detail by subsequent legislation. The legal equality of women was guaranteed, both in political participation and in such matters as marriage, divorce, inheritance, and economic opportunity. The judicial system was revamped according to American models, a Supreme Court with the right of judicial review was created, and the various legal codes — civil, commercial, criminal — were overhauled and rewritten.
The relative effectiveness of these changes bore out the dictum that law reflects societal custom more than it changes it. Most of the legal changes took hold because they already existed in the public consciousness. The new marriage and inheritance laws have been systematically evaded, and Japanese women remain distinctly unliberated. Sexual politics appears to be the custom, as it has been since at least the 15th century in Japan.

The most controversial reform adopted by SCAP was the new education system, because its intent was to decentralize control of both finances and instructional content. An American 6-3-3-4 structure was created, all universities and colleges became coeducational by fiat, and a massive expansion of higher education took place, so that perhaps 20% of the age group is now enrolled in college, compared with 5% at its peak before the war.

The Japanese reacted swiftly to this reform program, once the Occupation ended on April 28, 1952. Control of primary and secondary education was immediately restored to the national Ministry of Education, the Deweyite principles of progressive education were largely abandoned in favor of more traditional methodology, and other important modifications were carried out. Ironically, the student-left in Japan today, while bitterly anti-American (because of Vietnam and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty), draws much of its support not from the very real need to liberalize Japanese education along the now long ignored lines suggested by SCAP originally.

The final important aspect of democratization was economic. During 1946 and 1947, most SCAP programs were destructive in their effects on the economy. In a burst of trust-busting zeal, the purge removed most top management personnel, and attempted to dissolve the great zaibatsus, or combines, such as Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Yasuda, and Sumitomo. Rents and interest to individuals dropped from 18% of national income before the war to 8% by 1954-1959, indicating that the power of private capital was reduced. SCAP strictly controlled credit and inflation, and a Japanese Wagner Act resulted in the unionization of about 8 million workers. Important as these changes were, they represented tinkering with the existing economy, not full scale reform.

After early 1948, the objective of the Occupation shifted to rehabilitation. In part this resulted from general satisfaction with the democratizing reforms among SCAP leaders, and from the strong desire to restore sovereignty to the Japanese as rapidly as possible, since the Americans knew that the longer the Occupation dragged on the less effective it would become. The major impetus toward rehabilitation, however, was the Cold War. Washington strategists believed that the extension of Russian influence in Eastern Europe and the rising strength of Mao-Tse-Tung in China were, among other signs, indicators of an international communist conspiracy. As a result, the United States rapidly adjusted its thinking and began to rebuild Japan as a potential ally against hostile continental powers in Asia.

This redirection of priorities aborted many of the promising reforms instituted a year or two before. It also permitted conservative forces in Japanese politics to reclaim control of the government, and compromised many of the ideals for which the Americans had fought in the Pacific and which MacArthur had proclaimed to the defeated Japanese in 1945. The primary concern of SCAP programs after 1947 was economic. Zaibatsu dissolution was soft-pedaled, massive amounts of American money poured into industrial recovery, and a "Self-Defense Force" was created to insure Japan's external security once the Korean War had begun, although article nine of the new constitution permits Japan to maintain military forces only for self-defense. By the end of the Occupation, the Security Treaty had been put into effect, permitting Japan to spend a very small sum on defense, thus enhancing her industrial growth.

The Occupation was undeniably a success in the sense that Japan emerged rebuilt and capable of holding her own in the world, but whether this was a result of American actions is another question. Certainly most of the permanent reforms of the Occupation era succeeded because they were built on foundations which already existed before World War II. Much of the chaff not well suited to the domestic tradition, such as educational reform, was abandoned after 1952. No doubt the United States was very influential in providing the setting, isolation, and money which permitted Japan to rebuild without external interference or a scarcity of capital.

Nor should we underestimate the importance of the Occupation as a turning point in Japan's history; 1945 is probably the sharpest break in her entire history. But it is quite likely that Japan's defeat would have produced most of the changes that occurred after 1945 without an American occupation. It may well be that it mattered far less than most Americans imagined whether or not we conducted an occupation. Certainly the record in Japan was more admirable than that in Germany, where the war crimes trials and haggling over responsibility persisted far longer than they did in Tokyo. Yet it is precisely the contradictory nature of American goals during the Occupation (democratization before 1947 versus rehabilitation as an ally thereafter) that makes it difficult to credit the U.S. with a decisive role in remaking her former enemy.
Few historians would disagree with the proposition that the Great Depression of 1929 marked the beginning of a new era in American politics, an era characterized by extraordinary and often bewildering change. Although the continuity of ideas and institutions is an important theme in the history of the United States, the recurring domestic and international crises after 1929 have challenged our traditions and caused significant alterations in the political attitudes of the average American voter. This attitude change has had a decided impact upon the functioning of our political institutions. The burden of managing the conflicts and turmoil created during this period of perpetual crisis has invariably fallen upon the presidency. Just as surely as the Depression qualifies as a benchmark in American history, so Franklin D. Roosevelt is cast as the transitional figure in the evolution of the modern presidency.

Initiated during the FDR years, expanded by succeeding presidents, and idolized by a generation of historians, journalists, and political scientists, the "New Deal Presidency" has today attained the status of a textbook model. The values inherent in this model frequently provide the standards by which we judge the performance of incumbent presidents. The argument I would like to advance here is that the image of the "New Deal Presidency," as it has been imposed upon contemporary presidents, has created expectations about presidential competence which far exceed the president's ability to perform.

As portrayed by most textbook writers and journalists the essence of the concept of the "New Deal Presidency" requires that presidents be concerted activists who know what they want to accomplish and who delight in the challenges of the office. They must be willing to assume major roles in leading and responding to public opinion and involving themselves in economic affairs, labor disputes, partisan responsibilities, legislative programs, international crises, ceremonial visits, and science and technology. Because so much of presidential power rests in the president's own ability to persuade friends and foes alike, he must always be conscious of the need to develop the image and power of the office. In short we are told that the presidency, with its vast resources of expert information, is the only political institution constituted to bring to the nation a comprehensive and enlightened vision of the national interest. The need for an active innovative government today means that the president must be a perceptive and persuasive source of policy initiation. It was through this activist, aggressive, power-seeking style of authority that FDR personally rescued the nation from the depths of the economic depression, that Roosevelt and Harry Truman brought us victory in World War II, and that Dwight Eisenhower ended the Korean conflict. So runs the myth.

The textbook is not the only proponent of the powerful president. The potentials for the activist president are also perpetuated by the intensive hard sell approach of modern political campaigns. The increasing reliance of candidates on television makes it possible for them to reach virtually the entire electorate with promises to implement programs whose objectives are frequently either near impossible or unlikely. When measured against their initial goals, programs such as the War on Poverty, Model Cities, and the Alliance for Progress are viewed by most people as somewhat less than successful. This overselling generates unrealistic expectations of presidential power among the electorate which, as one individual has observed, "could lead many citizens to expect the election to produce a messiah rather than a president."

Murray Levin in his book *Kennedy Campaigning* advances the thesis that modern political campaigns have evolved into a series of "pseudo events." He argues that men skilled in the arts of communication and persuasion can successfully merchandise a vacuous and hollow shell or a dim-witted fool, or what is really more to the point, a very average fellow, by creating for him a public image that bears little or no resemblance to his private reality, but is so astutely constructed and sold that it is accepted as the real thing.
The point to be made here is not that presidents are hollow shells, dim-witted fools, or even average fellows. Rather it is that a skillful public relations firm can create a public image of a president's capabilities that bears no relationship to the context in which he will have to operate once elected.

Cast in this light the president emerges as somewhat of a Superman. Unfortunately what has been created by this extension of the New Deal Presidency is more image than reality. One of the inevitable hazards of the office of Chief Executive today is that at some point every president must confront the gap between the imagined presidency and the reality of the presidency. Americans have been indoctrinated with exaggerated expectations about past and future presidential performance. Consequently they expect their presidents to be sufficiently powerful to make the world safe for democracy and at the same time to cure the nation's domestic ills. Given the limitations of the presidency it is virtually impossible for the occupant of the office, no matter how well-intentioned he might be, to measure up to the standards he sets for himself or those set for him by his constituency.

Within the last four or five years a number of American scholars, journalists, and political practitioners have begun to question the functions performed by the presidency, the values it symbolizes, and its political significance. The growing list of critiques of liberal presidential government questions whether one national political leader, operating within the context of the contemporary presidency, can mobilize a nation toward the solution of increasingly more difficult and complex problems.

There is little doubt that one factor which has caused this reevaluation of presidential leadership is directly related to popular disapproval over the way in which Presidents Johnson and Nixon have approached the conflict in Vietnam. The war has contributed to the decline of deference which is usually accorded the president and at the same time has generated what many have called a serious "credibility gap." To dismiss the problem of the presidency as public impatience with the war, however, is to underestimate the extent to which the capabilities of executive leadership are being questioned today. Vietnam is not the only indication that our assessments of presidential competence may be grossly exaggerated. The effectiveness of New Frontier, War on Poverty, and Great Society programs does not nearly measure up to the successes of many of the New Deal innovations. The time when one man like FDR could get things done simply because he possessed a strong sense of direction and an ability to mobilize public opinion behind him has long since passed. The crux of the problem may be that the extension of the New Deal Presidency, instead of increasing presidential power, has created a political environment which tends to cripple executive leadership.

There are any number of factors which could be cited to explain this crisis of leadership. Three propositions contained in recent critiques of the Executive Establishment and American society are especially helpful in illustrating the causes for frustrated presidential leadership:

(1) An expanding federal bureaucracy and inefficient administrative procedures make it virtually impossible for presidents to implement their policy goals.

(2) Presidential advisors are guilty of not knowing what they are doing, and have often misled presidents and kept them isolated from contact with political reality.

(3) Americans today are essentially a selfish people not prepared to make the sacrifices necessary to realize expectations for presidential performance.

The first proposition is not a new one. Conservatives in business and government have long argued that "the federal government was an incompetent and overextended agency promoting public policies for a nation that has grown too large and diverse for its own well-being." Liberal emphasis on increasing the power of the Chief Executive has tended to obscure the fact that paralleling the increasing power of the president is also an increase in power for the bureaucracy over which the president can exercise only marginal control. Peter Drucker in The Age of Discontinuity argues that executive leadership fails today because it has lost control of the proliferating bureaucratic empire.

Government agencies are all becoming autonomous, insular in themselves, and directed by their own desire for power, their own rationale, their own narrow vision rather than by policy and by their boss, the national government.

The result according to Drucker is that the President becomes swallowed up by the parochial interests of the bureaucracy. What is perceived to be in the best interest of the agencies is frequently equated with what is in the best interest of the nation as a whole. The government cannot concentrate its tremendous resources, and thus does not get anything done well.

Americans expect their Presidents to possess a capacity for successful innovation. However, given the range of topics which confront the federal government today the majority of new programs that are proposed originate not with the president, but with an increasingly large corps of personal
advisors. Daniel Moynihan has characterized this group as "sloppy" administrators and "lousy" politicians. In fighting the war on poverty during the Johnson administration Moynihan has argued that at no time did the government know what it was doing. If this is true, it becomes a particularly imposing handicap for presidential performance given the dependency of the president upon his staff.

A number of close observers of White House operations have maintained that the reliance of the President upon his staff for ideas frequently causes a kind of within-group loyalty approaching sycophancy. In their efforts to carve out positions of power for themselves, presidential advisors are frequently inclined to tell the "boss" what he wants to hear, former Johnson press secretary George Reedy in The Twilight of the Presidency recently maintained that the majesty of the monarchy which today surrounds the White House often creates the impression among the occupants that the President and a few of his most trusted advisors are possessors of a special kind of knowledge and expertise. In actuality Reedy argues that "a thesis which could not survive an undergraduate seminar in a liberal arts college becomes accepted doctrine, and the only question is not whether it should be done, but how it should be done." The danger to the occupant of the White House today is that by narrowing the range of opinions to which he is exposed, he will become isolated from political reality and misled by insecure and power hungry staff members and bureaucrats. Accounts of the Johnson policy-making process indicate that a partial cause for his intransigent views on Vietnam was the unanimity of staff opinion to which he was exposed for so long.

Despite the increasing centralization of governmental functions in the United States the ultimate source of political power lies with the American people. This fact provides still a third roadblock for the activist president. No matter how great a leader the president may be, he would find it extremely difficult to lead a country that was neither willing nor able to be led. Andrew Hacker in The End of an American Era suggests the recent failure of national leadership results from the fact that the American people are today a selfish people. When personal sacrifice is translated into higher taxes the average American is not willing to pursue collective goals that run counter to personal satisfaction. The political environment which confronts the president today is vastly different from the desperation faced by FDR. Hacker is not optimistic that purposive leadership capable of inspiring the citizenry to personal sacrifices for public ends will emerge short of a nuclear confrontation or economic holocaust.

Contemporary Americans simply do not want, and will not accept political leadership that makes more than marginal demands on their emotions or energies. Thus, for the eloquence about the need for leadership, Americans are temperamentally unsuited for even a partial merger of personality in pursuit of a common cause.

There are other aspects of our political system one could examine to explain the gap between the "imagined" and "real" presidencies. The nature of Congress and the legislative process continues to haunt the activist president. The decentralization of our political parties inhibits strong presidential leadership. These arguments, however, have been advanced by political scientists for a century or more, and it was always assumed that a few reforms or a tough-minded president could overcome the limitations of the office.

What distinguishes the new critiques of liberal presidential government from the more traditional analyses of presidential power is that now we are questioning the very ability of the New Deal Presidency to cope with the complex world we are facing. Finding their way into political commentary and scholarly analyses are suggestions that we lower our expectations of what the presidency can accomplish, de-bureaucratize the federal establishment, regionalize federal programs, begin large scale revenue sharing with states and localities, and encourage metropolitan and regional governments to assume more responsibility for social action programs. Underlying all of these recommendations is the notion that changes have occurred in our society which have altered the political significance of the presidency and centralized government. We are now beginning to hear pleas that we look elsewhere for the functions they performed and the values they symbolized. One of the major problems confronting the American political system in the 1970's will be to reduce the increasing gap between public expectations about government and its actual performance. The evidence suggests that the New Deal Presidency may be of limited help in closing that gap.

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Tired
And lonely,
So tired
The heart aches.
Meltwater trickles
Down the rocks,
The fingers are numb,
The knees tremble.
It is now,
Now, that you must not give in.

On the path of the others
Are resting places,
Places in the sun
Where they can meet.
But this
Is your path,
And it is now,
Now, that you must not fall.

Weep
If you can,
Weep,
But do not complain.
The way chose you—
And you must be thankful.

African States: Sources of Political Stability

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For most Americans, the archetype of African political systems is shaped by the economic and political generalizations which order the evidence we have about African politics. We know, for example, that in nearly two-thirds of the African states the annual per capita income is under $100; that approximately forty percent of the continent’s 11½ million square miles is virtually non-arable; that literacy rates rarely exceed twenty percent; and, that the population increase in the past decade has consistently outstripped national economic growth. Moreover, we frequently read about coups d’etat, political assassinations of major leaders such as President Sylvanus Olympio of Togo and Tom Mboya of Kenya, civil strife in the Congo (Kinshasa) and Nigeria, and ethnic tensions bordering on civil war in Chad and the Sudan. The weight of such economic and political evidence has led many observers to subscribe to a theory of “inevitability of instability” about the future of African political development.

Clearly, during the 1960’s—when thirty of Africa’s forty states achieved independence—we have seen disquieting trends develop in African political life. Two of these trends have been the development of one-party systems and the intervention of African armies in national politics. Indeed, thirty African states now have one-party systems, either de facto or de jure, and there have been at least thirty coups d’etat since the independence era began. Moreover, there are innumerable and unnoticed abortive coups, abrupt changes of executives, and sudden reversals of leadership.

The tendency toward one-party systems in Africa crystallized during the years between 1960-1964, while the critical issues of independence and constitutional structures were being decided. The evidence indicates that ten African countries entered independence as one-party states, and that approximately sixteen of them developed one-party systems less than two years after independence.* The effort to channel the pluralistic interests of the community through one political party
reflects some of the basic themes of African politics — that a multiplicity of parties suggests a divisiveness beyond the acceptable limits of cultural and ethnic differences; that "we are all Africans now"; and that developing societies with limited natural resources make their best progress when groups minimize local differences and unite their energies for the national good.

Such idealistic or theoretical themes, however, have a highly pragmatic basis because one-party systems have also served essential political functions. Initially, their most important role was to mobilize the public for independence movements and to organize the electorate for unified political action. But one-party systems have also been used to contain competing or conflicting claims and major parties which directed pre-independence nationalism. These elections reflected what may be termed the "public choice" of African leadership in the first stage of independence. In retrospect they appeared to be consistent with the basic themes which justified the gradual rise of the one-party state.

Between 1965 and 1969, after the one-party pattern became apparent, there were roughly forty-four elections which focused on African executives or legislators engaged in "public accountability" for their first terms in office. While it is questionable that elections in predominantly one-party systems are representative of the electorate at large, or are not manipulated in some measure, they nevertheless contributed either through policies of reconciliation or methods of repression. Such systems operate to the advantage of established authority, however, because alternative choices and political opposition are either minimized or excluded altogether from the political arena. In some cases this produces a stabilizing effect which is necessary for promoting political and economic development. In other instances, where chief executives have exercised their authority arbitrarily, minorities and opposition groups have challenged the validity of one-party regimes and questioned both their utility and fairness.

The extent to which leaders of one-party states succeed in legitimizing and maintaining their political monopoly is dependent on the effectiveness of their economic policies and on the level of political satisfaction with existing government programs. Since economic progress is understandably slow and difficult to achieve, one must look to factors which suggest public patience and confidence that it may reasonably anticipate economic and social advancement in the future. Thus far in Africa's post-independence history two major indices of the public's acceptance of their regimes are manifested in election results and the frequency of coups d'état.

During the initial period of one-party development, between 1960 and 1964, there were over thirty elections. At least half of them related to measures implementing independence arrangements, and all of them validated the policies to the legitimacy of at least half of the present governments. Of the twenty executives (excluding Ethiopia and the Republic of South Africa) who have continued in office since independence, fifteen are leaders of one-party systems who have returned to their electorate to renew their mandate at least once. Moreover, in a number of cases — as in Kenya and Tanzania — the parties have permitted intraparty competition rather than offer one slate of candidates. In these instances a significant number of incumbent legislators were defeated, and this tended to emphasize the validity of the public's choice because alternative choices were available. Whether African electorates will continue to have confidence in elections as political devices may be determined in the next two years when election dates come due in fourteen different countries.

Although electoral support affirms governmental authority, it alone is not sufficient for public acceptance. This is particularly obvious in those states which continue to have two or more parties because of ethnic competition which was too divisive and deeply entrenched to be subsumed under the nationalist mantle of pre-independence unanimity. The most publicized cases are Nigeria and the former Belgian Congo, where civil strife has marked their post-independence development. But this is equally true of some states which developed one-party systems, as in the Sudan or Dahomey, where historic animosities between Arabs and Bantu exacerbate their political rela-
tionships. In all these cases where the electoral process has failed to produce governments which are acceptable to the general public, one finds a high incidence of coups d'etat and military regimes.

During the decade of the 1960's Africa has witnessed a total of twenty-eight coups d'etat in seventeen different countries. Six of the countries have experienced a second counter coup, and in the exceptional case of Dahomey there have been five coups, or approximately one every other year since independence. In the Sudan the military conducted three coups following successive failures of civilian governments to maintain order. It should also be noted that thirteen of these states continue to have military chief executives, although at least half of them have pledged to restore civilian authority and return to constitutional government. In any case, all of them are entirely dependent on the civil service for purposes of administration, and they usually retain former cabinet ministers to conduct the affairs of government.

In Ghana and Sierra Leone the military regimes have already restored civilian authority, and in Dahomey the military appointed a civilian to serve as president although the government continues to be dominated by the army. In Zanzibar the military coup, which was conducted by a revolutionary militia, resulted ultimately in the merging of that country with Tanganyika into the new Republic of Tanzania, and the subsequent restoration of civilian authority. One of the most exceptional — and interesting — cases occurred in Lesotho where the chief executive refused to accept the 1970 election results which would have forced him out of office. He conducted Africa's only "executive's coup" with the assistance of the police force; although he retained a civilian government he also banned all opposition parties.

The frequency of coups d'etat, however, is less important than the causes. The evidence indicates that the primary source is ethnicity. Coups are often preceded by civil disturbances which turn on ethnic dissatisfaction with the existing distribution of power; most frequently this dissatisfaction is climaxed in election results. In fact, in twelve of the seventeen countries affected by coups, civil disturbances developed when election returns were either indecisive, as in Sierra Leone in 1967, or were unsatisfactory and questionable, as in Nigeria. In countries where ethnic or tribal competition is high, governments experience serious difficulties in reconciling the conflicting demands placed on them by diverse populations. Caught up in a web of political rivalries, limited resources, and unfulfilled promises carried over from the nationalist period, executives are constantly engaged in ethnic power struggles for which there are few rules of conduct.

In some cases ethnic competition is the underpinning of more specific problems. Examples may be found in Burundi and in Libya where the tribal struggle between monarchists and republicans ended in coups. At other times corruption in office and apparent disregard for public opinion sparked discontent and violence. In such cases it was not corruption per se which inflamed public sentiment; Africans expect their executives — like the monarchs and traditional chiefs who preceded them — to take advantage of their positions to live well, enjoy the prerequisites of office, and to enhance the prestige of office with prestigious appearances. On the other hand, Africans are severely critical of executives who take advantage of their position to the disadvantage of the public, particularly if this has ethnic overtones. Finally, there are instances of governmental interference in the affairs of the military which are clearly attempts to alter the ethnic balance among either the officer corps or the enlisted personnel for purposes of re-directing the allegiance of the army.

A secondary, although no less important, cause of coups stems from the excessive or arbitrary use of executive power. The most famous of these cases is Kwame Nkrumah whose economic and political policies verged on totalitarian methods and ultimately alienated him from his supporters. Less well known is Modibo Keita of Mali, who dismissed the National Assembly in January 1968 and launched a Chinese style "cultural revolution" which jeopardized the country's economy and threatened to displace the army with a militia. It is difficult to determine the level of executive abuse that groups within African states will
tolerate. It is clear, however, that excessive use of detention laws (as in Ghana); the failure to hold elections (as in Libya); permitting alien influence to infiltrate significant segments of the government (Mali and Zanzibar); and interference in the affairs of the military (as in Algeria), constitute boundaries which executives should not overstep.

In the search for causes of coups in Africa, there is a temptation to add colonial attachments and legacies to the list because one of the earliest, and most tragic, examples, is the former Belgian Congo which achieved independence with little or no preparation or experience in self-government. One finds little statistical support for this, however, although British colonial policy tended to grant Africans access to political power and responsibility earlier than French policy. Of the sixteen former British territories, some thirteen have had elections, ten have had the same executive since independence, seven have experienced coups, and two military regimes have restored civilian authority. The former French territories have had similar experiences; of the sixteen all have held elections at least once, seven of the original executives remain in office, and seven have had coups while two have had a peaceful transfer of executive authority. Cases of multiple coups are explicable in terms of ethnic problems and specific circumstances rather than previous colonial influences. It is worth noting, however, that France maintains military forces in the Ivory Coast, Senegal, Chad, Gabon, and Algeria, as part of bilateral defense agreements; such an "armed presence" has deterred attempts at coups d'état.

On the whole, it may be observed that leaders of military coups are politically neutral and that they regard their basic function is to initiate reform. If "reform" is the objective, why have the remedies appeared in the form of military coups? One explanation may be found in the nature of the military itself. Officer corps consist of highly professional and disciplined men who observe governmental corruption with dismay and disillusionment. As the civilian authorities fail to cope with problems of economic development and to reconcile conflicting and particularistic interests, the military grows increasingly restive. Ultimately reasoning that it is their patriotic duty to intervene and end the crises which seem to threaten the nation's integrity, the army leaders seize the major centers of power, declare a military interregnum, and attempt to restore public order.

It must also be noted that the usual social forces and pressure groups which exist in western democracies have not yet taken shape in most African states. Independent centers of activity — such as trade unions and voluntary associations — did not develop widely during the colonial era, and in the post-independence period the thrust of these groups has been absorbed by the political parties. Moreover, in many states the political parties themselves have declined as centers of power as they become more closely associated with the state. Consequently there are few, if any, independent centers of civil power which can aggregate public interest and exert counterforce to balance governmental authority. In the final analysis the military stands as the only coherent group with sufficient coercive force to counteract excessive government authority and to keep public order. In any case, because the military views itself as the guardian of the nation's integrity it tends toward conservatism and moderation; because its armed forces and technology are limited, it cannot become the framework for a totalitarian system.

The events of the past decade in the newly independent African states are alternately encouraging and discouraging. Governments continue to hold elections, to seek solutions to economic problems, and to search for a national consensus in the midst of conflicting political claims, limited resources, and ethnic diversities. Where these efforts fail military coups occur with great frequency. Yet the military executives act with restraint, produce conservative regimes, and in many cases attempt to restore civilian authority. In western democracies one-party systems and military intervention represent hazards to be avoided at all costs. But in the context of new states such forces are often sources of political stability. That it often seems chaotic is unquestionable. But that it augurs for permanent chaos is clearly arguable.

"Space does not permit publishing Miss Doro's accompanying table, "Major Events in African States Since Independence," but copies may be obtained by writing to the editor."
“... the President would wish to consult you.”

The Cases of Abe Fortas and John Jay

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On October 1, 1968, the United States Senate failed to impose cloture on the debate on the question of taking up the nomination of Associate Justice Abe Fortas to be Chief Justice of the United States. Three days later President Johnson ended the three-month-long controversy by withdrawing the nomination at Fortas' request.

According to Senator Robert Griffin, leader of the opposition to the nomination, the reasons for the Senate's failure to confirm Fortas were "mixed and varied":

... some Senators object to the lack of a sense of propriety, others say there is no vacancy, and some object to the record of the Court in recent years...

Of all the factors mentioned in debate, however, the one concerning which Fortas' opponents throughout the country clearly believed him most vulnerable was probably best summarized by The Parsons (Kansas) Sun:

The most damaging disclosure made in Senate hearings, we believe, was that Justice Fortas continued to wear 2 hats — or at least a robe and a hat — after his appointment to the Court. The robe came as part of his judicial attire, the hat as a presidential adviser. Specifically, the Committee on the Judiciary had elicited admissions by Fortas that he had participated in White House conferences on the Vietnam War and that he had reviewed President Johnson's speech on the Detroit riots before it was delivered. Other testimony linked Fortas with the revising of the 1968 State of the Union address and with the drafting of a provision to provide Secret Service protection for presidential candidates after Senator Robert Kennedy's assassination. The Justice maintained that his activity was entirely proper because his advice never involved matters "that might come before the Court." He also cited, in his defense, similar past behavior by Justices of such widely diverse habits and attitudes as Jay, Taney, Davis, Brandeis, Taft, Stone, Frankfurter, and Byrnes.

The most implausible opponents of Fortas' confirmation contended that all such activity was anathema as a breach of the doctrine of separation of powers and went back to the origins of the Republic for precedent, suggesting that the examples of conduct to which Fortas had pointed had been just as improper as his own. "Surely this principle was clearly and effectively established long ago," argued Senator Griffin in his initial presentation to the Judiciary Committee, and he proceeded to adduce the example quoted time and time again in the following three months:

... In 1793, Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, acting on behalf of President George Washington, sought the advice of the Justices of the Supreme Court on some 29 controversial issues. At that time Jefferson asked the Justices whether 'the public may with propriety be availed of their advice on these questions.' The Supreme Court firmly declined to give its opinion. The Court said in part: We have considered the previous question stated—regarding the lines of separation drawn by the Constitution between the three departments of government. These being in certain respects checks upon each other, and our being judges of a court of last resort, are considerations which afford strong arguments against the propriety of our extra-judicially deciding the questions alluded to, especially as the power given by the Constitution to the President of calling on the heads of departments for opinions, seems to have been purposely as well as expressly united to the Executive Departments.

To use the metaphor of Mr. Justice Holmes, Fortas' opponents had roused the dragon of history in its cave, but they failed to "get the dragon out of his cave on to the plain and in the daylight, ... count his teeth and claws, and see just what is his strength." America's first Chief Justice, John Jay, joined in the 1783 rebuff to the President, who had asked for counsel on the implications of America's neutrality for Franco-American relations. But Jay's other actions while he was Chief Justice, far from supporting an unambiguous precedent, in point of fact indicated that the normative standard which Fortas' opponents extracted from the 1793 opinion was not so absolute as they claimed. It is perhaps worth noting that that opinion itself did not simply decline action, but contained a gratuitous bit of advice as to the place President Washington should have looked for advisory opinions.

But this is not the only advice Jay gave President Washington, his advisers, or his supporters in Congress. Washington recorded in his diary for October 7, 1789, that he had consulted Jay "on the propriety of my intended tour into the Eastern States" and "on the propriety of tak'g informal means of ascertaining the views of the British Court with respect to our Western Posts in their possession, and to a Commercial treaty." Seven months later, the President recorded that, on the question of whether the Senate could with propriety be consulted about where to send ambassadors and consuls, Jay's opinion was "that they have no Constitutional right to interfere with either."

This counsel can be explained in part as a by-product of the transition from the Articles of Confederation to the new government under the Constitution. Until Thomas Jefferson could return from France to head the Department of State, Jay,
who had been the secretary of Foreign Affairs, served as both Chief Justice and Acting Secretary of State. But this double duty ceased in March, 1790, and would not appear to justify the services Jay continued to render.

Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, who with Washington and Jay collaborated to form what one early historian, not blinded by the myths of a later date, called "a trio not to be matched . . . in our history," wrote to the Chief Justice in July, 1790, urging Jay to return to the capital immediately. "Certain circumstances of a delicate nature have occurred, concerning which the President would wish to consult you. They press . . . . I cannot say the President directly asks it, lest you should be embarrassed; but he has expressed a strong wish for it." Jay complied, and during the next week participated in formulating a response to a British agent who was attempting to ascertain what role the United States would play should Britain go to war with Spain. The matter continued to plague the President, and in late August, he requested the opinions of Jay and Secretaries Hamilton, Jefferson, and Knox as to what the nation should do if Britain decided to march troops through the Northwest Territories to the Mississippi. Jay responded the next day with a multi-page opinion concerning the legality of such an act under international law, the political consequences of the alternative decisions open to President Washington, and the long-range consequences for the United States of an Anglo-Spanish conflict.

Before Congress convened in Philadelphia in December, 1790, Washington requested Jay to submit any ideas "proper for me to communicate to that body at the opening of the session," and the Chief Justice indicated that Congress should provide for the maintenance of post roads, the punishment of counterfeiters, the inspection of the country's exports, the preservation of ship timber, and the establishment of adequate fortifications at Fort Pitt and West Point. In the same month, Jay wrote to calm Hamilton's fears of incipient rebellion in Virginia, indicating in response to the skittish Secretary's question that the best course of action was to treat as unimportant the recent resolutions of the Virginia Assembly condemning the act providing for the funding of the national debt.

Again, in 1791, Jay set out in response to Washington's request for ideas "not . . . confined to matters merely Judicial, but extended to all other topics . . . ." some "general remarks" on such subjects as Indian affairs, foreign affairs, the census, and fiscal arrangements, but noted that "details, as well as intelligence of a more secret nature, . . . should be conveyed by [oral] message."

The opposition to an excise tax on whiskey was another "crisis in the affairs of the Country" about which Hamilton called for Jay's advice. "Would a proclamation from the President be advisable . . . .? . . . [Will it be expedient for the President to repair in person to the scene of commotion?"

In April, 1793, Hamilton wrote concerning another impending crisis: "When we last conversed together on the subject we were both of opinion that the Minister expected from France should be received." He now asked Jay to reconsider, since circumstances had changed; the King had been decapitated and the legitimate government in France was thus in doubt. Hamilton thought it would be best not to become embroiled in the war in Europe, but he feared that recognizing Citizen Genet would conclusively obligate the United States, under existing treaties, to support the revolutionary government. Accordingly, Hamilton asked, "Will the unqualified reception of a Minister con-
clude us? If it will ought we so to conclude ourselves?" A second letter that day asked for a judgment on the prudence of a proclamation of neutrality, and concluded, "... (C)ould you draft such a thing as you deem proper?" Hamilton's letters arrived as Jay was preparing to leave for duty in the Circuit Court, but he sat down and hastily outlined "what my present Ideas of a proclamation are." Several days later, Washington issued his Neutrality Proclamation, which substantially followed the logic of Jay's outline.

Nor was Jay's advice only directed to - or accepted by - the executive department. In January, 1791, he is reported to have submitted an interpretation of the Franco-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce to a Senate committee. Much later, in March, 1794, he recommended to Senator Rufus King that Congress embargo certain provisions as a means to preserve peace. Four days later, such an act was passed.

These incidents constitute only a part of the extant documentary record, and even a complete written record could only hint at the collaboration which actually occurred between Jay and members of the executive and legislative departments. But enough is available to indicate that Jay's conduct is hard to reconcile with the absolute prohibition on advice to the executive branch which Fortas' opponents would claim was clearly established by the 1793 Court opinion: the 29 questions which the Supreme Court refused to consider were chiefly concerned with the implications of America's neutrality for the obligation of the Franco-American Treaty. Confronted with this evidence some might simply conclude that Jay's concurrence in the norm of the opinion was a deviation from his actual beliefs. Still, one must presume that a man of Jay's mind and character would not have permitted such an apparent aberration to pass unnoticed. The evidence is abundant that Jay perceived a distinction which in his own mind justified both his conduct and his assent to the Court's 1793 opinion, and which may also contribute to a reformulation of the standard applicable today.

Simply put, when a judge acts in his official capacity as a member of a court, he is bound by the Constitutional and statutory provisions pertaining to that position. When not acting in his official role, he is, in effect, a private citizen, and is bound by no other standards than are applicable to private citizens.

The distinction is probably most clearly drawn in Jay's opinion concerning the Invalid Pensioners' Act of 1792. This act, as written, specified that the various circuit courts should hear the claims of wounded Revolutionary War veterans and allot pensions - which would be subject to revision by the Secretary of War or by Congress. Sitting on a circuit court in New York, Jay refused to act in the specified manner; he believed that such official activity by judges would be unconstitutional as a violation of the separation of powers. He and the other circuit judges agreed "(t)hat neither the Legislative nor the Executive branches, can constitutionally assign to the Judicial any duties, but such as are properly judicial, and to be performed in a judicial manner." The duties required by the Act in question were "not of that description," said Jay, since they would make judges, qua judges, subordinate to the Secretary of War. They would be, in their official capacities, mere advisers whose opinions could be rejected at will.

Yet Jay and his colleagues, despite their concern for the separation of powers, were not unwilling as individuals to act as advisers. So they construed the act "as appointing commissioners," and agreed "(t)hat the judges of this court regard themselves as being the commissioners designated by the act. ... " To insure that all would perceive that they were in no way acting as judges, they also agreed "(t)hat the judges of this court will, as usual, ... adjourn the court from day to day, or other short periods, as circumstances may render proper, and that they will, regularly, between the adjournments, proceed as commissioners to execute the business of this act in the same court room, or chamber."

To Jay's mind, by adjourning the court, he cast off his official role of judge and its attendant limitations; he was then free as a private citizen to accept appointment and function as a commissioner. Similarly, Jay apparently thought that, as a private citizen, he could advise the President and the Senate on matters of national policy. All that was forbidden by the doctrine of the separation of powers was advice on policy rendered by judges acting in their official capacities.

Once the dragon is flushed from his lair, Holmes suggested, the next step is "either to kill him, or tame him and make him a useful animal." In the perspective of the present, the problem of extra-judicial advice may appear more complex, and Jay's distinction, excessively simplistic. It seems, for example, that although a justice does not always act in his official judicial role, it may be difficult to divest himself of the prestige which accompanies that role. Nevertheless, the norm to which Jay adhered both in theory and practice is at once more sophisticated and contributes to a more informed debate than the absolute prohibition which has falsely been attributed to his Court.

In judging Fortas' conduct and in setting a standard for the extra-judicial conduct of judges in the future, we would be well advised to consider that some advice to the President may be legitimate.
In Search of Morality: the Citizen's Responsibility for Foreign Power

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Assistant professor of government

In American history the citizen's control over foreign policy has tended to be inversely proportional to the size of American commitments overseas. Thus, during and after World War II, as our political and military commitments became global in scope, as we changed, in A. J. Muste's words, "... from a nation which regarded itself as peaceful, in contrast to the nations of the Old World, which looked down on the soldier and had a meager military establishment, into the greatest nuclear-armed power in the world," the individual citizen's understanding of, and control over, policy was greatly diminished in comparison with the period before the war.

The reasons for this were fairly clear. In the first place, the logic of our struggle with Nazi Germany and then Russia and China required us to act as a collective; that is, to respond to crises in a unified way, with single-minded determination. There was a strong sense that division in our ranks would prevent us from moving in a timely and resolute fashion to meet the challenges presented by more autocratic governments. As Senator Arthur Vandenberg, one of the leading architects of American postwar unity, explained: "...a democracy like ours is under heavy handicap when imperiled by an autocracy like Russia where decisions require nothing but a narrow Executive mandate. We are seeking to prevent a shooting war; but the success of the effort is calculated to be in exact ratio to the impressiveness with which our unity makes for our own security."

In the second place, as our commitments expanded, the problems in foreign policy to be grasped, and then dealt with, vastly increased in scope and complexity. Their continuous solution depended upon specialized knowledge not easily available to even the most diligent and alert citizen.

It was not surprising, in such circumstances, that politicians in the Congress and people in general looked to the Chief Executive to provide strong, unifying leadership in foreign affairs. Decision-making in foreign policy, for the first time in our history, became almost exclusively a Presidential task. The burden for understanding and then solving the intricate and fateful questions relating to our dealings with foreign nations naturally gravitated toward thousands of trained and experienced specialists working mostly in the White House, the State Department and the Defense Department.

The behavior of these professionals naturally followed what Raymond Aron calls "the logic of rivalry," which necessitated that statesmen "act according to a calculation of forces or of opportunity." It required that they respond first to the needs of the competition between states and ignore, insofar as they could, the needs of democratic government. They saw, inevitably, an antinomy between efficacy and consensus. They viewed the need for public support as at least a tiresome irritant and at most a fatal constraint. They felt that foreign affairs was an area of special competence whose skillful management in a democracy was always precarious.

Although the Constitutional forms remained the same, the role of Congress in making foreign policy underwent a fundamental change. In essence the role of Congress became one of making the judgments of the experts acceptable to the people. A new bipartisan partnership was achieved, whereby the Executive was responsible for policy, and the Congress helped to develop the consensus which was vital for the continuity of our worldwide commitments. Although successive Presidents developed elaborate schemes for consulting key members of Congress on a regular basis, this could not conceal indefinitely the fact that policy was being decided in the Executive Branch.

The duty of individual citizens was clearly defined. Their responsibility was to keep the country unified in the face of external peril by supporting the decisions of those professionals who were charged with the conduct of statecraft. To do otherwise would have been to divide us and thus give aid to those foreign countries who would profit by our indecision. The duty to accept Executive judgments in foreign affairs became and remained an axiom for those who supported America's role as a world power.

These conditions contrasted sharply with those which prevailed before World War II. Our political and military commitments then were small, and, although the term "isolationism" is not a completely accurate description of the prevailing mood, it does convey the feeling of deep distrust with which most Americans viewed any foreign entanglements that could once again lead them mistakenly into a war like the First World War. Remembering the almost dictatorial powers which Woodrow Wilson had assumed during the War, many thoughtful people also associated America's low profile in the world with retention of a democratic form of government.

The Congress, and particularly the Senate, were very powerful factors in the shaping of
foreign policy. They were especially vigilant in checking Presidential authority to commit the United States to any military action. They felt no compulsion to unify the country in the face of hostile powers. They saw no need to agree with the President on foreign affairs. The notion that they should defer to the judgments of the President and his advisors was totally alien to them. They viewed large military and diplomatic establishments as incompatible with democracy. They felt a duty to keep our commitments limited and thereby to confine Executive power within the limits a democracy could tolerate without losing its raison d'être.

Senator William E. Borah, the most powerful isolationist spokesman of his time, wrote in 1938: We have marauding and murdering in certain nations of the world, but I do not believe it is our business nor our duty to sacrifice our young men and our money in a vain effort to stop such marauding and murdering. Our first and supreme duty is, if we can, to maintain our government of freedom. And when we start about over the world trying by force and the use of great navies to establish peace, we will not only sacrifice our young men and our means, but we will sacrifice our government.

In the same year Borah wrote:

A distinguished statesman said sometime ago that the matter of making war was a matter for experts. It occurs to me that the complete answer to that is that the present condition of the world is a rather striking monument to the work of the experts. With armaments crushing the people everywhere and still growing in weight and cost, and with the whole world almost at one another's throats

Borah was in every sense a democrat. He had a deep and abiding belief in the wisdom of the people. His instincts led him away from the notion of a selected group of gifted leaders. He inclined toward the public. His faith led him away from secluded corridors of power toward the light of day and the public view. Secrecy was for those who had something to hide. Give the people the facts, he thought, and they will make the choice of policy best calculated to advance their own interests. He felt the need to ensure that diplomats, soldiers, and politicians acted in the public interest by continuously insisting that the people control their own affairs. "What are these delicate questions," he once asked, "which may offend foreign powers? These delicate questions are too often questions of dubious righteousness... the delicate questions are rather indelicate suggestions to the effect that foreign affairs are too high up in the scale of intellectual effort for the consideration of the people. All public questions were once too delicate for the people, and in some countries of Europe... it is still so."

In these circumstances the duty of individual citizens was not to go along with the President, but just the reverse: to keep Executive power limited by keeping our commitments limited, and, thereby to obviate the need to build a gigantic national security establishment to protect our "interests."

Thus, the answer to the question of the citizen's responsibility for foreign policy depends very much on what one thinks the United States ought to be doing in the world. In our time this question has such great poignancy, because America's world role has been placed in doubt by the grave domestic soul-searching occasioned by the Vietnamese War. Such a widespread reexamination has produced a broad spectrum of opinion concerning our fundamental world position and the concomitant responsibilities of individual citizens.

For instance, some people believe that the United States, whether we like it or not, is a superpower and that we continue to bear global responsibilities for the maintenance of the security of the non-communist world. They believe that peace comes through strength not through weakness, that prudent political leadership, coupled with the wise application of force, can best protect the national interest and that the mutual interest of the great powers in avoiding nuclear war will protect us from any recourse to armageddon. They believe that each crisis between the great powers, such as the Cuban missile affair, can be successfully managed without coming to a final showdown. In this view, responsible conduct on the part of individual citizens would be to support the President, since he is the only person who can act for a unified nation and since he is the person most likely to be in command of the necessary intelligence with which to make the best judgments.

Other people have adopted different views. Some refuse to accept the notion that the United States must be the political and military bulwark supporting the security of the non-communist world. Instead, they feel that our global commitments are dissipating much of the substance of our democratic heritage and that, far from providing security, they have entrap us in a death struggle whose only outcome will be mutual annihilation. They believe that as surely as the "logic of rivalry" brought World War I and World War II it will bring World War III. In this view the
area of individual responsibility should expand enormously. The people should use the democratic forms which still remain in the United States to substitute their judgments for the judgments of the political, diplomatic and military experts who have led us into our present predicament.

Obviously many different points of view have been developed concerning our role in the world and its implications for individuals. I cannot begin to list them all here, but I can give some indication of my own personal choice among the many that are possible.

I will begin with a question, which Henry Kissinger used to ask about our governmental leadership, before he became the President's chief advisor on national security: "Are our best people good enough?" The answer to this difficult question, it seems to me, is "No." There is a great tendency, no matter what one feels about the correctness of our course in world affairs, to shift the awful burden of choice to the President and hope for the best. There is a tendency to feel that since most of these matters are beyond our understanding we have no right to substitute our judgment for the judgment of those who do understand them. The difficulty with following the professionals, however, is that historically their calculations have sooner or later led to war. And there is little reason to believe that history will not repeat itself.

Albert Einstein said many years ago that "the splitting of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking, and thus we drift toward unparalleled catastrophe." I believe that in such circumstances it is the responsibility of the individual citizen to use the democratic forms, which still remain, to curb the powers of the Executive Branch and replace "the logic of rivalry" with what I will call, "the logic of peace." The legal instruments through which the President and the Executive Branch were granted such great powers during and after the Second World War did not require any revision of the Constitution. Thus, the Constitutional forms through which the people and their representatives can regain control over foreign policy are still intact, and, although rusty, still usable. I emphasize these democratic forms because for a variety of reasons, which space does not permit me to elaborate, I believe that, if they are not made to operate, no other method for achieving peace will prove workable. In other words, they are our last best chance.

The logic of peace holds out great hope for a new kind of world. There is, for instance, the possibility that by taking power away from the diplomat and the soldier, by diverting our resources away from nuclear weapons and other forms of armament, we can become in the words of A. J. Muste, "a humble, creative supporter and friend of those efforts of multitudes to rise into physical well-being, political independence and spiritual freedom." There is, in short, an intimate connection between the achievement of peace and the achievement of social justice as Martin Luther King and many others have seen.

There is also the possibility that we may find that our enemies are human and that they will respond in kind, or at least with restraint, to our noble gestures. There is the possibility that by disarming we can break the vicious cycle of mutual fear and usher in an era of mutual trust. If this sounds utopian, it is surely much less utopian than to think that our present escalating arms race will lead to a perpetual peace based on mutual terror.

There are, to be sure, great risks in pursuing peace instead of competition, and these should be squarely faced. The prime risk is that those countries which regard us as their enemy will attack us while we are vulnerable. The history of the world is full of examples of weak countries being attacked, occupied and exploited by stronger powers — we have done it ourselves, many times, as have all our major allies and each of our major enemies. There are also many examples in history of successful invaders systematically annihilating certain segments of subject populations.

The risks are great, however, no matter what we do. But the hour is late, and, it seems to me, something new should be tried. G. K. Chesterton in an essay entitled: "Humanitarianism and Strength," wrote the following:

Have you ever noticed that strange line of Tennyson, in which he confesses, half consciously, how very conventional progress is?

'Let the great world spin forever down the ringing grooves of change.'

Even in praising change, he takes for a simile the most unchanging thing. He calls our modern change a groove. And it is a groove; perhaps there was never anything so groovy.

We must break out of the deadly groove in which we are locked by progress in the arms race. The individual American must act to drastically curb the war-making powers which have been built up and which now hang over us all. The responsibility of the individual citizen is to remove the "logic of rivalry" as the sole guide for our foreign policy and substitute for it the logic of peace.

Perhaps this is a sisyphean task; if so, then we are all doomed.
This fall was the \textit{season of conferences} on campus, two dealing with the future of the College and three with specialized research.

\textbf{Finances.} On September 18 about 200 conferees, including the presidents of the 18 other independent colleges of the State, officers of the Commission for Higher Education, legislators and candidates, accepted the invitation of President Shain to study the ever increasing financial pressures on private colleges. President William C. McInnes of Fairfield University cautioned against sacrificing quality and diversity to mere expansion and urged that aid be given to all Connecticut students, allowing each to choose his college. Models projecting the expenses of public and private institutions in the next ten years were presented by Dr. Ward S. Curran, Lecturer in Economics at Trinity, who concluded that new forms of public support must be found. The luncheon speaker, Chancellor Warren G. Hill of the Commission, discussed possibilities for expanding Public Act 627, which had been a first step in state aid to private institutions, and called attention to the forthcoming report of the Advisory Committee of Consultants from Private Institutions. In the concluding talk Professor David Riesman of Harvard suggested that a Federal Educational Opportunity Bank be established to make long term loans to students repayable as an increment to their income taxes.

\textbf{Recruiting.} On September 30, in an effort to spread knowledge of the College as it progresses in coeducation, college advisers from 30 public and private schools in California, Washington, Michigan, Missouri, and Virginia were invited to a two-day workshop sponsored by the Admissions offices of Wesleyan and Connecticut preceding the national meeting of Admissions Counselors in Boston. A panel of deans presented new academic trends such as the interdisciplinary majors and foreign study programs, and students discussed their new role as members of faculty-student committees and as workers in the local community.

\textbf{The Undergraduate Mathematics Symposium} on October 14, sponsored by the National Science Foundation, brought about 200 professors, secondary school teachers, and mathematicians from business and industry to hear papers on the mathematical factors involved in probability, the prospects for doing elementary analytical geometry by computer, and methods of estimating population increases.

\textbf{The Psychology and Sociology Departments} held a symposium on October 15 and 16 sponsored by the Science Foundation grant.

\textbf{The Undergraduate Research Participation Program} was initiated with a grant from the National Science Foundation.

\textbf{Left—Mr. John R. MacKinnon, associate professor and director of the program, with Adriane Gaffuri '72, studying techniques related to an experiment in avers. Above—Beverly DeNoia '72, working in visual perception. Above—Tamis Forshay, New London student who needed help with English language education. Her research was conducted under the guidance of Mr. H. H. Mikogian, associate professor and specialist in the field of perception.}
Shell Foundation on THEORIES OF INTERPERSONAL ATTRACTION, specifically in marriage and friendship, with the purpose of stimulating research in this area of human behavior. Distinguished researchers from Harvard, Michigan, Northwestern, and Purdue spoke; and Mr. Murstein presented some findings from his extensive work in this country and abroad. Professor Homans of Harvard pointed out the broad social implications by relating attraction to power, influence, or authority and by analyzing the effect of disapprobation or punishment on the relations of the pair.

The Marine Environmental Symposium on October 21 under Mr. Niering's chairmanship was sponsored by the Southern New England Section of the Marine Technology Society and the Marine Science program of the College and attracted such diverse experts as the Army Corps of Engineers, the New England River Basin Commissions, the University of Rhode Island marine biologists, and the New England Resources Information Program. Reports were given on studies of the Thames and Niantic Rivers, of oyster beds in Long Island Sound and the New Bedford fishing industry, and of methods of combating oil spills. Among the 30 sessions, special interest was aroused by Captain William Nicholas' discussion of Sealab III, the experiment in prolonged submergence, and by Peggy Lucas' report on Tektite II. Twenty-three years old and described by Life Magazine as "a naiad," Miss Lucas is an engineer-aquanaut and one of the first women to live underwater for two weeks.

Academic Innovations. While many students participated in these stimulating programs according to their specialties, the academic program, which had begun soon after Labor Day, has gained full momentum. Although the majority of sophomores are still uncommitted to a major, the interdisciplinary programs have got off to a good start with 13 majors in American Studies, 17 in Asian Studies, 10 in Human Ecology, 1 in Russian Studies, and 4 in Urban Affairs. Students in Asian Studies are taking Mr. Baird's Survey of Japanese Literature in English, developed during last year's leave in Japan, and the new seminar in Asian Studies given by Mr. Chu and Mr. Havens. An unusual insight into Japanese viewpoints was afforded when Professor and Mrs. Hiroshi Kawahara of Tokyo spent two weeks in residence. Distinguished scholars in their respective fields, Mr. Kawahara lectured on Japanese-American Political Relations and Mrs. Kawahara on modern Japanese educational thought.

Above—Andrew Ketterer '71 who will be one of the first men to receive his bachelor's degree next June. Last summer, under the Connecticut College Work-Study Program designed to assist students who experience difficulty in meeting the cost of a college education, Drew began working for the Middlesex County Legal Assistance Association Inc. in Middletown. An honors candidate, he is preparing his thesis on "An Examination of the Effects of the Supreme Court In Re Gault Decision on the Juvenile Court System in Connecticut's Second Circuit."
Meanwhile the National Theatre Institute, funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, was successfully launched, with Connecticut as the accrediting institution for 22 students from 19 colleges, including 3 of our students full time and others taking separate courses at the O'Neill Center. A series of lectures on “Great Plays in Modern Productions” given on campus by theatre professionals is open to students and faculty. Courses at the Institute include acting, direction, and design as well as puppetry, dance, mime, film, and ethnic styles in the theatre. Just approved after long study is a Theatre Major with a corps of courses in English drama, certain technical studies at the Institute, elective courses from other dramatic literatures, and a culminating project.

**English Exchange.** In keeping with the current desire for varied educational experience, two juniors—Mary Goldstein and Anne Lopatto—are the fortunate pioneers in a program with the two great English universities. It is projected that in this exchange ten highly qualified students yearly will have the enviable opportunity of attending Cambridge or Oxford after a preparatory summer institute.

**Community Affairs.** Students are playing an increasingly significant role in community affairs under the directorship of Miss Margaret Snow, for whom the City has provided a branch office in the Human Resources Center downtown. With the Model Cities Agency, Health and Welfare, Comprehensive Youth Services, and other agencies as neighbors, Miss Snow considers this location “a perfect opportunity for college and community to work closely together.” A few experimental internships with academic credit have been instituted in certain agencies; and about 300 students are active in day care centers and classes at Learned House, teaching sewing to girls in the Winthrop project, tutoring in the Head Start program, counseling high school students, preparing drop-outs for their high school equivalency diplomas, teaching English to Spanish-speaking adults, and helping their children in their school work. To make these efforts more effective, the Continuing Education Program for Tutors meets regularly and aids students in the area of tutoring, in dealing with Spanish-speaking children, and in working with the disabled. Daily bus service is provided to “enable the college community to get ‘off the hill.’”
Faculty and student scientists will be challenged by the Thames Science Center, whose new location on Gallows Lane near the Arboretum was dedicated on November 1. An attractive modern building, paid for by foundations, local clubs, and almost 400 donors, it houses a library, a classroom, and educational exhibits under the directorship of Robert S. Treat, husband of Mary Lou Strassburger '49. Previously concentrating on children's education, the Center will now have a widened usefulness to college students and the public in the understanding and teaching of ecology.

Jobs. Despite dire predictions, Miss James reports that the Class of '70 has been finding interesting jobs in the established fields and in some novel ones. In a Teacher Exchange between the state of Connecticut and Puerto Rico, 3 of 20 students accepted for the intensive summer training program in Hartford were Connecticut girls, now teaching in Puerto Rico: Leslie Dahn, Pamela Knapp, and Constance Morhardt. The intent of the program is to prepare these students on their return to teach Spanish-speaking children in our schools with greater understanding. After a similar orientation, Marlene Lopes is working with children of Portuguese background in New Bedford, while Barbara Hussong is teaching in a YMCA-sponsored program in Yokohama. Another unusual development for the Class of '70 is the entrance of 8 students into law schools, 5 into specialized health studies, 2 into divinity schools, and 2 into schools of business administration. Meanwhile projects look bright for the Class of '71, which as a good omen has broken all records with the election of 7 Winthrop Scholars.

Passing the Torch. To end with a personal note, which however has wider significance as showing the College's meaning in the lives of some of its students, Mr. Cranz' inspired teaching has recently won heart-warming recognition from two former students, Nancy Schermerhorn Stuever '49 and Jean Briggs Quandt '54. Nancy with a doctorate from Rochester has dedicated her book, The Language of History in the Renaissance (Princeton, 1970) to Mr. Cranz; and Jean with a doctorate from Rutgers writes in the Preface to her book, From the Small Town to the Great Community (Rutgers, 1970) that Mr. Cranz "has had a lasting influence on my view of history."
Connecticut Firsts

Betsy Frawly '72, first and only lady member among 24,000 men of the Boilermakers Union at Electric Boat. Betsy (News advisor on student affairs) received her membership card and hard hat for her work last spring in the New London area registration drive, and because, as union president Joyce stated, "She represents students with strong commitment to rational political action . . . ."

Deborah Murray '67, Connecticut's first Nixon romance. When news of her forthcoming marriage to Hugh W. Sloan (who was President Nixon's representative on campus last May) reached Mrs. Nixon in Key Biscayne, the First Lady phoned immediately to say, "It just brightened my day."
Charles E. Shain (shown with Governor-elect Thomas Meskill), first Connecticut College president to make page one of the N.Y. Times when he instituted a conference of nineteen Connecticut privately-supported colleges and universities to discuss major questions of financial security and educational quality that confront institutions today. (See "Conn Currents" for further details.)

Susanna Stone '74, the first freshman to come to Connecticut with a tradition of eight alumnae relatives: mother, Sara How Stone '49; grandmothers, Janet Crawford How '24 and Dorothy Stele Stone '20; great-aunts, Sara Crawford Stahman '25 and Susan Crawford Stahman '33; aunts, Mary Elizabeth Stone '49 and Lucinda Stone Bell '56; cousin, Sara Maschal Sullivan '52.
Alumni Responsibility: Pointing to a need for "reconciliation" as its central theme, the President's Commission on Campus Unrest addressed its recent report to many segments of the campus community, as well as to political leaders and the general public.

"Even when there is no disorder on the campus," the commission said, all those involved in higher education must accept "greater responsibility for the well-being and revitalization" of academic institutions. The panel, headed by William W. Scranton, former governor of Pennsylvania, offered this advice to alumni:

-That they "refrain from hasty judgments on complex university problems and ... avoid stereotyping entire groups because of the actions of a few of their members."

- That alumni not insist "that universities remain changeless, or be surprised if their institutions are not the same as they were when the alumni were students."

- That "constructive criticism and sustained financial support from alumni are essential to the vitality" of colleges and universities, many of which are in an "unprecedented financial squeeze."
The commission added that "disagreement with specific university policies or actions should not lead alumni to withdraw their general support from higher education."

Speaking more generally, the panel warned that continued intolerance and hostility between young people and other citizens would threaten the "very survival of the nation." It called on President Nixon to use the prestige of his office to "urge all Americans, at once, to step back from the battlelines into which they are forming."

By the time the President received the commission's report, his views on campus violence already had received wide public attention. In a speech at Kansas State University, he declared that only the academic community— not the government— could "save" higher education. In a subsequent letter to educators, he said there could be "no substitute for the acceptance of responsibility" by college administrators and faculties for campus order.

Then, in a surprise move, the President asked Congress to authorize immediate federal intervention in cases of campus bombings and arson. The request was quickly approved and signed into law, although some legislators warned that it could result in "prowling FBI agents" and encourage an "aura of repression."

Hitting Bottom? The long-expected "financial crisis" in higher education has struck with such force this year that college administrators can scarcely find words strong enough to describe it. "The Day of Judgment is upon us," says one. "It is here — now."

The situation is acute because several factors have come together at the same time. Inflation, soaring educational costs, declining stock prices, lagging federal aid, public hostility to increased state support — all have combined to put a tremendous drain on institutional budgets, especially those of private colleges. At least a score of colleges have closed in the past year or so, and many others report substantial operating deficits.

With tuition rising almost everywhere, small private colleges seem to be in particular danger of pricing themselves out of business. Admissions people report an accelerating shift of enrollments from such institutions to state universities and to low-cost community colleges close to students' homes. A growing number of private institutions have had to seek state support to supplement their income from private sources.

At the established public institutions, meanwhile, officials say that the steady rise of state aid in recent years has failed to keep pace with their expanding needs. State appropriations for higher education's operating expenses in 1970-71 have topped $7-billion— a new high— but for many public institutions that apparently is not adequate. "Austerity operations are becoming a fact of life," says one of their associations.

Federal aid is not picking up much of the slack. A government agency reports that the growth of U.S. financial support, which averaged about 24 per cent in the mix-sixties, has slowed considerably since then.

Limited Access: Despite the addition of some 600 colleges and universities in a 10-year period, more than half a million high school graduates a year fail to continue their education "simply because they happen not to live near an accessible college," according to a study by the College Entrance Examination Board. It showed that only 789 of 2,600 two- and four-year institutions in the country could meet the test of "accessibility"— non-selective, within reasonable commuting distance, and costing no more than $400 a year in tuition and fees.
Connecticut College Clubs

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Letters

I feel like raising the flag in response to your fall issue. It does my heart good in these days of rightists waving the flag and leftists trampling on it, to see it used as it was always intended to be used — to cover us all (no pun intended). I think of it as waving for freedom — freedom of the spirit, of opinion, of expression, of inquiry, academic freedom, freedom of the press, freedom to be different, all freedoms. It says, "Don't tread on me!" To Sally Hargrove Sullivan a special flag-raising; her cover and designs smashingly affirm that traditional symbols gain in effectiveness when used in new ways.

I hope alumnae will continue to express themselves to the News and/or President Shain so that you can print a Letters page regularly. The diversity of opinion is fascinating — testimony, I think, to the quality of their own education and the sincerity of their concern for our country and its young people. Even those angry or confused cared enough to communicate, and I hope they never stop.

You are becoming provocative as well as sophisticated, dear Alumnae News, and I am impressed.

Eleanor Hine Kranz '34
Ho-Ho-Kus, N.J.

My thanks for the feature "Why, Why, Why" in the Fall Alumnae News. The collection of letters from alumnae in juxtaposition to the articles, gave those of us who were not there the ability to put the happenings of last spring in a more proper perspective.

Although it is unlikely that such disparate letters on one topic will emerge for every issue of the News, I, for one, think a "letters to the editor" page is a marvelous idea and would like to see it continued. I'm sure thoughts and reactions occur to us all as we read the News — and others might be interested in these opinions.

Robin Lee Hellman '63
Hartford, Conn.

When on campus earlier this year, I was very much interested to hear of student activities, especially those getting involved in house-to-house visits and resulting discussions with citizens of New London. This initiative shown by our students was encouraging to me, in view of the criticism so often leveled at them by some oldsters.

Perhaps some of your readers will be glad to know how some young people here on Cape Cod have attempted, with success, to bring about a change in lives of troubled kids. To quote from the report:

Under the leadership of the Cape Cod Mental Health Association, the HELP program was established on June 15, 1970, as a storefront drop-in center and a counseling and referral service. Located on Main Street, Hyannis, it is designed to meet the needs presented by young people in crisis, the alienated, the runaway, the kid no one else will work with. A youth hostel for short term, emergency housing was opened two weeks later in a nearby village.

The drop-in center is a comfortable northeastern setting where initial contact can be made with young people. It is an open extension of the street where no one is turned away. Here also is a "hot line" telephone, manned round the clock. There are good hi-fi records, books, posters, games, and minimal straight furniture. The barriers which make asking for help difficult in established agencies are minimized; a diversified group of staff attempts to respond to the needs presented by anyone who wants help.

Between June 15 and September 15, people were helped in the following categories:

- Draft Counseling: 35
- Drug Counseling: 67
- Educational Counseling: 3
- Employment Counseling: 63
- Family Mediation: 62
- Housing Counseling: 1160
- Legal Counseling: 43
- Medical Counseling: 212
- Miscellaneous: 36

Total: 1681

Certain needs were met immediately, such as emergency housing at the hostel and referral to legal services for legal problems. The director of the program had experience working within the legal system and developed a very smooth relationship with police, court and probation officers.

A free medical clinic staffed by local doctors grew out of the Drug Abuse Committee of the Cape Cod Hospital. The clinic was operated from the drop-in center on Monday, Thursday and Saturday evenings beginning at 6:30 and ending when all patients had been seen. Round-the-clock emergency medical coverage was provided by the twelve doctors participating in this program on their own time and the outpatient department of the hospital.

The great need for immediate supportive human resources in the Cape Cod community became apparent as the staff at HELP began working with individuals and families with trouble in the areas of unwanted pregnancies, draft, and drug problems. In addition, counseling is often required with housing, legal and medical problems. For a few individuals, further progress is being made through placement in good foster families or by direct involvement as counselors in the helping process at HELP.

By providing a group of heroin addicts and those beginning to use heroin with immediate medical attention (specifically methadone through the clinic), the heroin traffic in Hyannis was nearly eliminated this summer. The key motivating force behind the former addicts who have administered this program has been the promise of supportive community of peers which began to be a real possibility at HELP; especially important is the beginning of development toward a residential therapeutic community in a work program at the hostel, of which they have been a part.

In effect, the work at HELP became not only a crisis intervention service, but has shown the necessity of continuing help for a large number of people. Having met the immediate needs of individuals in crisis for a large group of local residents, there remain less easily articulated problems: disintegration of families, isolation, insufficient education and/or vocational training, and lack of direction. These seem to be the underlying problems of which drug abuse is sometimes a symptom.

A demonstration project, this program has now aroused the interest of many persons and groups, and will continue. Funding for this ongoing program has been arranged through the Mental Health Association with two departments of the Commonwealth government.

My hat is off to these kids who can point with pride to their achievement. "Don't just sit there, DO something" has been said. These kids are DOING SOMETHING and of substance and importance.

Emily Warner '25
South Yarmouth, Mass.
I wonder if you would be kind enough to send me the cover of the Spring, 1970 issue. That is, if you have one around. I liked the whole issue so well that I want to save it and frame the picture on the cover.

May I congratulate whoever is in charge of layouts and art work? From that point of view, yours is one of the outstanding periodicals today. It’s outstanding from all points of view!

Susan Dart McCutcheon ’42
Lake Forest, Ill.

Read with interest comments on Spring ’70 events. Wonder if someone on faculty or students would review The Making of a Counter Culture: Theodore Roszak. Anchor, N.Y. 1969.

Ruth Parker See ’55
DelMar, Ca.

(See p. 5, The Bookshop Recommends)

I remember a CC alumnae meeting in Cambridge in the early 60’s when I stated to President Shain that college indeed had not prepared me for life. As the article in Mademoiselle* this summer and the current reports from my young Conn. friends piece themselves together I cannot help but feel that I had been heard and would like to jot down a reply from the 40’s... In addressing myself to Mary Cantwell’s article I too am caught up with the intoxicating euphoria of involvement and the development of the true meaning of being a person, and specifically at Conn.

Obviously, willing or not, one must consider the present in the frame of reference of history. In the 40’s, all young people as well as old, with very few exceptions, were involved in a war that was committed, patriotic, glorious [if wars can be] and CC was a very special place with constant troop trains, sinkings off Block Island and Coast Guard friends on the perilous Murmanskan Run. Those were very real days and the men who stalked Rommel from his lair all the way to Yokohama are myths for the young but recent for those of us who were involved.

Mary Cantwell speaks of the “uninvolved 50’s” and I would opine that we were still changing our bandages and nursing our wounds; unable to accept the total horror of another war. The neglected and denied “Korean Conflict” was more than any of us could and would accept. Although sanctioned by the United Nations it has been one of our rottenest wars of neglect and apathy of depression: I know I have worked in V.A. clinics. Does Mary know there was a war then?

So the young of the 60’s have their war and of course they hate it; we all do. Did we produce the healthiest, most intelligent babies of all time for the purpose of becoming a meaningful person. The college student's need for unanimity comes from the group lack of academic stability; they do not lack parental community; it is normal for any young person — poor, middle, wealthy, to reject the family culture of origin at this time in the maturational development.

The ego function of identity, or any other means, is a vital piece of machinery. As the Situational Ethics debate goes on we know from our guerrilla warfare at home and abroad that one must strike where the defenses are weakest. However, in my opinion, there is increasing concern as we are producing a generation of character disorders who are void of trust, conscience, and roots.

Young adults need a cause, he is barren who has not one, and the idealism, the need to love and be loved, the beauty of being a meaningful person can be accomplished. Thoughtful leaders and educators are beginning to speak of a year of Universal Service for all — male and female, at home and abroad with self involvement and determination an integral factor in the implementation. Sweden and Switzerland have worked this through successfully.

To you of the 70’s, Good Luck; our mistakes have been honest and unwitting; we wish to make this world a better place, we always have. I believe we need each other.

Lydia Phippen Ogilvy ’42
Belmont, Mass.

I have three war-age sons.

*Mary Cantwell Lescher ’53, managing editor of Mademoiselle, was on campus just after the “strike” last May, and wrote an enthusiastic article about the College which appeared in the August issue. Mrs. Ogilvy’s references pertain to this article.
In Memoriam

ANN CHAPPELL '19
MADELEINE DRAY KEPES '19
MARGARET KEMP '20
MILDRED FAGAN MCALLISTER '20
DOROTHEA MARVIN DETWILER '20
MINNA MCLAIN OWENS '20
GERTRUD KOETTER RYDER '20
EMMA JEAN McDONALD '20
VIRGINIA CHASE ALBERTNICK '20
BARBARA CASE FRANKLIN '20
CYNTHIA MADDEN BEEBE '20
R. JO-ANN TASHISHI COKAIN '20

Class Notes

Editor of Class Notes:
Mrs. Huber Clark
(Marion Vibert '24)
East Main Street
Stockbridge, Mass. 01262

1919
Correspondent:
Mrs. Enos B. Comstock (Juline Warner)
176 Belleau Ave., Apt. B-302
Newton, Mass. 02160

1920
Correspondents:
Mrs. King O. Windsor (Marjorie Viets)
350 Prospect St.
Wethersfield, Conn. 06109

1921
Correspondent:
Mrs. Alfred J. Chalmers (Anna Brazo)
Box 313, Rt. 4
Hendersonville, N.C. 28739
June '71, Our reunion — make it the best!

1922
Correspondents:
Mrs. David H. Yale (Amy Peck)
579 Yale Ave., Meriden, Conn. 06450
Miss Marjorie E. Smith
357 Angell St., Providence, R.I. 02906

Four of us were on campus during the 80th reunion of 1920. Gertrude Traurig and I, Amy Peck Yale, arrived Friday night. I attended her bachelor's degree program in the physics department. She also enjoys playing the piano, and we went to see the Smothers Brothers on the way. Miriam Tabor Bemis was in busy painting historical maps of Lancaster County, Va. As Ann Graham's house was taken by the new railroad bridge, she is house hunting. Ann Crooggin Robinson's daughter and family helped celebrate her birthday in the spring. She helped organize the Library of Congress and its Library of Congress, and worked at the Garden Club. At the end of the season, Aug. 20, she retired. Elizabeth Holmes Baldwin were in busy painting historical maps of Lancaster County, Va. As Ann Graham's house was taken by the new railroad bridge, she is house hunting. Ann Crooggin Robinson's daughter and family helped celebrate her birthday in the spring. She helped organize the Library of Congress and its Library of Congress, and worked at the Garden Club. At the end of the season, Aug. 20, she retired.

1923
 Correspondent:
Alice P. Holcombe
39 Scotch Cap Rd.
Quaker Hill, Conn. 06675

1924
Correspondents:
Miss Kathryn Mox
P.O. Box 1334, New London, Conn. 06330
Mrs. Bernard Bent (Eugenia Walsh)
Washington, D.C.

Gloria Hollister Anable and Elizabeth Holmes Baldwin were awarded the Distinguished College Award for outstanding achievement by President Shain at commencement. June 1970. Betty is a well-known leader in the field of social work and Glo a hard-working conserva-
tivist, in 1970. As Dorothy Buckett Terry says, "We are all proud of our accomplishments over the years. We have been busy with our own work and with our families."

1938
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June 31st, Our reunion — make it the best!

1970
Correspondent:
June 31st, Our reunion — make it the best!
church." Virginia Hays Fisher wrote, "It sounds like a stuck Victrola record when I report, ... en route to Akron after their e.c. and Yale reunions in June. Pat described the Moellers' proposed winter cruise to Persepolis and the tombs of Darius and his daughter, just returned from her trip to the Canadian Rockies was the first time she had seen a black bear in northern San Diego County. Our vacation last July was in an ambulance. Ros had a heart attack but is up and around again. Third bird Mrs. George W. Schoenhut (Sarah E. Brown) Mrs. Curtiss Gatchell...

...parted with us. Then we are gay!" Dorothy Wood

...she provides frequent bulletins for newspapers and magazines. Consequently Amy and her sister have held various positions in the Massachusetts Division of Employment Security. She and her sister live in northern San Diego County. Our vacation last July was in an ambulance. Ros had a heart attack but is up and around again. Third bird Mrs. George W. Schoenhut (Sarah E. Brown) Mrs. Curtiss Gatchell...

...parted with us. Then we are gay!" Dorothy Wood
The tourists are fleeing, school has started, so peace reigns at the moment.

Late last year, Emma Jean Mc- well as enjoyment." Sarah Emily Brown scho-

to B. on a passenger-freighter of the Grace

line which carries a small group to 24 hour

stops at various ports. Dorothy Bell Miller now

lives in Eau Claire, Fla. Louise Bunce Warner


Co-correspondents:

1931 Co-correspondents:

Mrs. Ross D. Spangler (Mary Louise Holley)

Mary Louise Holley
West Chester, Pa. 1930

Mrs. Ernest A. N. Seyfried (Wilhelmina C. Brown)

37 South Main St., Nazareth, Pa. 18064

GROUP FLIGHTS

The Connecticut College Student Travel Bureau is now planning for the 1971 Group Flight to Eu-

rope leaving from New York for London during the second week of June, and returning the first

week in September. Definite dates will be available in early January.

The group will travel by jet, and the round trip fare is a low $245. Members of the faculty, adminis-

tration, alumnae, and their families are eligible to take advantage of the low fare. A $25 deposit

will reserve a place. Other group flights, including the Caribbean and ski trips, can be arranged.

For further information, prices, or reservations, please contact the Connecticut College Travel


1932 Co-correspondent:

1932 Co-correspondent:

Mrs. Alfred K. Brown, Jr. (Priscilla Moore)

27 Hill St., Shrewsbury, Mass. 01545

Several classmates have commented that they miss having the familiar college nicknames but enjoy hearing them again.

Frances Buck Taylor reports five grandchildren, four nearby in Kenilworth and one in NYC. Fran and John travelled last fall to Australia, New Zealand and Tahiti with a large group of students. They also visited Portugal, Spain and Greece. At home she keeps busy with garden clubs and as a volunteer at a children's hospital. Dorothy Bell Miller now lives in Eau Claire, Fla. Louise Bunce Warner

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week in September. Definit
is busy in Florida as secretary to her yacht designer husband, Wink. She also is a hospital volunteer and church worker. Their son Loring, out of the Coast Guard after an eight-month cruise in the South Pacific, is back in college, intent on a future career in the U.S. Forestry Service, and specializing in ecology. Lorens and his wife, Dar- ther Mary Lou visited this summer from Atlanta with her husband and two boys 1 and 2 who look a lot like their father. Their daughter, Ruth has three month cruise from January to April on the Sagafjord and found New Zealand, Aus- tralia, and the South Pacific to fulfill her wilder dreams. Also on the cruise were Mary White Hubbard '28 and her doctor husband. Sue is now back at work for her prestigious Phila- delphia law firm. Since we last heard from Margaret Hiland Waldecker, she has acquired a handsome new husband. Sherri Richardson, a member of the West Coast, via Seattle to meet the young- est grandson, to Maraga, Calif. to see her great-grandson, to Maraga, Calif. to see
37
the U.S. Forestry Service, and specializing in ecology. Lorens and his wife, Dar- ther Mary Lou visited this summer from Atlanta with her husband and two boys 1 and 2 who look a lot like their father. Their daughter, Ruth has three month cruise from January to April on the Sagafjord and found New Zealand, Aus- tralia, and the South Pacific to fulfill her wilder dreams. Also on the cruise were Mary White Hubbard '28 and her doctor husband. Sue is now back at work for her prestigious Phila- delphia law firm. Since we last heard from Margaret Hiland Waldecker, she has acquired a handsome new husband. Sherri Richardson, a member of the West Coast, via Seattle to meet the young- est grandson, to Maraga, Calif. to see her great-grandson, to Maraga, Calif. to see
Mail before February 15, 1971 to:

Mrs. C. V. Brush, chairman

(Eloise Stumm '42)

2350 Canterbury Road

Columbus, Ohio 43221

Past Recipients

1961 Marendra E. Prentis '19

1961 Winnie E. Young '19

1961 Natalie R. Maas '40

1962 Roberta Newton Blanchard '21

1962 Emily Warner '25

1963 Eleanor Jones Heilman '33

1963 Mildred S. Howard '20

1963 Charlotte Frisch Garlock '25

1964 Janet Crawford How '24

1965 Ethel Kane Fielding '23

1965 Marion Vibert Clark '24

1965 Marion Nichols Arnold '32

1966 Kathryn B. Moss '24

1966 Carol L. Chappell '41

1967 Caroline B. Rice '31

1967 Janet Fletcher Ellrod '41

1968 L. Alice Ramsay '23

1968 Winifred Nies Northcott '38

1969 Charlotte Beckwith Crane '25

1969 Elizabeth J. Dutton '47

1970 Sarah Pithouse Becker '27

1970 Elizabeth Gordon Van Law '28

1970 Julia Warner '23

After her death in 1960, the Alumnae Association established an annual award to honor the memory and perpetuate the spirit of Agnes Leahy - twice president, for ten years a member of the board of trustees, a wise and devoted alumna who played a vital part in the development of the Alumnae Association and the growth of the college. Given annually to no more than three persons, the Agnes Berkeley Leahy Award recognizes and rewards outstanding service in class, club, or other Alumnae Association activities. Candidates must have been graduated at least fifteen years ago, and may not be current members of the executive board or presently employed by the college. Please send your confidential suggestions with the reasons for your nominations as soon as possible. Your candidates should not know that their names have been submitted.

THE AGNES BERKELEY LEAHY ALUMNAE AWARD 1971

Nominate your candidate now

Shirley Durr Hammersten keeps busy curling, playing duplicate, taking a course in investments, and canvas stitching. Highlight of curling this past season was being in the U.S. Women's Nationals with 3 of 4 in her ring being C.C. gals. Daughter Linnea does psychology major at Pace University in NYC when not globe trotting. Son Paul is in VISTA on an Indian reservation in Montana. This past spring Shirley and her husband visited Elizabeth Davis in New York City and her husband on Sanibel Island, Fla. Amy (Tex) McNutt McNeel's sister, Vivian Hughes, has discovered she is the world's best cook. Loving wife and mother, she met Dave and Helen Swan Stanley, Swayne III, and the former Ann Carroll of West Germany this summer. She has one granddaughter. She would love news of her classmates and hopes they met Dave and Helen Swan Stanley, who were there as guests of the conference.

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Janet Marsh Lathrop was "busy building a family in Norwalk, all by ourselves."

Janet's words seem to echo the sentiments of many classmates who have embarked on their own paths after college. The news of their lives and accomplishments is a testament to the diverse and fulfilling careers that unfold after graduation. From teaching and social work to business and the arts, each individual has found their own unique way to contribute to society.

Although the college year has come to a close, the bond between classmates remains strong. The class extends its belated sympathy to Janet Loomis who lost her son Chuck late in May. It is a reminder that life is fragile and that we must cherish the moments we have with our loved ones.

The class looks forward to seeing more classmates and hearing about their experiences. The news from those who did not return, such as Anne Brown Theroux, Katherine Meili Anderton, Susan Loomis Bell, and Catharine Rich Brayton, is a testament to the variety of paths that life can take. Despite the distances between us, our hearts remain connected through the love and support of our classmates.

As we look towards the future, we hope to continue to share our stories and support each other in our endeavors. The class of 1939 is a strong, united group of graduates, and we are proud to be a part of this community.
Spain and hopes to work in Mexico. Olive (Bunte) Mauthe Stone's daughter Deborah graduated from CC in June also. Pastime for her last year was being a co-chairman of the environmental committee that organized the celebration of Earth Day on campus. Gloria Frost Hecker's oldest daughter, Valorie, is now a sophomore at the Univ. of Virginia, spent the summer in Europe, and has returned to law school. Catherine is a sophomore at the University of the Pacific this fall. Sis is part-time Gal Friday in a small construction office and finds time to play golf in the 80's. Mary Robinson Sive has recently had an article published in The Journal of Library History. A footnote says: Mrs. Sieve received her M.S. in Library Science from Rutgers Un. and has done additional study at Columbia and NYU. Mary has five children—2 daughters and 3 sons—and is serving on the Board of Ed. in Pearl River, N.Y. Her husband David is a distinguished lawyer whose activities in part relate to the field of conservation. On June 20 Art and Gloria Frost Hecker's oldest daughter, Valerie, a fine arts major at BI, made her debut through the Jr. League. Two days later, the three, plus 18-year-old Linda, left for 5 memorable weeks in Europe. Gla is on the Parent-Faculty Ass'n as foreign Student Advisory Chairman, and working with AFS. She takes contemporary and jazz dancing lessons (strictly for fun) and art lessons so she can understand what talented Val is doing. Art is happy to look after White thinks we are too young but is looking forward to seeing everyone. Joan Jacobson Kronick and family moved from Texas back to N.Y. Husband Sid as an administrative assistant in the beautiful environment of constant hassle. But being back among old friends is glorious and she values this time. Jillian is a sophomore at the Univ. of the Pacific. She is a member of the Best I 1946 Correspondent: Mrs. Sidney H. Burness (Joan Weissman) 280 Steele Road West Hartford, Conn. 06117

June '71 reunion — make it the best!

Sally Duffield Wilder and museum-director husband are on a 60 day world tour to assemble material from Japan, Russia, and Scandinavia for a "Four Faces of Alaska" show opening in '72. Their children are well and educating. Lucy Block Heumann spent the summer on the golf course while Bill was at camp and husband Mike played tennis. John, senior at Col. Tech, did summer work for Novo and plans to go to law school in Washington and Olympic Mountains. Janet was on a cross-country camping safari with her 16-year-old twin daughters. All but one of Janet's six offspring are away from home. Marlon Stephenson Walker moved to Seattle in April '70 after the Cranbrook project. McCawley who visited her recently, lives in a prize-winning, contemporary cedar and glass house on an island overlooking Lake Washington and Olympic Mountains. Janet is on the voyage to the Northwest and has been aClinical Instructor at the University of California at Berkeley. Marion's three love the Pacific Northwest and have seen the sights of the West by the old road. Marion talks by phone with Priscilla Stokes Normark.

Jean Compton Boyce and her gang feel fairly settled in the area. The recent move from Connecticut. Jean's oldest is a junior at Dartmouth, leaving Linda 15 and Wilson 12 still at home. Michael is in the U.S. Navy, and Trudy is a sophomore in high school. Their year-round vacation is with the coast guard. Marion's three love the Pacific Northwest and have seen the sights of the West by the old road. Marion talks by phone with Priscilla Stokes Normark.

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Alumnae Descendants—class of '74

In years past, the News published pictures of freshmen who were daughters of alumnae, even when there were as many as fifteen. We wish it were still possible do so; but the loyalty which increased Connecticut's enrollment, works against the magazine's limited space. There are thirty freshmen today who claim mothers or grandmothers— in some cases both. That we publish names without pictures is no sign of a diminishing sense of tradition; inwardly, we wave banners, play bands, and burst our buttons with pride.

Ruth Antell
James Catterton
James Gawley
Thomas Cheetham
Karl Christoffers
Susan Compton
Anne Dietrich
Laurie Garden
Linda Harding
Catherine Holland
Sara Hutchinson
Gertrude Miller
Margaret Moseley
Lucille Pendleton
Sara Pettengill
Katherine Powell
Michael Ridgway
Holly Rodgers
Dianne Saunders
Sara Schrager
Judith Schwartz
Jeanne Shelburn
Martha Smith
Carole-Jeanne Stevens
Susanna Stone

Mother
Grandmother
Anne Hardy '40
Hattie Goldman Rosoff '21
Catherine Van Derlyke '33
Marjorie Farrel '47
Katherine Wenk '45
Jean Hurlburt '49
Frances Garner '41
Elizabeth Muirhead '50
Eleanor Brown '39
Mary Youngman '48
Madeline Sawyer '39
Phebe Clark '46
Margaret Stoeker '41
Mary Josephine Calbertson '47
Jane Guiney '42
Marlis Bluman '50
Lois Parisette '43
Jane Oberg '45
Lucy Barrera '37
Shirley Cohen '37
Estelle Markovits '49
Jean Rincicotti '50
Sybil Ward '41
Ruth Babcock '40
Sara How '49
Janet Crawford '24
Dorothy Steele '20
Virginia Doyle '48
Marion Stephenson '46
Priscilla Duxbury '41
Patricia Feldman '45
Shirley Kline '52

is well aware of other compensations. With Sue in her second year at CC and Rick a freshman at Wesleyan, Al and Joan plan an extended middle-age honeymoon. Miriam Steinberg Edlin, Suzanne Levin Steinberg and your correspondent had a pre-reunion reunion last summer while Mimi was east to celebrate her father's 80th birthday. In a sense, Mimi and Sue have swapped children for the academic year; Sue's middle daughter Laura has transferred to Washington untv. Vassar was too inaccessible. Mimi's biggest project has been as resident advisor for this year. Last spring, he was appointed committee under the sponsorship of their dorm, we donned our name tags complete with pride.

1947 Correspondent:
Mrs. Philip Welti (Janet Pinks)
5390 N. Brookwood Dr.
Fort Wayne, Ind. 46815

1948 Correspondent:
Mrs. Peter Roland (Ashley Davidson)
7 Margaret Place, Lake Placid, N.Y. 12946

Married: Margaret Reynolds Rist to Linley V. Dodge Jr. on March 23.
Reunion was great! 32 members plus 9 husbands attended. Housed in Morrison, a co-ed dorm, we donned our name tags complete with Koiné pictures, a unique idea executed by Rita Hursh Meal and Joan Wilmarth Cressup. Shirley Reese Olson had assembled a bulletin board containing clippings and pictures of class members and their families.

Friday evening Angela Shona showed slides of all the past reunions. After interesting Alumnae College sessions on our environment, we gathered for our picnic at Lazarus House.
For more than three years, says the Digest, “on a grant from the Ford Foundation Corporation, Arlene Silberman has been assisting her husband, Charles Silberman on one of the most comprehensive studies of U.S. education ever undertaken. The full findings will be presented in the Silberman book, Crisis in the Classroom, to be published in September by Random House.” From Rochester, Minn., where “life is somewhat insulated from the general turmoil and the air is still clear,” Dorothy Ann (Dan) Warren White reports that daughter Caroline attends Macalester College in St. Paul, son Peter is pouring through college bulletins for next year, and Pat is still in junior high. All three are reading novels. Dan and John helped start a Fish group, which is “essentially neighbors helping neighbors—an ecumenical endeavor.”
where her parents are now stationed for two years. Nancy Alderman Kramer moved to West Hartford where her husband is ass't professor of pediatrics at the new U. Conn. Medical School. They have a three-year-old daughter and work and started on her master's at the School of Social Work. Marc 15, Paul 12, Jerry 9 and Rachel 7. Nancy is a volunteer at a high school so and vacations this year with only classroom work in English and speech. Gwen is a Barnard junior, Alan on Mar. 15, Paul 12, and Rachel 9. Nancy is youngest to complete her school soph. Janice Well Libman moved to Atlanta where she finds it easier to get around than the NYC area and is looking for a job and in a few months to continue Brownie troop leadership. Shirley Kline Wittmann has been president of Jr. League, served and worked for two years as a Girl Scout troop in a Newkirk, qtr., and organized a drug awareness committee in Glen Ridge, Susan 18 is at CC; Dave and John 15, Ann 14, Bob 9 at home. Barbara Frye Laco has three in high school, one in 4th grade. She was co-chairman of a successful tax levy issue bond campaign. Despite a broken collarbone, she worked with a newly established out-of-school education program in summer, manages a bookstore at the middle school and has time for LWV and garden club. Tom's special interest is Meatloaf. The Lacos all love their Reds and Bengals. Jerilyn Wright Hoile and three children moved to the Rochester area, where her work in advertising photography. M. Loften Wilson Abrams moved with her three children, 14, 12 and 10, to Chatham, N.J. 07928

1953 Correspondent:
Mrs. Frank F. Fahlund (Dorothy Bomer)
Quarters D-2, USNA
Norfolk, Va. 23521

1954 Correspondents:
Mrs. John A. Brady (Ann Dyger)
2439 Goldendrod, Sarasota, Fla. 33579
Mrs. C. Robert Jennings
(Mary Kane)
3163 Matthew's 160
bSalzburg, Austria

Born: to Charles and Gail Sprague Butler a fourth child, first son, Frederick, on Mar. 16.
Lorraine Lupoli Gambardella and Anthony live in New Haven, Conn. Until recently Lorraine was executive secretary to the president of the Yale Co-op. Her husband is with the State of Connecticut Correctional Center. They enjoy their home overlooking Long Island Sound. Lee and Shirley Daniel Murray live in NYC and both work as nurses. Their friend Shirley says, was fantastic to work with. Christine Chen Wang has combined her art training and graduate study in medical psychol- ogy at John Hopkins Univ. to become a psychiatric art therapist with the Dept. of Psychiatry at George Washington Univ. Medical Center in Washington, D.C. Her career involves only art ther- apy, but also verbal group therapy, multi-family therapy, and explaining the dynamics of spontaneous art work to mentally ill students. At Lafayette College in Easton, Pa. the new provost and dean of the faculty is Dr. Robert S. Grant, and our Jewish president is Haveland Chase. Catherine Pappas McNamara and Bill vacationed in Hawaii in February, seeing the Asian Fire Wall and Enchanted Forest. At home Cathy keeps busy with her duties as president of the Norwalk, Conn. LWV and taking care of Elizabeth 10 and Billy 8 while Bill spends many airborne hours with TWA. A Jr. League annual conference in Boston, Fla. in May found both Jan Smith Post and Cynthia Fenning Rehm representing their league. Helen Teckemeyer Allison and Jerry came down the Intracoastal Waterway from Maine to Fort Lauderdale, Fla. aboard their boat, the "Miss Wiggins." Jerry joined the staff as principal of a school in Fort Lauderdale, Fla. Before leaving Maine, Helen spent the day with Lasca Huse Lilly who was visiting in Stith, Iraq, and Evans Flescher Medral left NYC for a new home in Springfield, Vt. Bob and Mar Robertson Jennings plan to live in Salzburg, Austria, for a year. Mar embarks over three and a half years of travel up the rapids of the Colorado this summer, but really was delighted with their two glorious weeks in Denmark. While in Denmark, Mar and their two daughters toured, ate, and toured, becoming bored with castles but not with smorgasbord. Mar returned home a charmer of Salzburg and its people wearing dirndls, lederhosen, pink cheeks and friendly smiles; but can a lake surrounded by flowers and mountains?...
June 71, Our reunion — makes it the best!

Married: Emily Morgan to John Hewens on Oct 6; Mary (Rene) and David (Bob) Dean to William C. Dalnocy Jr. in Dec 68; Diane Selby to Richard Strasser on Nov 30, 69; Patricia Matzelke to Frank Carlson on July 12; Joanne Horan to Ross and Dorothy Hall Davis on Feb 10; and to William and Kathy Mendenhall on April 10; 70.

Children: In Belgium, Charles and Gill Fiero Davenport Todd, Latham, on April 21, 68; to Robert and Betty Jane Gansman in 1969; to James and Darlene Matis in 1970.

Moving: Barbara (Barbara) Kalik and three daughters enjoyed sightseeing in California recently. Susan Miller Lowenstein is a busy mother trying to adopt a second child.

New jobs: Harry is administrative secretary at INTELSAT in Washington, D.C. Kathy is legislative assistant to Rep. Long, Md., Democrat, and Harry is administrative secretary to INTELSAT in Washington, D.C.

New homes: Stephanie is busy with home and children, the Has a private practice in internal medicine. Judy is busy with home and children, the board of trustees of the Junior Museum, teaching dance at the Community Enrichment

innovations to keep pace with her family's various pursuits: scouts, science fairs, new math, The Charltons and Barbara Kalik, and their three children, Jane Maury Sargent and family, recently living abroad, visited the Hauser children this summer.

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New children: David is the son of Henry and Berte Jane Gardiner Hathaway.

New schools: Harry is administrative secretary at INTELSAT in Washington, D.C. Kathy is legislative assistant to Rep. Long, Md., Democrat, and Harry is administrative secretary at INTELSAT in Washington, D.C.

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was interrupted by six-months’ leave to do research in Torino, Italy (Aug. ’68 to Jan. ’69) where the family, including the sheep dog, spent 9 weeks in a motel before the damage was repaired. Carl has been made vice president in charge of the investment section at the First National Bank in New Haven and has received his MBA from the Univ. of Bridgeport.

Felicia Natale Mark’s husband Paul teaches English at New Haven College and writes. Pat continues her nursery school work as director of the Lab Pre-School at Southern Connecticut State College and works with children in the black community in New Haven. Carolyn McGonigle Najarian attended the Jr. League conference in Boca Raton, Fla. in May; in June she became v.p. of the Realty Division of Community Life, and she and Clint went on a Pa. Bar Ass’n cruise; and they saw Merry Lee Corwin San ite in Weston, Mass. Wilford Merrill Welch are in Weston, Mass. Noreen is active in the Seattle Jr. League, and Fritz is v-p- and partner in Curtis and Robert in New York. Robert is helping Delph with his real estate venture in St. Louis, acting as leasing agent, bookkeeper and manager, and says all the ads add up to a full time job.

Joyce Rosenfeld Schiff (Columbus, Ohio) is going back to college on a part-time basis and hopes to graduate in three years. Margaret (Mardi) Roth Brown has taken a six-week leave of absence from the U.S. Congress to executive more posts. She has sold 100,000 in the past 1½ years. Jeff and Patty Sauer are in Montreal; Marilyn Dzurko is in Bermuda; Dave and Maria Orlando have spent 10 weeks in Puerto Rico soon. Jeff is the treasurer of Treasure Masters, Inc. of Boston School of Business. Johnson is in Coralville, Ia. where Curtis is ass’t prof. of biochemistry and bio-physics at the University of Iowa, and with two children in a new house, helping a new day care center for low income families and teaching analytical chemistry. David and Carolyn Sharp Brooks spent time in Italy and Denmark this past spring and have taken their three children on their first trip this summer from their home in Providence, R.I. Myron and Winne Sherwood Johnson have moved to Ballard Hill, N.C. where Myron will be ass’t prof. of medicine at the Univ. of N.C. and will do research at the University Hospital. Now that her two children are school age, Winne looks forward to resuming tennis and hopes to start work on a master’s degree in Family Studies. Evans spent the summer “tripping over” the New Hope, Pa. tourists and is looking forward to his fall term and his daughter. June Silverstein Root’s husband Elihu is now in private medical practice in Houston where they have been for 10 years. The Roots visited Dorothy Cotzen Kaplan in the East last spring and managed to see some snow too. Joan Kaplan is involved with Child and Family Services, PTA and volunteer librarian work in Austin, Texas. Clint’s new book, The Four Faces of Man is due from the printer this winter, Cary and Marilyn Skorupski Allen are in Taipei, Taiwan, where Cary is protocol officer for U.S. Taiwan Defense Command. Marilyn is busy with volunteer work. The family has been very much fascinated by the travel they have done in the Far East. Judith Solloway Kleiman received her degree from Rollins College in June and she and her family now live in Hollywood, Fla. Bayla Solomon Weisbart sees Betsy Thompson Bartholeen and her family often in New York. Her husband and Jennifer Daniels Solomon, their New Hampshire cousins, see several times a year. Betsy and Betsy Spaulding Spaulding plan a weekend in Groton and Long Point, Conn. this August, their first trip from Chicago since they were married. Curtis and Caroline Cramer hopes to use her real estate broker’s license this year in Lexington, Mass. now that her four children are in school. Barbara Steinbrein Levine saw her two children off to Stanford and has managed her two Barbizon Schools of Modelling, Christine Steinfelder Wagner and her family spent a lovely summer of Sharon.
1962 Co-correspondents:
Mrs. E. Benjamin Loring (Ann Morris)
4 Lenora Drive
West Simsbury, Conn. 06092

Mrs. Charles E. Wolff
Rachel MacMaster
128 Tulp St., Summit, N.J. 07901

Born: to Merrill and Barbara Levine Hassнесен
Bennie in September '67; to Chaistor and Judy
Piper David on Apr. 22; to Howard and Ruth
De Vente on June 9; to Jim and Louise Rosenthal Glasser
Daniel Robert on June 9; to Keith and Sally Scott
Altemeier on Feb. 22; to Donald and Annette Thompson
Sharon Lynette on June 24; to Revere and Kathryan Stewart
Ferris on Dec. 22; to Sally and Maude
Donneller Cather Turner Coughlan on June 3; to Peter and Barbara Stone
Aschhelm on Aug. 13; to David Stone on Apr. 2,
and Sally Scott Aldrich love Irving in Katonah,
with the Katonah Gallery and hopes to have
an exhibition in May.

Barbara Levine Hassнесен, formerly an
assistant district attorney, now practices part-
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husband's law firm. She is also cam-
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Nancy Melynch Livingston is an art student at
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about the Katonah area.

In May 1969, John and Barbara Nichols
Bennett returned from two years in Germany.
They now live in Cambridge. John works for
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itself became a matter of history."

Barbo Pinner Zeller in Chicago also has a
very active dual role as new mother and
part-time art teacher at Miss Porter's School,
Farmington. Louise Rosenthal Glasser has a
new baby girl, Arielle, born in San Francisco,
and a new baby, Jim. He is a v.p. and assistant to
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Bob and Cathy Gaudiani Burnell David Graham Jr. on May
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an exhibition in May.

Barbara Levine Hassнесен, formerly an
assistant district attorney, now practices part-
time as a criminal defense lawyer in her
husband's law firm. She is also cam-
paigning for a friend, Donald Coon, who is
Nancy Melynch Livingston is an art student at
Denver Univ. John Livingston has recently
written a chapter for a social history textbook
about the Katonah area.

In May 1969, John and Barbara Nichols
Bennett returned from two years in Germany.
They now live in Cambridge. John works for
a real estate firm and will soon take his
foreign service oral exam. Nickie was work-
ing in a computer consulting firm until "the company
itself became a matter of history." Bobo Pinner
Zeller in Chicago also has a
very active dual role as new mother and
part-time art teacher at Miss Porter's School,
Farmington. Louise Rosenthal Glasser has a
new baby girl, Arielle, born in San Francisco,
and a new baby, Jim. He is a v.p. and assistant to
the president of GATX-Booth.

Bob and Cathy Gaudiani Burnell David Graham Jr. on May
21; to Kenneth and Ellen Schwartz
Louis on Sept. 7; to Donald Aschhelm on Aug. 13;
and Sally Scott Aldrich love Irving in Katonah,
with the Katonah Gallery and hopes to have
an exhibition in May.
Trinity College in Hartford. Also working in Washington, D.C. is Beverly Rewa Rosetta. She is with ITT Research Institute and her husband Mark with the Dept. of Defense.

Marian Silber is an attorney in New York and London. She graduated from Fordham Law School in 1966 and spent several years in negligence work. A '69 graduate of Fordham Law School, she enjoys the change of pace from seven years of practice, Russ and Carol Bruah Crooks are in the Navy until June 71; then return to OPL and law school for Russ. Carol keeps busy with baby Callie Ann. Mary Ann Garvin Siegel worked in NYC after graduation. She is now married to Alan Balboni and lives in Louisiana and Washington, D.C. while Chip finished his Air Force duty. In D.C. she works for a law firm in the area. Now the Siegels are in Atlanta where they often see Marrianna Kautman. Marrianna, in Washington, D.C. heads all press releases for the city's observance on Earth Day. Carol Lewis Canterbury is busy with her infant son and home in Pocono, Pa. where husband Ross is in law. Armand and Karen Brainerd Benoit live in Agawam, Mass. Armand is with Dus and Bradstreet's Springfield office. Cynthia Wise has been named by the African-American Institute as acting director of its West Coast office, Beverly Coast. She coordinates all AAI affairs in the French-speaking African countries, concentrating on the training of African students who come to the U.S. for study at both graduate and undergraduate levels. After earning a B.A. in French with a concentration on African politics at Northwestern Univ. in 1968, she joined the staff of the AAI headquarters in NYC. Mary Ellen Hamilton Baughman received a master's in social work in 1966 from Washington Univ. in St. Louis. After working in the social service dept. of the Albert Einstein College Hospital, NYC, assigned to the neurology and neurosurgery service, she married the bridegroom at her wedding were Linda Conner Lapp and Barbara Brumfield Kendall. Linda and John are at Princeton. John is working on his doctorate. Barb and Doug live in Cambridge; Doug is also completing his doctorate. Mimi and Bob are in Midland, Mich. where she has a position in the consumer products division of Dow Chemical Co. Margery Rosen Wald is a member of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in New York and husband Steve is a dean at the Law School.

Gayle Sanders is an attorney with the Mental Health Information Center in New York. She was a member of the Women's Political Caucus and Executive Board of the National Organization for Women. Jane Gullong was named chairman of the Afrikaans-American Committee in September at the request of the City of Nashville, Tenn. She has been a member of the committee for over 5 years and is currently working on a History of African Americans in Nashville book. The committee has been instrumental in securing funds for the preservation and maintenance of African-American history sites in the city. Jane Gullong is a graduate of Spelman College and received a master's degree in history from the University of Chicago. She has worked as a teacher and administrator in the Nashville School System and currently serves as the President of the African American Historical Society of Nashville. The committee is also involved in organizing events and activities to promote awareness and understanding of African-American history and culture. Their efforts have resulted in increased community involvement and support for preserving and celebrating African-American history in Nashville.
1968 Correspondent:
Mrs. Jeffrey Talmadge
(Katherine Spendlove)
40 Guild Road
Dedham, Mass. 02026
Married: Betty Barton
Richard Brandes
Sally (Terry) Appenzellar is job hunting in
Connecticut College Alumnae News _Winter 1970
• graduated from Yale Law School in June 1969.
lege Division of Ginn and Company.
ated. She loves Kodiak, but finds it strange
for a weekly newspaper serving Kodiak and
Richard drove west for a camping trip. en
marriage, Betty Barton Brandes and husband
sina bought a house in the Yalesville section
program in rehabilitation counseling at
S.U.N.Y. Edward and Paula Zammataro Mes-
Nancy Gilbert Murphy and husband Steve
N.H. [pop. 12) and are extremely happy. Tom
Guenther Pancoast live in the back of an
of Zambia Law School. Tom and Kathleen
Modibo Tawia Oeran of Ghana on Feb. 28.
Melva Lowe Ocran finished her M.A. inEnglish
her Dutch "improves to the reasonable level." Beth hopes to continue with social work. after
Technological univ. Delft in 1963. He was
senior advance engineer in the custom power
resolutions authorized to mail at special rates
mortgages or other securities: none.
other security holders owning or holding 1
percent or more of total amount of stock.
immediately thereunder the names and ad-
addresses of the individual owners or other unincorporated firm, its name and
addresses of the individual owners
Ramsdell St., Groton, Conn. 06340.
and business manager: Connecticut College
Alumnae News.

1970 Correspondent:
Mrs. Ronald Walker
(Linda McGilvary)
3105 Loring St.
-Los Angeles, Calif. 90109
Married: Suzanne devogeleare to David W.
Dinny on Nov. 29, '69; Sharon Smith to Lt.
T. Gallo on Apr. 10; Ruth Kunstadt to Lt. William Cup USSN on May 23;
Suzanne Ninde to David Tresener on June 14;
Jane Heffelfinger to Barry Tyler lower on July 4; Mary Ann Phillips to Scott Moirhead on July 31; Linda Platts to Keith Critchlow on Aug. 29.
STATEMENT of ownership, management and circulation (Act of October 25, 1933; Section 39, United States Code).
2. Title of publication: Connecticut College Alumnae News
3. Location of known office of publication: Edmonds 104 Orchard Street, New Haven, Conn. 06570.
4. Location of the headquarters of the publishers: Edmonds, Conn., College, New London, Conn. 06320.
5. Name and address of publisher, editor, and business manager: Connecticut College
Alumnae Association, Inc., Conn., College. New London, Conn. 06320; Helen H. John-
son (Mrs. M. H. J.), R.F.D. 3, Box 304
Northwich, Conn. 06350; Helen Brogan, 45
Ramsdell St., Groton, Conn. 06340.
6. Frequency of issue: four times a year.
7. Location of the headquarters of the directors: Edmonds, Conn., College, New London, Conn. 06320.
8. Name and address of the advertising sales representative: Connecticut College Alumnae News _Winter 1970
9. For completion by nonprofit organizations by mail, carriage or carrier at or near the place of publication.
10. Extent and nature of circulation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Single issue</th>
<th>Near: cost of mailing and carriage</th>
<th>Date of filing</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Total no. copies published (not including spoiled after press run)</td>
<td>11,400</td>
<td>11,700</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>B. Paid circulation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>C. Circulation by mail, carriage, carrier</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>D. Total paid circulation</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>E. Free distribution (including spoiled after press run)</td>
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<td>F. Total distribution (Sum of C and D)</td>
<td>11,400</td>
<td>11,700</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>G. Office use, left over, unaccounted spoiled after press run</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>H. Total (Sum of E and F) should equal net press run shown in above table.</td>
<td>11,400</td>
<td>11,700</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Certification that statements made above are correct and complete.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HELEN BROGAN, Business Manager</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Alice Wellington was named administrator of the psychiatric section of the Hight Ash-
bury Free Dispensary. Her job involves working with all kinds of people with problems ranging from potential suicide to heroin addiction. After spending part last year traveling and studying in Europe and participating in emotionally disturbed children in New York, she returned to Stanford in September. Sallye Williams arrived in San Francisco in June and currently is working for the Playhouse, a non-profit theater group. Mary Ann Phillips Moirhead got her brown in June. She married John in July and went to San Fran-
isco where John is with the Army at Letter-
man General Hospital. Katherine Souchbord
works at a school for emotionally disturbed children. Back East, Kathryn Kiley spent a year as a masters program at George Washington Uni-
versity and then joined the Peace Corp. She now teaches English in Uganda. Ellen Robinson is in London lecturing archi-
tepture students on American architecture and Gothic art. After following Kevin from one southern naval base to another, Rebecca Brown Foley settled in Virginia Beach, Va. and plans to do graduate study in ocean-
ography and then to marry Klein. Lander Burrell began her first year at the Yale School of Architecture in September. Penelope Wood was given a research assist-
in bacterial genetics at Harvard Medical School. Linda Platts Critchlow continues to work for Comechee.

Alice Ramsay Seipp studies regional and city planning at Univ. of North Carolina. John and Gale Rawson traveled in Europe all summer and are now in New Haven. John at Yale Medical School and Gale at the Yale Art Gallery is an instant regular. Linda (Lynn) Scott is in a master's program in learning disabilities at U. Conn. Back in Berkeley after a summer traveling across country are Susan Ninde Tresener and David who continues graduate studies at Harvard. Sharon Smith is a graduate of 5th grade as a social science assist-
in Santa Clara, N.Y. Gary was transferred from his sub in New London to shore duty in Saratoga Springs, N.Y.
IT'S YOUR COLLEGE — YOUR DECISION

ALUMNAE ANNUAL GIVING PROGRAM 1970-71
CONNECTICUT COLLEGE ALUMNAE FUND
FOR SCHOLARSHIPS

participating in the
College Pooled Endowment Funds

Principal Balance as of July 1, 1969 .................................................. $29,071.73
Plus:
  Addition of gifts to principal ......................................................... — 0 —
  Capital gains distribution .................................................................. — 0 —
Principal Balance as of June 30, 1970 ................................................. $29,071.73
Connecticut College Alumnae Scholarship Fund's share of earnings from
  Pooled Endowment Investments during 1969-70 ............................... $ 2,018.04
  Plus unexpended balance from previous years ................................. 300.29
  Earnings Available ........................................................................... $ 2,318.32
September 9, 1970
Treasurer and Business Manager
John A. Falcone

FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

Connecticut College Alumnae Association
New London, Connecticut
Comparison of Estimated and Actual Expenditures
For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Budget</th>
<th>Expended and Encumbered</th>
<th>Refunds</th>
<th>Expenditures (Over or Under Budget)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salaries and Wages (Including Payroll Taxes and Employee Benefits)</td>
<td>$36,420.00</td>
<td>$35,283.36</td>
<td>$ 1,136.64</td>
<td>$ 3,136.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive Board</td>
<td>4,425.00</td>
<td>3,626.60</td>
<td>998.20</td>
<td>998.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programs and Projects</td>
<td>34,555.00</td>
<td>30,453.37</td>
<td>9,463.22</td>
<td>9,463.22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Committee Business</td>
<td>1,675.00</td>
<td>1,347.43</td>
<td>327.57</td>
<td>327.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Off-Campus Conferences</td>
<td>650.00</td>
<td>446.57</td>
<td>203.43</td>
<td>203.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alumnae Office — Operating Costs</td>
<td>4,660.00</td>
<td>3,389.51</td>
<td>1,270.49</td>
<td>1,270.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alumnae Office — Furniture and Equipment</td>
<td>3,410.00</td>
<td>2,122.99</td>
<td>1,287.01</td>
<td>1,287.01</td>
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<tr>
<td>Accounting and Legal Fees</td>
<td>300.00</td>
<td>480.00</td>
<td>119.99</td>
<td>119.99</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>$87,385.00</td>
<td>$80,385.23</td>
<td>$9,463.22</td>
<td>$10,432.99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note A — The amount expended and encumbered of $86,385.23 includes accounts payable as of June 30, 1970 totaling $359.28.

Statement of Savings

General Savings Fund and Checking Account ............... $46,272.86
Special Savings Funds .......................................... 21,675.63
$77,948.49

Based on a review of the Treasurer's records and bank statements, the above uncorrected statements reflect all budgeted expenses and also cash balances in the savings and checking accounts for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1970.

New London, Conn.  /s/ Ernest A. Yeske, Jr.
October 20, 1970  Certified Public Accountant