The Story of SAIS
The School of Advanced International Studies is a gem of rare worth in today’s compartmented world: a unique, unpredictable, priceless institution in the study of international relations, defying image, daring its competitors to fit it into a stereotype, cheerfully maintaining its roots in the liberal arts, ignoring those who would have it follow trends,” says George R. Packard of the institution over which he presides.

As Dean Packard’s “gem” approaches its forty-fifth anniversary, it is appropriate to record its history. The Story of SAIS is an informal chronicle, focusing on the men and women—the founders, professors, alumni, students, staff members, and friends—who transformed the school into one of the most renowned international affairs schools in the world.

SAIS, of course, did not grow up in a vacuum but moved in step to international developments, learning from the past as it moved into the future. Tammi Gutner, a 1985 graduate of SAIS, spent a year poring through old documents, interviewing scores of the school’s associates, and traveling as far as Bologna, Italy, to put together The Story of SAIS. She recalls the school’s responses to evolving world problems, its expansion overseas, its academic achievements, its growing pains.

In the end, an institution is no greater than the efforts of those who have nurtured it. SAIS is fortunate to have always been in the hands of people who cherished it. The Story of SAIS is about them and for them.
The Story of SAIS

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I would like to thank all of the people who have shared with me their memories and views of SAIS. Over one hundred alumni and longtime faculty and staff members kindly allowed me to interview them about their experiences in Washington and Bologna.

I would particularly like to acknowledge a few special people who assisted me in developing, writing, and producing this book. Priscilla Mason and Bob Hall, two of the school's most dedicated supporters, were invaluable in bringing to life the personalities of the men and women, who like themselves, shaped the school from its inception to the present. Trudi Pellegrini gave me enough information to write an entire book on the Bologna Center. Susan Crowley edited the manuscript with painstaking care and did an excellent job turning it into a proper book. Zilla Bristol worked long and hard on the computer to prepare the manuscript for publication.

Above all, I would like to express my gratitude to Frederick Holborn for sharing with me his detailed knowledge of the people and events that have contributed to the school's development. Professor Holborn provided valuable help at every stage of this project, and his suggestions, criticism, and guidance are deeply appreciated.

—Tammi L. Gutner
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THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
School of Advanced International Studies
The Paul and Phyllis Nitze Building
I n 1943, while war raged in Europe and Asia, the postwar order began to take shape. Although the world was in upheaval as the balance of power shifted and new national borders formed, foundations were being laid for new international organizations. Forty-four nations would gather in July 1944 at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to create the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, as well as a new international monetary system. From August to October, representatives from the United States, Britain, Russia, and China would meet at the Dumbarton Oaks mansion in Georgetown to discuss what would become the United Nations Organizations. While it was unclear in 1943 exactly how the new order would evolve, it appeared certain that the United States, untouched by enemy bombs and with burgeoning economic power, would become a major force in determining the shape of the future.

Washington was coming alive with the prospects of new power. Wartime mobilization efforts had brought new groups of experts to the capital, thereby creating the links between government, industry, and research universities that Dwight D. Eisenhower would later dub “the military-industrial complex.” Across the nation U.S. corporations were contemplating the possibility of overseas expansion. Professionals were needed urgently in both the private and public sectors to manage everything from grand strategy to regional economic and political development.

It was in this environment that a group of government officials, businessmen, and academics became acutely aware of the need for a graduate institution that would prepare young men and women to assume responsibilities in the postwar world. Although the study of international relations predated the war, by 1943 only one graduate institution in the United States focused solely on the field: the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, which was established in 1933 at Tufts University in cooperation with Harvard University. In Europe the Graduate Institute of International Studies, founded in 1927 and affiliated with the University of Geneva, had achieved recognition for training an international group of students, including Americans, for careers in world affairs.
Indeed, the study of international relations was still formless. During the golden age of balance-of-power politics preceding World War I, most political theory examined the sovereign state rather than the processes underlying the international system as a whole. International affairs were usually studied within the fields of diplomatic history, international law, or geography.

New courses in international relations cropped up during the interwar period at leading American universities such as Yale, Columbia, Chicago, and Princeton. The Wilsonian idealism embodied in the ill-fated League of Nations also popularized courses in international organization and law. Moreover, a desire to stimulate professional and public understanding of international issues had led to the founding of organizations such as the Council on Foreign Relations and the Foreign Policy Association.

World War II and its aftermath unleashed several forces in the United States that would transform the study of international affairs from a purely intellectual inquiry to practical training. Most obvious was the great demand for people who knew something about the new situation in which the United States found itself. Many G.I.s returned home with a strong desire to pursue their new international interests through graduate studies. Scholars began again to explore the causes of war and the new economic and political processes the war set in motion; the shattered Wilsonian idealism led many academics to turn their focus to "power politics" as a basic concept in international relations. The immensity of the war and the shattering changes it brought meant that Americans could no longer remain ignorant of foreign affairs.

* * * * *

A graduate school like Fletcher was clearly needed in Washington, where courses in international law, diplomacy, economics, regional studies, and foreign languages could be taught to the next generation by scholars and by those who helped shape foreign policy. The idea of such a school was first raised not by an academic but by a congressman, Christian A. Herter, who would later become governor of Massachusetts and secretary of state under Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Herter, at six-foot-five with piercing blue eyes and bushy eyebrows, was born in Paris in 1895, the son of two accomplished American painters. He grew up with a strong interest in the arts and began studying architecture and interior decorating in New York, after graduating cum laude from Harvard in 1915. His interest in international relations was no doubt sparked by World War I. A conversation with Lithgow Osborne, a close Harvard friend who later became the U.S. ambassador to Norway, was a turning point for Herter. At a class reunion in 1916, he listened to Osborne's enthusiastic account of his work as a diplomatic
Christian A. Herter, a founder of SAIS, served as a U.S. Congress­
man, a governor of Massachusetts, President Eisenhower’s secre­
tary of state, and as the first special trade representative, under
President Kennedy.

attaché in Berlin. Herter’s biographer, G. Bernard Noble, described the
effect of this conversation:

The story struck fire in Herter’s mind. “Gosh, I wish I had an opportunity
like yours,” he said. Osborne replied, “Do your really mean it?” The
answer was “yes.” An exchange of cables to Berlin ensued. A week later
the course of his life had changed, and he was off to Berlin under a
Diplomatic Service appointment.¹

Within three years Herter was working as Henry White’s aide at
the Paris Peace Conference. In 1920, he became executive secretary
of the European Relief Council under Herbert Hoover. Herter left Wash­
ington in 1924 to edit a journal and to teach international relations at
Harvard. He eventually served for two terms as speaker of the Massa­
chusetts lower house. He returned to foreign affairs in 1943 when he
entered the U.S. House of Representatives. In 1947, a select committee of the House, which became known as the "Herter Committee," played a pivotal role in shaping the Marshall Plan.

Herter was concerned that university programs in international relations focused more on history and abstract political theory than on current and emerging issues facing the United States. He expressed his views to a man who would become a key figure in developing U.S. national security policy and a leading statesman who would serve under seven presidents. Paul H. Nitze agreed that Americans were inadequately prepared for their country's emerging position as a world leader. He also believed that U.S. leadership must be based on the country's economic and military strength—a belief he voiced throughout his long career.

After graduating cum laude from Harvard and working as a Wall Street investment banker, Nitze entered government in 1941 to become financial director for the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. He succeeded George Kennan in 1949 as director of Dean Acheson's Policy Planning Staff where he oversaw the formulation of NSC-68. The document, which called for "a rapid and sustained buildup of the political, economic and military strength of the free world," was one of the first formal statements of American policy in the postwar years.

During the Kennedy administration, Nitze served as assistant secretary of defense and secretary of the Navy. In 1967, he became Lyndon Johnson's deputy secretary of defense. From 1969 to 1974, he was a member of the U.S. Delegation to the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks with the Soviet Union, which negotiated the 1972 antiballistic missile treaty. Nitze returned to public service in 1981 as head of the U.S. delegation to the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Negotiations in Geneva. Currently, he holds the rank of ambassador and serves as U.S. adviser on arms-control policy.

* * * * *

In the summer of 1943, Herter and Nitze shared a Georgetown house while their wives, who were cousins and best friends, vacationed on Long Island. The two men usually ate a leisurely breakfast together, talking about world affairs. One morning Herter casually asked Nitze what he thought about the idea of setting up a graduate school in international studies in Washington. Nitze liked the idea, noting that such a school would be able to preserve the expertise and knowledge accumulated in Washington during the war. According to Nitze, Herter began to explore with other friends the idea "of an institution in Washington that would be outside the government but close enough to it to exploit the knowledge and wisdom of those in it, with ties to
Paul H. Nitze helped to found SAIS and has been active in the school’s affairs while pursuing a government career spanning more than forty-five years.

business, labor, and the media, and with an academic core to give it continuity and depth.’”

These friends included Edward Burling, partner in the law firm of Covington and Burling; Samuel Meek, chairman of J. Walter Thompson; William Clayton, assistant secretary of economic affairs who would later play a formative role in the development of the Marshall Plan; Joseph C. Grew, special assistant to the secretary of state who had also been ambassador to Japan in the ten years preceding the attack on Pearl Harbor; William Yandell Elliott, the eminent Harvard Professor of Government then working on the War Production Board; James Conant, president of Harvard; Robert J. Watt, international representative of the American Federation of Labor; George Harrison, chairman of New York Life Insurance; and Halford L. Hoskins, the founding dean of the Fletcher School.
Halford Hoskins, a Middle East expert who was the founding dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, came to Washington to become the first director of SAIS.

Hoskins, an expert on the Middle East, was particularly enthusiastic about setting up a graduate school in Washington, with or without the approval of Tufts' trustees. Through the Diplomatic Affairs Foundation, of which he and Herter were both members, Hoskins also agreed to provide the proposed school with some organizing funds. Moreover, and perhaps most importantly, Hoskins was both a prominent academic and an imaginative administrator. Whereas Herter provided the motivating ideas, Hoskins worked on the actual development of the new school's curriculum, which would be modeled on Fletcher's but with greater emphasis on area studies. The curriculum would combine the old mainstays of history and international law with the study of economics, languages, and geographical regions.

One established international relations program did exist in Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service.
Founded in 1919 by Reverend Edmund A. Walsh, it was the oldest undergraduate school of international affairs in the United States. In 1938, the School of Foreign Service began offering a Master of Science in Foreign Service, but this did not conflict with Herter's concept. Georgetown's graduate program was very small, generally conservative, and Catholic in its orientation.

On September 17, 1943, Herter, Elliott, Grew, Hoskins, Nitze, and John Lockwood, who represented The Rockefeller Foundation, met at Washington's Metropolitan Club to consider the project for a national advanced training center in international affairs. There was talk of having the school controlled by a consortium of universities led by Harvard, but as Nitze later explained, Harvard did not want its assets diverted to Washington and vetoed the proposal. The other universities could not agree on how degrees from the school would be granted, so the founders decided to proceed independently. Secretary of State Cordell Hull apologized for not being able to attend the session but sent his blessings to the group through William Elliott.

Later that month, Herter and nine others set up the Foreign Service Educational Foundation to supervise and finance a school that would train "young Americans for world careers in government or business." The foundation's charter was thorough and all-encompassing in its aim to:

...promote, by the creation of a training center, school, or college, by support to existing training institutions, by special instruction, by research, by publication, by travel, and by any or all combinations of these methods, or by any other suitable means, the education and training of persons in the fields of government, business, international economic relations, international law, and such related fields as may fit them for better service in the foreign interest of this country at home or abroad.

Herter was elected chairman and Nitze treasurer of this core group of founders, which included Burling, Clayton, Grew, Harrison, Hoskins, and Elliott. William A.M. Burden, who then administered the Civil Aeronautics Administration and later served as ambassador to Belgium, and Coleman Jennings, president of Riggs Bank, joined the group.

Herter and the others eventually organized a Board of Trustees composed of highly respected leaders from government, law, business, and journalism, such as Frances Bolton, J. William Fulbright, Henry Luce, Charles E. Wilson, and Lewis L. Strauss.

By the end of 1943, the school had a charter and a name—the School of Advanced International Studies, soon affectionately known as "SAIS." "It rhymes with 'nice,'" said the founders. It is "sesquipedalian," said Time magazine.

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The old Gunston Hall, a school for girls on Florida Avenue, N.W., was the first home of the School of Advanced International Studies.

After the school was established as a legal entity, the next steps were to raise money, find a building, and recruit faculty members, students, and a staff.

Herter found the building on Florida Avenue to house the school. It was the former Gunston Hall School for Girls, a decaying but delightful old mansion. After SAIS moved in, the basketball court became a library. A neighboring building at 1930 Nineteenth Street was later purchased in 1949 for additional classrooms and offices. Classes were scheduled to begin in September 1944 but were delayed until October because the Brazilian military mission, which had rented offices in the building, refused to move until SAIS found space for them elsewhere. In the meantime, Hoskins’ assistant, Priscilla Mason, and the school’s accountant conducted business in what Mason called “a nasty little room” on the fifth floor on the Covington and Burling law firm on Fifteenth Street.

Herter and Nitze went door to door to convince their friends in the business world to support the school. The war was ending, they said, and the U.S. had new obliga-
Philp H. Watts, a member of the SAIS Advisory Council for more than thirty years, aided in the school’s fundraising efforts in the early days.

Beginning in 1946, they were joined by two men, Philip H. Watts and William McChesney Martin, Jr., who played a critical role in keeping the school solvent. Watts, a close friend of both Herter and Nitze, became the foundation’s treasurer. For Watts, making ends meet during the school’s first years was a struggle and a challenge. “It was wonderful that professors stayed on because we didn’t know how we would pay them,” he later recalled. When the school was firmly on its feet in 1950, Watts joined Nitze at the State Department as the executive secretary of the Policy Planning Staff. He later became a partner in Alex, Brown and Sons but continued his close association with SAIS until his death in 1986.

Martin joined the foundation’s board when he was running the Export-Import Bank. Later, as chairman of the Federal Reserve’s Board of Governors from 1951 to 1970, he continued to keep an eye on the school’s money supply as well as the nation’s. Martin, like Watts, became a longtime member of the Foreign Service Educational Foundation and later of the school’s Advisory Council.

* * * * *

A minor scandal surrounded Hoskins’ move from Fletcher to SAIS; not only did the Fletcher dean “defect,” but he also brought what Fletcher claimed was a sizable part of its library collection with him. His assistant, Priscilla Mason, herself a Fletcher graduate, denied any hint of wrongdoing—she estimated that only five hundred to one thousand books were involved. “You see,” she said, “the books were the property of the Diplomatic Affairs Foundation and not Fletcher. Though the books were on deposit at Fletcher, the foundation had every right to move them at will.” Although technically they belonged to the foundation, the fact that Hoskins was dean of Fletcher and treasurer of the
Majid Khadduri, left, was the first professor and director of the Middle East Studies Program at SAIS, and William T. Phillips, professor of international economics, was a codirector of the Rangoon-Hopkins Center.

foundation when the books were removed raised some eyebrows and tempers at Fletcher. It would be years before relations between the two schools improved. Ultimately, a Fletcher School graduate would become the fourth dean of SAIS, but that is getting ahead of the story.

The New York-based Diplomatic Affairs Foundation had been set up in 1939 to finance international education. It invited Hoskins to be its treasurer soon after it was founded so it would be closely tied to Fletcher, an appropriate recipient for its funds. Christian Herter, Joseph Grew, Brown University President Henry Wriston, and Priscilla Mason's mother, Mrs. Elsa Mason, also became directors. When the Foreign Service Educational Foundation was established soon after, the two groups shared several board members and the bursar and focused on similar activities.

Also on the board of the Diplomatic Affairs Foundation was George Camp Keiser, an architect who was keenly interested in the Middle East. Determined to fill what he saw as a gaping hole in the American public's consciousness, he channeled his money through the foundation to found the Middle East Institute, which was located in the SAIS building and shared its library with the school. It paid the salaries of Edwin Wright and Majid Khadduri, two professors who taught courses on the region, and provided funds for students. Even after the Middle East In-
stitute became independent in 1953, Keiser remained on the SAIS advisory board; conversely, Khadduri and several SAIS alumni were to be members of Middle East Institute’s Board of Directors through the next forty years.

The Diplomatic Affairs Foundation was dissolved in 1948 when its directors felt their aims would be better furthered through the Foreign Service Educational Foundation.

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When Herter, Nitze, and the others planned SAIS, they envisioned a small school with up to seventy-five American students and five or six full-time professors, supplemented by part-time lecturers. Teachers would be drawn from government, business, and other universities. When the school opened, thirteen professors and part-time lecturers taught twenty-three students; the tiny size of the program led to an unusually close rapport between students and faculty.

Hajo Holborn, the eminent historian, taught the core areas of diplomacy and international relations in 1944 and again in 1949. Eugene Staley taught international economic relations along with Herbert Feis, an adviser to Cordell Hull, and Samuel Van Valkenberg came from Clark University to teach geography for two years.

By 1949, five full-time professors were in residence teaching U.S. foreign policy, diplomacy and international relations, international law,

* * * * *

Early faculty members included, from left, C. Grove Haines, who taught diplomatic history, Philip W. Thayer, who taught international commercial law, and John Loftus, professor of American foreign policy and international economics.
Paul Linebarger, professor of Asian studies, wrote mystery novels under the pen name of Cordwainer Smith.

international economics, and five geographical areas—the Far East, the Middle East, Latin America, the Soviet Union, and Europe.

Philip Warren Thayer, soon to play an influential role as the school’s first dean, came in 1946 to teach courses on international commercial law. A Harvard A.B. and L.L.B., Thayer from 1920 to 1930 was the only American lawyer in British Malay. He taught at Harvard’s law and business schools and at Fletcher, where he wrote his case book, The Law Merchant.

The eccentric and colorful Paul Linebarger taught courses on the Far East and on psychological warfare until his death in 1966. Linebarger was a tall, thin man who spent many years in China where his father, Judge Paul Myron Wentworth Linebarger, was legal adviser to Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Linebarger was extremely conservative in his views (he was a close friend of Chiang Kai-shek) and eclectic in his interests. Besides being a professor who deeply influenced his students, he was an ex-cia courier, had taken courses on television repair, and had written, on the sly, dozens of science fiction short stories and books under the pen name of Cordwainer Smith. After his death, his wife, Genevieve, discovered that Cordwainer had a large fan club, and she continued writing under his name for several more years.

The names and idiosyncracies of Linebarger’s cats frequently showed up in the characters of his stories. As many as ten cats would wander over the students Linebarger invited to his home for informal lectures. “I went to Linebarger’s house once,” said Richard A. Melville ’59, “and fled. Those cats smelled awful.” Linebarger was also infamous for not wanting women in his class because they were distracting, and for popping out his glass eye and throwing it on the floor to attract the attention of daydreaming students.

Professor John Loftus, with a degree from Hopkins, taught U.S. foreign policy and international economics until 1951 when he became an economic consultant in Bangkok. Linebarger described him as one “who had a knack of getting out a cigarette and failing to light it for most of the teaching hour, so that students were torn between their
suspend at waiting for a book of matches and their desire to follow his tough, professional exposition of economics.”

Professor Majid Khadduri distinguished himself by creating at SAIS in 1950 the country’s first graduate program on the modern Middle East and by teaching at SAIS longer than anyone else. He finally went into “semiretirement” in 1980 while working on his fifteenth book in English. He also wrote ten books in Arabic. Khadduri, who was a member of Iraq’s delegation to the 1945 U.N. Conference in San Francisco, established an international reputation as an expert in Islamic law. He was a student of Quincy Wright at the University of Chicago and also participated in the founding of the University of Libya. Khadduri took a strong interest in his students, freely offering guidance and support. His advice must have worked since several of his former pupils went on to top-level jobs, including Elie Salem ’53 as Lebanese foreign minister, Soliman Solaim ’70 as Saudi Arabia’s minister of commerce, and Samuel Lewis ’54 and Hermann Eilts ’47 as the U.S. ambassadors to Egypt and Israel at the time of the 1979 Camp David peace talks. Others became successful scholars. Manfred Halpern ’48 (Ph.D.) joined Princeton’s faculty in 1958, and Panayiotis Vatikiotis ’53 (Ph.D.) became a professor in the University of London’s Oriental and African program. Malcolm Kerr ’56 (Ph.D.) enjoyed a successful career at UCLA before being named president of the American University of Beirut. Tragically, he was slain by gunmen in January 1984.

C. Grove Haines was a charismatic, congenial expert on modern European history, who would later found and direct the SAIS Bologna Center. He had taught history at Syracuse University and edited The American Review. His classes were popular among students, who appreciated his accessibility along with his mastery of Italian cooking; he often invited students to meals, which Haines prepared as carefully as his lectures.

Finally there was William T. Phillips, another powerful figure who epitomized the ideal SAIS professor: an excellent teacher with a wealth of government experience. Phillips left for Washington in 1942 after completing his Ph.D. at Cornell, teaching there and at the University of New Hampshire. He worked as senior economist at the Office of Price Administration before becoming involved in the Marshall Plan’s development as deputy coordinator of foreign aid programs and director of security and market policy on President Truman’s Materials Policy Commission. While at SAIS, Phillips taught popular courses in international economics, set up the school’s Rangoon Center in 1953, and founded the school’s Institute for International Development in 1958.

Phillips’ adventures in economic development continued after he left SAIS in 1961 for Malaysia, where he was in charge of Prime Minister Tengku Abdul Rahman’s Economic Planning Unit. In 1965, for
his role in creating Malaysia's first five-year development plan, Phillips became the second American to be invested as *dato* or lord, by King Syed Putra.

The part-time professors who came to teach in the first five years were the first in a long procession of notable practitioners and scholars who would impress several generations of students. They included Simon Hansen, somewhat of an iconoclast for his criticism of American business practices in Latin America; Willis Armstrong, then director of the State Department's Office of International Trade and Resources; Donald Hiss, an international lawyer at Covington and Burling and brother of the controversial Alger; Carl Spaeth and John Dickey, respectively the future dean of Stanford's law school and president of Dartmouth; and Edwin Wright, an eloquent and erudite lecturer on Turkey and Iran, who was adviser to the assistant secretary of state for the Middle East.

The students were challenged by the opportunity to study events, issues, and policies under many of the people who played a role in shaping them. Young Francis Wilcox, who would become dean in 1961, taught courses on international organizations soon after returning from the 1945 U.N. Conference, where he accompanied Senators Vandenberg and Connally. Clair Wilcox (no relation to Francis), a professor of economics from Swarthmore College, taught courses on the development of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which he had helped to draft as director of the State Department's Office of International Trade Policy from 1945 to 1948.

In the early years students could obtain a Masters of Arts in one year, after completing four full courses, one language course, two long research papers, and two oral exams—one in a foreign language and the other in their fields of focus. The latter exam was a grueling session with various faculty members that lasted almost all afternoon.

From the very start, SAIS was authorized by the District of Colum-

*Francis O. Wilcox, an architect and advocate of the United Nations, taught courses on international organizations for many years and would later become the second dean of SAIS.*
bia to award the doctor of philosophy degree, a staggering feat for a brand new institution with no proven record of academic excellence. The school regarded the Ph.D. as a “professional” degree “intended only for those to whose vocational plans it is essential,” according to the 1949–50 catalogue. The program remained very small until the late 1960s; only three Ph.D.s (in diplomatic history, foreign policy, and Japanese thought) were awarded before 1950, and only ten more were awarded in the following thirteen years.

The language program was a novelty, not only because SAIS was one of the few American graduate schools that required proficiency but because of the variety of languages offered and the colorful figures it attracted. Although from 1944 to 1946 language study in either Russian or German was considered an extracurricular activity, by 1947 “comprehensive knowledge” in French, Spanish, or German was required for the M.A. degree. In 1948, classical and colloquial Arabic appeared in the course guide along with Turkish, Persian, Portuguese, Chinese, Hindustani, Italian, and Japanese. Thai, Indonesian, Vietnamese and, of course, English have also been taught at various times, usually by native speakers, and sometimes without books.

Alexander Klieforth, a veteran of the Office of Strategic Services, began the program and could teach nearly all the languages himself, since he spoke at least seven, including Flemish, Finnish, German, Dutch, and Russian. He was succeeded in 1949 by Princess Sophie Toumanoff, known simply as Madame Toumanoff, who taught Russian until she was stricken with cancer in 1951. Madame Toumanoff had been the lady-in-waiting to the last Russian tsarina, and her husband was a prince who had tried to assassinate Rasputin.

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Other educational experiments at SAIS met with mixed success. The Foreign Service Training Center was established on Herter’s hope that businesses would send employees to SAIS for training, thereby benefiting the businesses’ overseas investment strategies as well as the school’s coffers. It failed because companies were not interested in losing their employees for a year, especially when they could simply hire SAIS graduates.

The Post-Hostilities Senior Officers Training Course was offered for a year to fifteen colonels to prepare them for the occupation of Germany. They studied German history, politics, and economics under Hajo Holborn, a longtime professor at Yale. He emigrated to the United States in 1934 and later worked for the OSS. His interest in power and its responsible use provided an intellectual foundation for younger American historians interested in Europe. The family name would reappear at SAIS in 1967 when his son, Frederick, an expert on American
foreign policy, came to continue his father’s tradition of thorough scholarly inquiry.

Unfortunately, the colonels themselves were not as well admired. Priscilla Mason remarked that the whiskey bottles they left in the gutters of the building might lead to dangerous flooding.

The Conferences for Corporation Executives, developed by Herter and directed successfully by Philip Watts (1947–50), Hamilton Robinson (1950–52), William Schmeisser (1952–55), Hobart Spalding (1955–57), Doris Jackson (1958–66), and Barbara Burns (1966–69), not only survived but flourished. They were designed as a service to current corporate donors and to attract new contributors. The conferences also fulfilled the founders’ goal of creating a forum where businessmen could hold off-the-record talks with government officials and academics. A typical conference consisted of a one- or two-day session where more than one hundred conferees discussed everything from technical problems encountered by growing multinationals to the rationale for U.S. foreign policy towards a particular region. Dean Acheson, Christian Herter, John F. Kennedy, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and W. Averell Harriman were among those who spoke in the 1950s and 1960s.

* * * * *

In the late 1940s, the SAIS community was small and close. Because of the war, more than half of the first class of twenty-three students were women, which probably distressed a few founders who did not want to admit women at all. Women, they felt, would marry and thus be a poor investment. These minority views went unheeded, although

The class of 1946 was the second class to graduate from SAIS.
the percentage of women students after the war remained noticeably low until the mid-1960s. The founders also had little interest in recruiting non-Americans in the early years since the purpose of the school was to train young Americans. Until the mid-1950s, when this view began to change with the formation of SAIS programs in Southeast Asia and Italy, only a handful of foreign students passed through the school.

Many students in the first class came from Fletcher, others were attracted by advertisements, and all of them took a risk since the school did not receive accreditation until just before the first graduation in 1945. Tuition was $250 a semester until 1950 when it jumped to $300. Many students, though, were covered by the G.I. Bill of Rights which may have kept the school afloat since few students had much money. “We didn’t even have money for clothes,” said James Knight ’47, a former executive vice president of Aramco. “We were all wearing Army pants or Army shirts, or parts of uniforms.”

The ex-G.I.s who came to SAIS worked hard and played hard. “Everybody had just come back from the war and we all wanted to let off steam,” said Robert O. Blake ’47. In class, students were competitive and driven. They wanted to know the answers, they wanted to get to the heart of the issues, and above all they wanted to finish school so they could begin making policy—and money. After class students often adjourned to the local bars, such as Fan and Bill’s on Connecticut Avenue, to nurse a few beers, sing songs and, as Blake remembers, “raise hell.”

Until 1947, the men and women lived separately, of course, in the dormitories on the top two floors of the Florida Avenue building. Soon, enrollment of male students increased, and women were forced to fend for themselves. Several ended up living nearby in a quaint house owned by two elderly sisters, the former headmistresses of the old Gunston Hall school. Back in the dorms, the hell-raising continued, along with the late-night bull sessions on world affairs, sometimes with a visitor like Christian Herter or William McChesney Martin. “Jim Hurd (’47) used to hang by his heels from the firescape,” remembered Blake, “and you could see him looking in your window, upside down.”

Many lifelong friendships and prominent careers germinated in the early classes. Knight recalled six marriages, including his own to Anne Oehm, within the class of ’47. That class also contained four future ambassadors: Robert Blake became the ambassador to Mali, Patricia Byrne to Burma, Hermann Eilts to Egypt, and William Steadman to Bolivia. The majority of students took jobs with the State Department, the CIA, and multinational oil companies.

If SAIS resembled an enlarged family at the time, Priscilla Mason was clearly a parent, a house mother for both students and faculty. She served as administrative assistant to Hoskins and later to two deans
before retiring in 1967. “Priscilla Mason is the history of SAIS,” said Aldus Chapin ’54. Indeed, for more than two decades, Mason helped with registration, financial aid, admissions, fundraising, academic administration—and building maintenance.

It was Mason who was the nurse when a flu epidemic attacked the dorm. It was Mason who had women washing their hair at her home when the prewar furnace exploded one night, shaking the students out of their beds and the library books and dishes off their shelves. And it was Mason who cooked for seventy people three days in a row when the cook quit during the summer in the midst of a heat wave. When asked who really ran the school, many alumni responded, “the dean and Priscilla Mason,” though not necessarily in that order.

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Like many other Washington families, SAIS went north to New England for the summer, from 1946 to 1950, when sessions were held in Peterborough, New Hampshire. The sessions were held in yet another former girls’ school, Kendall Hall, complete with swimming pool, gardens, tennis courts, and a stable-turned-library. The men stayed in a large, turn-of-the-century house built on the old town common, overlooking southern New Hampshire’s Mount Monadnock, while women stayed in a smaller house, which they called The Hovel.

Classes were held under the trees, and there were picnics, walks in the woods, croquet games, tennis matches and, of course, romance.
Hajo Holborn, third from left, led seminars at the summer session in Peterborough in 1946.

Faculty members and their offspring often lunched on the lawn.
As Professor Linebarger once noted, "The atmosphere at Peterborough was an interesting mixture of a scout camp and a graduate school." Yet this was no lazy summer in the woods. Many of the heavyweight professors spent their summers there, including Haines, Thayer, Loftus, Linebarger, Armstrong, Francis Wilcox, and Hajo Holborn. The sixty or so students took two regional courses and studied French, German, Spanish, Russian, or Arabic.

A group of local residents contributed some $8,000 each year to the program in return for hearing Sunday night lectures by SAIS' visitors in the local Unitarian Church. Young Richard Nixon came to speak once, although he was forced to scramble back to Washington after Truman called an emergency session of Congress to discuss the situation in Korea. Unfortunately, the summer session, even with local aid, became too expensive. It was also unwieldy to organize since a large portion of the SAIS library had to be boxed and trucked up to Peterborough each summer.

This pleasant retreat came to an end in 1950. After 1951, sessions that focused on a single issue or area were held in Washington. Although the locale was far less idyllic, critical issues of the day were addressed. The program in 1952 was devoted to Southeast Asia; George Kennan and Robert N. Carew Hunt spoke at the 1953 session on Soviet imperialism; and in 1954, the program focused on contemporary Africa.

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By 1948, the subject of a conversation held in Georgetown over breakfast five years earlier had transformed itself into an established institution. Hoskins and Mason ran the school, although Herter often stopped by to confer on administrative matters or talk with students. He also found time to raise badly needed funds from the corporate world while in the midst of a congressional debate over proposals for the Marshall Plan.

A brief cloud settled on SAIS when Hoskins abruptly resigned as director in 1948. According to Khadduri, Hoskins resigned over "irreconcilable differences" between him and Herter. Others familiar with the resignation alluded to charges of financial mismanagement involving Hoskins's relationship to SAIS as its director and to the Middle East Institute as its treasurer. In any event, Hoskins left abruptly to become a senior specialist in international relations at the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. He also taught Middle East studies at American University until his retirement in 1967.

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Philip Thayer was appointed as the school's first dean after Hoskins departed. One of the first problems Thayer faced was a critical lack
of money. The directors of the Foreign Service Educational Foundation had voted to extend SAIS beyond its five-year trial period, which was an act of faith considering the school had no endowment, no great prospects of obtaining one, and was essentially operating on a hand-to-mouth, year-by-year basis. Herter had tried to raise $2.5 million, but foundations were skittish about funding an independent, nonaffiliated graduate institution. Gradually, the trustees realized that linking up with a first-rate university would be the best way to insure a long-term flow of funds. Additional incentive came from the Carnegie Foundation, which promised SAIS $60,000 if the school explored the possibility of affiliation.

SAIS began shopping around at Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Johns Hopkins. The most responsive was Hopkins, which at the time had been wondering what to do with its slowly dying Walter Hines Page School of International Relations. The courtship between the two institutions intensified as each realized the other provided a perfect solution to its problems.

From SAIS’ perspective, Hopkins was a respected university known for its programs in medicine, public health, and arts and sciences, among others. Founded in 1876, Hopkins was the first American university to establish graduate research as a major academic function. The university’s famous Johns Hopkins Hospital boasted a long list of firsts in medical history, including the first major heart surgery and the first direct blood transfusion. Not only could SAIS complement the other graduate centers at Hopkins but the university’s location in Baltimore also made it more attractive than the other prospects.

For Hopkins, SAIS was the answer to its desire to build a first-rate program in international affairs. The Page School had been set up in 1930 by relatives of the former U.S. ambassador to England to conduct research in international relations. Professor Frederick Sherwood Dunn directed the Page School in the mid-thirties and later went on to organize similar centers at both Yale and Princeton. The school, however, never could fulfill its mission. The 1929 stock market crash severely shrunk its original endowment, until, as Linebarger noted, “it provided little more than a letterhead and part-time salary for Dunn.”

Dunn left and was succeeded by Owen Lattimore, a writer, explorer, and expert on Mongolia who spent almost twenty years in East Asia after leaving Harvard. Under Lattimore’s direction, from 1938 to 1941 and again from 1944 to 1952, the school’s focus shifted increasingly toward China. By 1950, Hopkins realized that key topics in international relations were largely overlooked. SAIS’ overture was timely.

The integration of SAIS into Johns Hopkins occurred in 1950 after Hopkins President Detlev W. Bronk and Christian Herter agreed that SAIS would continue essentially in its existing form as a graduate divi-
The demise of the Page School was only one of Lattimore's problems since he had become the target of Senator Joseph McCarthy. In 1950, while looking for someone to blame for the "fall of China," McCarthy's gaze rested on Lattimore, whom he accused of being "the top Soviet agent in this country" and the principal architect of U.S. policy to the Far East, which, McCarthy said, had delivered China to the communists. McCarthy's flimsy charges were fueled by Lattimore's criticism of the autocratic nature of Chiang Kai-shek's regime; Lattimore had spent nine months as Chiang's personal aide in 1941–42 before heading the Office of War Information's Pacific operations.

Lattimore, in turn, fought back with fury, calling McCarthy a "base and miserable creature," and the controversy persisted on the front pages of newspapers throughout the next five years. Johns Hopkins stood by Lattimore throughout the entire episode, granting him a leave of absence with pay in 1952 after he was indicted on seven counts of perjury. The indictments accused Lattimore of lying to the Senate internal security subcommittee when he denied being a promoter of communism. For the next three years Lattimore went through a legal nightmare as some charges against him were dismissed as unconstitutional, only to be followed by two new charges of perjury. Finally, in 1955, all charges were dropped.

Meanwhile, in 1953, the Page School was disbanded. Bronk's explanation that the closing was part of the university's "attempt to simplify its academic structure" was accurate, although it appeared to some at the time like an accommodation to McCarthy, considering the negative publicity surrounding Lattimore.

The new marriage was not without some early frictions. Hopkins professors were not pleased to discover a younger, new group of colleagues in a new division that retained the right to choose its own faculty members. Moreover, the economics faculty at Hopkins was dubious about the rigor of the SAIS program in international economics. Not only did they frown upon the idea of competition from SAIS but they felt that the SAIS economics faculty did not meet Hopkins' scholarly standards. The SAIS faculty did, in fact, include teachers who devoted more time to students than to research and publication. Thus they fulfilled the mandate of the school's founders to prepare a new generation of intelligent policymakers who would be well-versed in practical diplomacy. Over time, however, the focus on theoretical inquiry at SAIS
would widen as the fields of international relations and international economics grew as academic disciplines.

The passing of time eased the initial tensions between the two faculties. Because Johns Hopkins was relatively decentralized, SAIS was integrated into the university without a drastic change in its character. Lattimore's future brightened as well; he left Hopkins in 1963 for Leeds University in England where he set up a department in Chinese studies.
The Story of SAIS

Philip Warren Thayer became the first dean of SAIS in 1948, a post he held until 1961.
Expansion at Home and Abroad: 1950–61

During Dean Thayer’s tenure from 1948 to 1961, the faculty and the curriculum doubled. The school budget quintupled to over $1 million, and tuition fees jumped from $500 a year in 1948 to $1,450 by 1961. Enrollment rose by 20 percent to around ninety students.

SAIS also launched several new ventures, such as the prestigious Washington Center for Foreign Policy Research, the Institute for International Development, and the Carnegie Endowment Seminars in Diplomacy. It began publishing the quarterly SAIS Review. In 1963, when the Florida Avenue building was about to burst its seams, SAIS moved into a new eight-story building at 1740 Massachusetts Avenue, between the embassies of Chile and Canada. The school, during this period, began to establish a presence in other parts of the world as it opened centers in Bologna, Yogyakarta (then spelled Jogjakarta) and Rangoon.

This was the era of the Cold War and the Korean War. The first hydrogen bomb was detonated, Sputnik was launched, and just as new East-West lines were drawn, North-South issues emerged. It was the era of new military alliances—NATO, SEATO, and the Warsaw Pact. Between 1946 and 1960, thirty-seven nations were born out of decaying colonial empires in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. In response, theories of containment, deterrence, and development and definitions of nationalism, socialism, and communism were debated. Stalin died, Khrushchev visited, and Eisenhower, then Kennedy, took office. American direct private investment abroad had grown at an exponential rate and the military-industrial complex had come of age.

Dean Thayer sought to meet the challenge of the times by expanding the school’s faculty and curriculum while keeping the old core disciplines of international law and diplomatic history intact. The professors who came to SAIS in the early and mid-1950s reflected Thayer’s predilection for teachers who had government experience.
The Story of SAIS

Thayer himself in the early 1940s had been the acting chief of the State Department’s Division of World Trade Intelligence, a special assistant to the ambassador to Chile, and the cultural attaché in the U.S. Embassy in Santiago.

Thayer was an affable dean whose door was always open to students. He was also demanding. SAIS students took the same international law course Thayer taught to Harvard’s law students, and the briefings, mock trials, and team projects were rigorous. Aldus Chapin, a student of Thayer’s in 1953 who would later return as assistant dean in 1961, said he tried to hide behind a big football player, Woody Vest, in class so the dean would not call on him.

Choosing new faculty members was not a formal process undertaken by search committees. Appointments were often made after casual conversations among the dean, the faculty, and the staff. Three new professors were invited in this manner to teach at SAIS in the 1950s. The eminent Africanist, Vernon McKay, came to develop an African studies program in 1956. He taught courses on an Africa that would become a continent of twenty-six independent states by 1960. A shy Midwesterner who was a pioneer in his field, he had taught at Northwestern and Syracuse Universities before serving as deputy director of the State Department’s Office of Dependent Area Affairs.

McKay’s students represented the full political spectrum. One student, Chester Crocker ’65, went on to become assistant secretary of state for African affairs and the architect of President Reagan’s controversial policy of “constructive engagement” toward South Africa. Another, Lynn K. Mytelka ’66 (M.A.) ’71 (Ph.D.) became a scholar and author of highly critical analyses of the causes of underdevelopment in Africa. When McKay was not teaching his students, he often corralled them into a lunchtime bridge game, a passion of his.

In 1961, after being elected president of the African Studies Association, he organized a five-day UNESCO conference, “Africa and the U.S.: Images and Realities,” which drew more than seventeen hundred delegates. McKay, with the aid of staff member Maryllis Bartlett, also organized the Anglo-American Conference on Africa for British and Canadian parliamentarians and U.S. congressmen, popular annual meetings that continued from 1965 to 1975.

William C. Johnstone Jr., a large and commanding figure, arrived in 1953 to teach courses in Asian studies until his retirement in 1970. Johnstone had been dean of George Washington University’s School of Government before going on to India in 1945 as chief public affairs officer at the U.S. Embassy. He also spent two years directing the State Department’s Office of Educational Exchange where he promoted the use of foreign-exchange programs as an instrument of American policy.

“Professor-bureaucrat” was the self-designated label of E.A.J.
Johnson, whom Thayer recruited in 1959 from the Bologna Center. A Harvard-trained economic historian who had taught at several U.S. universities and had founded the *Journal of Economic History*, Johnson had been a civil-affairs officer for the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces during the war, and in 1946, he went to Korea as the third-ranking official in the military government.

Like Paul Linebarger, E.A.J. Johnson was an eccentric and colorful character, who sported a green beret and riding boots, even in class. Besides his passion for riding, Johnson loved hunting, wine-tasting, and antique-collecting. His portly bearing, little mustache, and penchant for carrying a decorative walking stick made Johnson a favorite target at the annual student Christmas skit.
Johnson introduced in the early sixties an extremely broad, interdisciplinary course, "The United States in a Changing World Environment." Students promptly renamed the course, "The Wide, Wide World." Thayer and the senior faculty had decided that students often lacked an integrated knowledge of economics, political science, diplomacy, technology, and foreign policy. All entering students were thus required to take the course, for which Johnson brought in a multitude of outside lecturers to talk about geographical, anthropological, religious, and regional aspects of the global community. Ultimately, in its grand attempt to cover broad intellectual terrain, the course became unfocused and vague in its mission; after a decade it disappeared from the curriculum but never from students' memories. Leslie Janka '64 felt that since everyone had to take the course, it served as a coalescing force for the student body. "One of my fondest memories was when I would sit on one side of the room and Simon Serfaty would sit on
Economic historian E.A.J. Johnson introduced an interdisciplinary course so broad it was nicknamed "The Wide, Wide World."

the other side, and the two of us competed to see who could ask the most nasty, critical, or perhaps humorous question in order to evince great skepticism about the speaker's credentials or his wisdom," he said. "We used to get E.A.J. rather upset with us for attacking his honored quests every week, but he was always a lot of fun."

Thayer, Johnstone, and Johnson became great friends. The trio sometimes enjoyed a martini or two at the Cosmos Club at lunchtime. The staff knew not to schedule admissions interviews in the early afternoons. McKay also frequented the Cosmos Club, though his objective was a good game of bridge.

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During the 1950s, the stage was set for broadening the school’s curriculum in area studies and in international economics. The Middle East program under Khadduri boasted the largest area studies program and some of the first Ph.D. students. By 1958, McKay's program offered fourteen courses on Africa. Linebarger still taught his timeless course on psychological warfare and other courses on Asia, and C. Grove Haines was the school's European expert.

Part-time professors, who primarily came from State, Treasury, and Commerce, played an important part in strengthening the school. Isaiah Frank came from the State Department every Saturday morning to teach courses on international economics from 1952 to 1963 when he became
that department's first director. A softspoken man with a strong interest in economic development, Frank spent eighteen years at State, where he headed its offices of International Trade Policy and International Financial and Development Affairs before being appointed deputy assistant secretary of state for economic affairs in 1962. During the Kennedy administration, Frank also served on the president's Task Force on Foreign Economic Assistance. Nine years later he directed Nixon's Commission on International Trade and Investment Policy. Under his guidance, the number of theoretical and quantitative economics courses at SAIS grew in line with the growing saliency of economic issues in foreign affairs.

Helmut Sonnenfeldt, left, who later taught at SAIS and became a well-known Soviet expert, and his classmates in 1952 took their weeks-long bridge game outdoors.
Many of the early faculty members who taught Soviet studies courses were part-timers drawn from the State Department. Herbert Block came from the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, and Willis Armstrong held various posts in the Economic Bureau. Mose Harvey, director of the Soviet and East European research office, was succeeded by his deputy, Boris Klosson. He, in turn, was followed by his staffer, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, a 1952 SAIS student of Harvey’s. Sonnenfeldt continued teaching the Soviet courses until he was assigned to the National Security Council in 1969; subsequently he became counselor of the State Department.

Andrew Kamarck, a pioneer in the study of African economic development, taught at SAIS from 1956 to 1976 while filling a variety of important posts at The World Bank. He was the bank’s first economic adviser on Africa, and directed its Economics Department and Economic Development Institute.

Italian-born Victor Sullam was a courtly, pleasant teacher whose courses clearly evolved with the times; they ranged from “Economic Problems of Postwar Western Europe” in 1951 to “European Integration” in 1972. Sullam, an engineer by training and an economist by trade, became an advocate of the SAIS Bologna Center, and helped it obtain funding from the State Department and the U.S. Agency for International Development.

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Paul Nitze returned from the Policy Planning Staff at the State Department in 1953 to teach “Concepts of Foreign Policy” as a visiting lecturer and to succeed Christian Herter as president of the Foreign Service Educational Foundation. In 1954, he became chairman of the SAIS Advisory Committee (later called the Advisory Council), which had evolved from the foundation. Herter, meanwhile, departed Congress and SAIS in 1953 after he was elected governor of Massachusetts. Indeed, the two friends, one a Democrat and the other a Republican, continued to move in opposite directions between the school and the government. In 1961, Herter returned to SAIS after serving as Eisenhower’s secretary of state just as Nitze was appointed Kennedy’s assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs. Herter once again took over Nitze’s duties at SAIS.

The political differences between the two had, however, been resolved long before, over one of their leisurely breakfasts. “One day while we were having breakfast together I read Chris an editorial in the Washington Post that described the importance of a reduction in the wool tariffs, and how this was necessary if we were going to get the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs to work,” said Nitze, who strongly opposed these tariffs. Herter, as a congressman from a state
with a large textile industry, would naturally favor high wool tariffs.

"Here's an editorial in the Post that expresses my point of view more clearly than anything that has appeared in the public press," Nitze said.

Herter responded, "How do you think he got the ideas for this editorial?"

"I have no idea."

"Well, he got them all from me, and I got them all from you!"

"This is totally contrary to what you have been saying to the public and what you have been saying to me every day at breakfast," exclaimed Nitze.

"Just because I have to take certain positions for political reasons doesn't mean I can't think!" Herter retorted.

In 1962, Herter and Nitze were appointed within the same administration for the first time when Herter accepted the newly created position of special representative for trade negotiations.

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From 1953 to 1982, the language program was directed by Lisbeth Stevens, a lawyer from Vienna who also helped teach the course on comparative legal systems. "It was a very congenial occupation, less for the money and more for the entertainment," she said. "I fell in love with working with the students; they were so willing to work and the classes were very small."

It was fortunate that the students were so willing to work because Stevens immediately raised the standards of the program. She insisted that students graduate with an ability to discuss political and economic issues in at least one other language. She said that most standard textbooks of the time were inadequate or "dopey...German texts with lessons about bicycle tours to nice parts of Germany were clearly unsuitable." She and her staff developed their own materials, which were supplemented with articles from newspapers like Die Zeit or Le Monde.

Throughout most of the 1950s the final language exam was a difficult affair that many failed on their first and even second attempts. Students were examined by their language teachers and by two or three outsiders, who often came from embassies. There was an oral and a written exam, and in both cases dictionaries were strictly verboten.

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The student body slowly became more international during Dean Thayer's time. The class of 1958, for example, included students from Egypt, India, Indonesia, Italy, Lebanon, and Pakistan.

Women no longer stood out as unusual creatures, since by 1964
they represented almost 30 percent of the class. Marian Naifeh was one of six women who graduated in 1950, when things were different. “It was hell,” she said with a smile, not because of overt discrimination, but because of the exaggerated politeness. “My first day at SAIS I entered the cafeteria and all the men stood up as I made my way across the room. It was the hardest walk I’ve ever taken,” she said.

In the late forties and early fifties, when money was still scarce, a few students would dine on candy bars while waiting for their monthly G.I. Bill checks. Public events offering free food were always popular, as were married students who had amenities like kitchens. However, poverty hardly prevented students from having active social lives. They spent their evenings playing bridge, partying, going to professors’ homes for barbecues, or just talking late into the night. McKay would play bartender at his annual October party, Haines had students over for green pasta on St. Patrick’s Day, and Linebarger, of course, served Chinese food on any occasion.

SAIS business manager Tom Hugo, the watchdog of the school’s coffers from 1951 to 1980, organized an American tour for three Italian
The Story of SAIS

Luis Crespo, left, sometimes taught his 1951–52 Spanish language class in Rock Creek Park.

G. Donald Johnston, Jr., '52, worked with Jerry Rubin on research papers on the school’s porch.
students one summer. Hugo, a member of the Lions Club, arranged to have the students give presentations on Italy at various chapters around the country. In return, the students were housed with members' families in the cities of their choice. Traveling in a rickety old Ford with barely enough life to get its passengers to their destinations, the students—whom Hugo called the "roamin' Romans"—thoroughly explored the American hinterland.

The annual Christmas party with its infamous student skits was the big social event of the year. Almost everyone, especially senior faculty members, was lampooned by students, who had studiously recorded every idiosyncracy and mannerism. "The students put a lot of emphasis on these plays and productions and often provided a pianist or a small band," recalled Robert E. Hall. "Everybody got into the act. All the rooms were used for costume changes, and there always was a chorus line."

Bob Hall had witnessed these parties both as student and an administrator. Nine years after he graduated in 1950, he returned as the school's director of alumni relations and development, a post he would hold for the next twenty-five years. Hall was a backbone of the staff, in charge of working with corporations, alumni, and foundations in order to broaden the school’s financial support. Like Priscilla Mason, Bob Hall was a walking history of the school and knew more about the place than the walls. He especially reveled in the anecdotes that were not publishable. From his student days, when he packed library books for Peterborough, through years of befriending and advising...
students and alumni, Hall was involved in every twist and turn in the school’s growth. Years later, his retirement would fall in the 1984 election season, and a few hundred well-wishers would hold a campaign party for him at SAIS, parading through the school’s lobby with balloons and Bob Hall (Bob’s the Beef) banners, singing Bob Hall songs, and making Bob Hall campaign speeches.

During the Thayer years, over half of the students opted for careers in government. The most sought-after jobs were those in the State Department, the Pentagon, the CIA and on Capitol Hill. Other students, particularly those who studied the Middle East, were courted by large multinationals. Jobs were easy to find, and SAIS students acquired a reputation for being well versed in international issues.

“'The State Department used to notify me each year about the SAIS record in the foreign service examinations,’” recalled Johns Hopkins University President Milton Eisenhower many years later. “'It showed that less than 20 percent of applicants from all schools taking the written examination passed, but as many as eighteen out of nineteen applicants from SAIS passed.'”

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In this period, Hoskins’ vision of establishing separate area studies institutes was revived on a far more grandiose scale. Not only did SAIS establish centers in Burma, Indonesia, and Italy but it explored—and ultimately decided against—the feasibility of setting up programs in Egypt, Singapore, India, and Pakistan.

Dean Thayer was the motivating force behind the centers established in Southeast Asia. In 1951, he spent three months visiting the countries of the region while teaching international commercial law at the University of Rangoon and made arrangements with the university’s rector, Htin Aung, to establish a joint center, which would be codirected by the rector and by a senior faculty member from SAIS. The center would furnish a field base for SAIS graduates while helping the University of Rangoon develop courses and graduate research in international relations.

Htin Aung and Sardjito, the founding president of Indonesia’s Gadjah Madah University who had studied public health at Johns Hopkins, came to SAIS in 1952 to attend a summer conference and to further discuss the possibility of joint enterprises with Thayer. The closing speech at the conference on “'The Role of American Universities in Southeast Asia,’” by New York University Provost Rufus H. Smith, aptly foreshadowed Thayer’s plans.

In 1954, the Rangoon-Hopkins Center, known as “'Ranhop,’” opened with William Phillips as the faculty codirector. John P. Arm-
strong succeeded him in 1956; William Johnstone was the codirector from 1957 until 1959.

Phillips arrived in Rangoon with three SAIS students, Gene Reese, David Pfanner and Joseph Fischer. A fourth student, Wingate Lloyd, joined them in 1955 and nine others passed through Ranhop before it closed. Thayer solved the problem of funding by getting help from the CIA during the center's early years. Later, The Rockefeller Foundation and the Rand Corporation provided the bulk of funds for Ranhop. In 1960, the Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs offered almost $500,000 in PL 480 funds for school's Southeast Asian programs, but the centers closed before the money was disbursed.

Although the CIA was obviously interested in Burma, a country whose unstable government, neutralist foreign policy, and vociferous procommunist elements gave it a heightened importance during the Cold War period, Ranhop was hardly a major front for intelligence-gathering.

"We had no directives to do anything, and we would only turn in an occasional report," said Joe Fischer. "The U.S. government had very little representation anywhere in Asia at the time, which is why the demands were fairly modest. Also, there wasn't that much concern on our part about working for the government at the time. SAIS was involved in preparing people for the government anyways," he explained. "The dean wanted to have a graduate program in Southeast Asia, so funding from the CIA was probably the easiest way to do it. It was a time when the U.S. was anxious to get people studying those areas, and it was easy to get money from the government for overseas projects."

The University of Rangoon in Burma was the home of SAIS' first overseas program, the Rangoon-Hopkins Center, which operated from 1954 to 1959.
The center itself was a cluster of classrooms, offices, and a library where Burmese students could study international economics and international relations while pursuing research projects. Lloyd, for example, studied village economies, and Fischer studied Buddhism. Students traveled around to small villages, participated in the “monsoon madness” tennis matches at the U.S. Embassy, and befriended Burmese students. Johnstone sent letters to the SAIS Review describing family trips around the country. “White and gold pagodas crowned every hillock in the distance and the passengers became relaxed and gay,” he wrote of a trip down the Salween River to the Gulf of Martaban, “for it was the time of the water festival in Burma and everyone on board was on vacation.”

“It was a great benefit for me to have this experience in Asia,” said Lloyd, a former foreign service officer who later became ITT’s director of international relations. “I learned a great deal about Buddhism, about microeconomics, colonialism, and racial relationships in a society of Moslem-Indians, Hindu-Indians, Confucian-Chinese, Confucian-Burmese, Christian-Burmese, and Buddhist-Burmese.”

The small Ranhop Center did make some contributions to the University of Rangoon. A large regional conference the center sponsored in 1955 on “Nationalism and Progress in Free Asia” brought together educators from Burma, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand to discuss regional issues and to create the Association of Institutions of Higher Learning in Southeast Asia. The center also established an open-shelf lending library with two thousand books on Southeast Asia and international relations, a valuable contribution in a country whose own scholarly resources had been devastated by the war.

The center came to an abrupt end in April 1959, just as it was establishing itself as a viable branch of Rangoon University. In 1958, the military under General Ne Win had been invited to take over the government for six months because Premier U Nu was losing control of his ruling Anti-Fascist People’s Freedom League, economic development was proceeding too slowly, and outbreaks of violence and strikes made civil war likely. Once in power, Ne Win refused to schedule elections until 1960. He restaffed government agencies and quashed the “people’s struggle” undertaken by the communist National Unity Front, which included a large number of Burmese students.

The center closed along with the rest of the university following a wave of student protests. SAIS considered resuming the operation, but Johnstone was pessimistic about its survival. “If we do not have assurances of necessary dollar support for what we know can be an adequate and effective program, then we should not undertake it at all and concentrate on the home front,” he wrote to Thayer in 1960. It
Expansion at Home and Abroad: 1950–61

Dean Philip Thayer, wearing a turban, and several staff and faculty members lined up for a group photo at a party with the class of 1954.

was a wise decision in the long run, since a few years later Ne Win tossed the Ford and Asia Foundations out of the country and suspended Fulbright activities while implementing his “Burmese way to socialism.”

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The Indonesian project, also arranged by Thayer, was based on a 1957 agreement with the Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta calling for a senior SAIS faculty member and three graduate students to organize an international studies program as part of the university’s social science faculty. Since SAIS did not operate an autonomous center, the program in Indonesia was less expensive than Ranhop. Funding from the U.S. government was unnecessary; salaries were paid by SAIS and Gadjah Mada.

The SAIS presence in Indonesia was more of an adventure for those involved than an orderly program. Three young M.A. graduates ran the operation during its short life. John P. Armstrong went to Gadjah Mada for a year after his stint at Ranhop and was the only professor to spend time there. Joe Fischer had just returned to Washington in 1956 after his two years in Rangoon. When Thayer told him about Gadjah Mada, Fischer repacked his bags and returned to the East. He taught the history of Europe, the history of education, and social science research to one thousand students in hot, dusty, zinc-roofed classrooms with the help of three Indonesian graduate assistants who translated his lectures. Kenneth Neff and Donald Weatherbee arrived in late 1957 to teach along with Fisher.

“It was ridiculous what we were teaching, which was anything the
dean asked us to teach," said Weatherbee, a writer on Southeast Asian affairs who went on to hold a chair in contemporary foreign policy at the University of South Carolina. "I taught courses in the international relations of East Asia, international organization, Asian history, and international politics."

However unqualified they thought they were, Fischer, Neff, and Weatherbee worked hard and did a good job. In 1958, sixty Indonesian foreign service trainees were sent to the SAIS program after the Foreign Service Academy was closed. Many went on to become senior Indonesian officials. Fischer also drummed up money from The Rockefeller Foundation to set up a small history library in the university's Faculty of Literature and Social Sciences.

Ultimately, Weatherbee, the last of the trio to leave Gadjah Mada, was forced to disband the program in 1961 in the face of increasing harassment from the Indonesian government. U.S.-Indonesian relations had steadily deteriorated during the 1950s as Indonesian nationalism crested. U.S. policymakers feared a tilt toward communism and viewed Prime Minister Sukarno's 1955 Bandung initiative with great displeasure. Meanwhile, American covert assistance to dissidents in Sulawesi and Sumatra in 1958 antagonized Sukarno. Anti-American sentiment swelled throughout Indonesia.

Weatherbee remembered 1960 as especially tense. "The minister of education, who was sympathetic to the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party), decreed that no one from the capitalist countries should be teaching social sciences in Indonesia," he explained. "Anti-American demonstrations increased. One morning we found our dog had been poisoned. Another day we found our houses plastered with anti-American slogans. We were definitely on the slippery side politically."

The university supported the SAIS program and tried to conceal Weatherbee's nationality. Nevertheless, Weatherbee suggested in 1960 that the program end. Other U.S. contract teams were also being phased out. In December, Thayer sent a letter to the Indonesian Embassy in Washington informing them that Weatherbee would leave the country, but he avoided terminating the agreement to preserve the possibility of reviving the program some day.

Ultimately, the discontinuation of the program left neither SAIS nor Gadjah Mada embarrassed. Thayer, however, did not let go of his hopes for a SAIS presence in Asia. He instructed Weatherbee to stop in Burma, Singapore, and India on his way home to try once more to assess the possibility of establishing SAIS centers in those countries. When Dean Thayer retired in 1961, however, his notions of a small graduate institution becoming an educational power in Asia faded away quietly as the school focused on improving itself at home instead.

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The school's Bologna Center, which opened in 1955, was notably different from the Asian adventures. Unlike the other projects, the Bologna Center was to be a full-fledged Western European branch of the school, which would offer European studies to qualified American and European graduate students. As a relatively autonomous branch of SAIS, the relationship between the Bologna Center and SAIS mirrored the relationship between SAIS and Johns Hopkins. The center would have its own director, staff, and European and American faculty and would grant "certificates of performance" to students who completed its one-year program. Students wishing to complete the SAIS M.A. program could apply for a second year in Washington.

The Bologna Center was not the product of Thayer's plans to expand abroad; rather, it was the brainchild of C. Grove Haines, whose Italian contacts, fundraising abilities, love of Italy, and pure determination assured the center's birth and future success. The Bologna Center developed its own set of personalities, anecdotes, and history, all of which are discussed in Chapter 6.

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Running parallel to the school's attempts to expand abroad was a flurry of new Washington-based activities, beginning with the quarterly SAIS Review. In the early 1950s, the school published an Alumni Review, never more than an mimeographed newsletter. Doris Jackson, an imaginative New Engander who had been helping to organize the Conferences for Corporation Executives, thought the Alumni Review was "a nasty little thing" unfit for curious corporate eyes. One day she marched into Thayer's office and told him she thought the $600 earmarked for the Alumni Review could be better spent. He agreed and allocated $2,000 for Jackson to try something better. She did just that, while organizing the corporate conferences herself, thus founding the SAIS Review, a small but lively publication.

Jackson wanted the magazine to keep alumni abreast of the topics being pursued by professors "because you missed the conversations you have at SAIS after you leave." It was to be a small in size "so businessmen could put it in their pockets." The content of the journal ranged from analyses of regional or foreign-policy issues to articles on commedia dell'arte, poetry, and a Nepalese student's impressions of American culture.

Particularly colorful were letters from the school's foreign correspondents. From Bologna, Edward Glassman '57 described the Italian spring: "With the coming of spring, Bologna puts on her brightly colored light clothing and moves gratefully outside into the warm Italian sun. Her step is quick and brisk after an impatient waiting behind winter's bars of cold and rain, and the laughter in her eyes of black
is a surer portent than any robin that the time of long lights and soft shadows has come again to tempt and delight us.”

This, along with another narrative on “finding a wife in Bologna,” inevitably appeared side by side with other pieces like “An Economic Policy for Africa” and “Southeast Asia and Western Policy.”

Doris Jackson’s creativity and editorial skills did not go unrecognized; in 1961 and 1962, the SAIS Review was named one of the Top Ten Alumni Magazines of the Year in the American Alumni Council’s Annual Publication Competition.

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The Institute for International Development was set up in 1958 under the sponsorship of the International Cooperation Administration to train its officials to create more effective economic development strategies. The program was conceived and first directed by William Phillips. Economists Warren Hunsberger and John Powelson of SAIS, American-Italian political theorist Renzo Sereno, anthropologist Edward T. Hall, economist Wilson Schmidt, and labor management specialist Richard H. Wood, who directed the institute from 1961 to 1963, were among the lecturers. SAIS conducted the program under contract with ICA, which later became the Agency for International Development. The mid-career officials would come to SAIS for twenty-one weeks to study economics, political theory, history, cultural anthropology, and sociology.

The institute was abolished in 1963 after it came under the scrutiny of the House Appropriations Committee. Funding was cut because AID officials felt SAIS overcharged them for overhead rates; SAIS disagreed. The two sides remained in a stalemate for seven years until they reached a compromise and negotiated a disallowance settlement.

In 1960, the Carnegie Foundation began two programs for diplomats from developing countries. This first program was for young Third World leaders who came to Washington for a three-week orientation session following a year of course work at Columbia University.

They attended briefings at State, ICA, Capitol Hill, the Washington Post, U.S. News and World Report, and other institutions.

“Bobby Kennedy, then attorney general, would talk to them for an hour,” said Robert Lystad, who succeeded Robert Good as director of both programs in 1961. “They even liked Barry Goldwater. He didn’t change any of their minds, but their minds were certainly challenged when they were with him.”

Lystad had come to SAIS in 1961 as Vernon McKay’s associate in African studies after ten years as an anthropologist at Tulane University. A man with a wry sense of humor, a perpetually lighted cigarette, and a deep commitment to his students, Lystad sat on the curriculum
committee, headed the admissions committee, wrote a weekly Voice of America radio show for broadcast in Africa, and eventually tackled a new set of responsibilities by becoming the school’s associate dean for academic affairs in 1979.

The second Carnegie program, which Lystad directed until it ended in 1978, was aimed at junior-level foreign service officers from African and Asian embassies in Washington. The sessions were designed to acquaint the young diplomats with American institutions and to encourage discussion of issues such as economic and political development, American foreign policy in the Third World, and intraregional relations. The sessions, eventually funded with one of the longest-running grants ever awarded by The Rockefeller Foundation, each ended with a weekend conference at the Airlie Foundation estate in the Virginia countryside. In the 1970s, the Tinker Foundation provided a grant for a similar program for Latin American diplomats that Roger Leeds, and then Riordan Roett, directed.

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In July 1957, the school established its most visible program, the prestigious Washington Center for Foreign Policy Research. The center was a think-tank where academics and practitioners could discuss and study national security policy, U.S. policy toward newly independent Third World nations, political theory, and the impact of transnational phenomena on U.S. policy. The idea had been Paul Nitze’s. He felt that SAIS was not sufficiently involved in government policy decisions and wanted to create a think-tank along the lines of The Brookings Institution.

“Brookings was, in part, a competitor and they were much more intimately involved with some of the real problems the government faced,” he explained. “When we were cooking up the Marshall Plan, the Congress insisted that we get a report from The Brookings Institution on how the enterprise should be organized. I thought the report was more or less worthless, but still they were being called on for that sort of thing. What I tried to do was get a research adjunct to the school, which would deal with the longer-term aspects of current problems that the government, particularly the State Department, the defense establishment, and the Treasury Department, were dealing with.”

Nitze had trouble raising the $200,000 needed to start his center; support was elusive since Nitze was suspected of trying to create a Policy Planning Staff in exile. Perhaps he was. He did develop plans for the Washington Center soon after the Eisenhower administration took office, and many of the center’s associates, including Nitze, were called back into government after Kennedy was elected.

The Rockefeller Foundation finally gave Nitze the green light with
The Story of SAIS

a three-year grant of $300,000. His success in landing Arnold Wolfers as the center's director undoubtedly helped Nitze's cause at Rockefeller. Wolfers was, as SAIS Professor Robert W. Tucker noted, "one of the granddaddies of international relations as a field of study." Indeed, Wolfers was the "big name" that gave the center immediate credibility. The Swiss-born scholar came to SAIS soon after his early retirement as Sterling Professor of International Relations at Yale University, where he had been an architect of its program in international relations. Like Nitze, Wolfers wanted to create a center that applied the theory of international politics to the practice of foreign policy. The association between Nitze, the seasoned practitioner well versed in theory, and Wolfers, the theoretician whose ideas influenced policy, symbolized the mix the center hoped to achieve in its work.

The center's early practitioners included Roger Hilsman, a military operations analyst and later the assistant secretary of state for Far Eastern affairs under Kennedy and Johnson; James E. King, who worked at several military think-tanks; and William Welch, on leave from the CIA.

Hans Morgenthau, famous for his gospel of realpolitik and his critique of moral self-righteousness as a rationale for policymaking, spent two years at the center. It was said that even Dean Acheson was deferential to him, although Nitze did not always see eye to eye with Morgenthau. Other academics included Laurence Martin, a British student of

Arnold Wolfers, a well-known figure in international relations, was tapped by Paul Nitze to direct the new Washington Center for Foreign Policy Research.
Wolfers from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Robert E. Osgood, a colleague of Morgenthau’s from the University of Chicago, who was already known for his two seminal volumes, Ideals and Self-Interest in America’s Foreign Policy and Limited War: The Challenge to American Security; George Liska, the detached intellectual and grand theorist who taught at Hopkins, Harvard, and several other universities after serving from 1945 to 1948 as secretary to the secretary-general of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Robert W. Tucker, a professor of political science at Hopkins, who was to become a prolific writer and critic of U.S. foreign policy.

Robert C. Good came from the University of Denver and would join the State Department’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research before serving as U.S. ambassador to Zambia from 1965 to 1969. Charles Burton Marshall, author of The Limits of Foreign Policy and numerous other essays, was one who could draw on experience he had gained as a member of Nitze’s Policy Planning Staff.

The joint appointments of Osgood, Tucker, and Liska to the center and the faculty were pivotal to the academic development of the school. These men constituted the core of the second generation of senior faculty as the first group—Thayer, Johnson, and Johnstone—reached retirement age. As powerful scholars constantly analyzing the issues on the forefront of American foreign policy, they also boosted the school’s reputation. Osgood eventually became the school’s third dean, its director of American foreign policy, and codirector of security studies. Tucker would become professor of international law and institutions, and Liska would become professor of international relations.

The center’s work proceeded on several levels. Individuals conducted research on topics of their choice. Out of this came Tucker and Osgood’s Force, Order and Justice, and Liska’s Nations in Alliance.

Several government-sponsored research projects were undertaken during Wolfers’ directorship. Nitze’s report on “The Purposes of United States Military and Economic Assistance” and Wolfers’ “Questions of Priority in Mutual Security Allocation” appeared with the 1959 Draper Committee Report drafted by the President’s Committee to Study the United States Military and Economic Assistance. Wolfers, Nitze, and King also completed a study for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on “Developments in Military Technology, and Their Impact on United States Strategy and Foreign Policy.”

The center’s most popular activity was the weekly roundtable series, lively sessions attended by notable guests such as Dean Acheson and theologian Reinhold Neibuhr. “These meetings were big events that people primed themselves for,” said Tucker.

“They had the impress of Arnold Wolfers on them,” Osgood recalled later. “He was a commanding personality in a quiet way who
always was concerned with the philosophical implications of policy issues, the ideals versus self-interest."

"Problems were chosen for discussion that were important at the time for United States foreign policy and interesting from the point of view of theory," wrote Wolfers. There were plenty of problems to discuss, as the roundtables covered everything from the Berlin crisis and the Cuban missile crisis to the emerging dialogue on nuclear arms.

Ideologically, the work produced by the center generally fit into the mainstream of foreign-policy thinking, although individuals would shift their views over time as they reexamined various issues. With so many "realists," most of the sessions focused on what Liska called "center-systemic" issues, such as national security, NATO, nuclear control, and East-West relations.

Wolfers had no qualms about the center's reputation and noted, "It is no accident that the center has been labeled 'realistic' and has been criticized for an alleged 'power political' viewpoint not merely in matters of military policy, where this would be hard to avoid, but also in its treatment of problems connected with the U.N., disarmament, or economic aid where the tendency is toward an idealistic or even an utopian approach."

Liska, in turn, insisted that although the center never radically dissented from the government line, its associates were critical when necessary. "It is the role of the academic to be critical, 'to speak truth to power,' as Morgenthau put it," he said, "but not from an ideological position that would be radically inconsistent or incompatible with the government. It is a marginal critique."

Osgood, Tucker, and Liska helped to balance the SAIS faculty, which had an overabundance of government people and few pure academics. The lack of scholars kept SAIS from achieving status as a first-rate academic institution. SAIS bad succeeded as a practical professional program, thus fulfilling its founders' aims, but times had changed. SAIS would have to improve its academic stature to counter the rising competition from other universities.

Another developing problem was the inadequacy of the school's buildings. "We were frantic for space," said Priscilla Mason. "I think I went into every building on Nineteenth Street to see if it was usable."

"It was cramped," remembered Les Janka, who was in the Arabic class that squeezed into a bathroom-turned-classroom in the Florida Avenue building. "In one of our classes we had seven chairs and eight students," he recalled, "so the last person there always had to sit on the bathtub. In the winter to try to study Arabic sitting on a freezing bathtub was really something."

Not only were the buildings too small for the growing student body
but they were literally falling apart. At one point, a chunk of the ceiling crashed down during one of Tucker’s lectures in the Nineteenth Street building. Tucker said only one student was hurt when the slab fell in the middle of the room “because the students, as usual, were bunched up in the back of the class.”

In another ominous incident the old buildings succeeded in blocking a substantial award to the school. Paul Nitze had worked with David Smith of the Noble Foundation to secure a grant that included a large scholarship fund. When Smith brought his wife, June Noble Smith, to see the school, “She took one look at the building and was horrified by the dilapidated quarters,” Nitze said. “She said her family foundation was not going to give money to a school with buildings like that.”

Nitze was untroubled that the school was held together by “wire and stripping. My view has always been that the intellectual quality of any institution is in inverse relationship to the magnificence of its buildings,” he said. “The school was small, you could work fast, and there weren’t too many people. I didn’t want to have good buildings.”

Someone else, however, had noticed the school’s problems: Milton Eisenhower, who became the president of Johns Hopkins in 1956 after serving as president of the Kansas State and Pennsylvania State Universities. The Kansas-born educator, the brother of and close adviser to the president of the United States, was a skillful administrator with a deep interest in foreign affairs. He would play a prominent role in transforming SAIS from a successful vocational program to a serious academic program and forging closer ties between Hopkins and SAIS. “When I became president of Johns Hopkins,” he later remarked, “SAIS was held together almost entirely by chewing gum and thread.”

Hopkins itself was having problems with large annual budget deficits, noncompetitive salaries, and inadequate facilities. Eisenhower faced the challenge of putting the entire university back on its feet. This he did with great success, doubling the university’s endowment and increasing private gifts to more than $100 million. SAIS was part of Eisenhower’s campaign.

Wilbert E. Locklin, Eisenhower’s assistant and top fundraiser, was dispatched to SAIS for three weeks in 1959 to determine exactly what the school needed. With the help of Bob Hall and Priscilla Mason, he and Eisenhower prepared a one hundred-page report to solicit foundation support.

Fundraising would proceed on a large scale for a ten-year support program, which would pay for a new building and more faculty members. Led by Eisenhower, with a great deal of help from Nitze, an ambitious fundraising campaign began. The Ford Foundation in New York gave Eisenhower $3 million and allotted half of that for a new building.
Next, Eisenhower approached Dean Rusk, then president of The Rockefeller Foundation. Rusk’s first concern was who would succeed Thayer, who was planning to retire as dean. According to Eisenhower’s biographers, Stephen E. Ambrose and Richard H. Immerman, Rusk told Eisenhower bluntly that:

“You’ve got to get a good man to dean SAIS and I won’t give you a nickel until you do.” Eisenhower said he was trying to get Francis O. Wilcox, then an assistant secretary of state. Equally bluntly, Rusk asked Eisenhower what salary he had offered. Twenty thousand, Eisenhower replied. Rusk said that if he made it twenty-five thousand, Wilcox would take the job. And he did. Eisenhower immediately called Rusk to tell him that he had his new dean. Rusk said that now Rockefeller would be pleased to support SAIS.2

Rusk also suggested that Eisenhower approach the W.K. Kellogg Foundation. Locklin doubted if Kellogg would give money for such purposes. To his surprise, Emery Morris, Kellogg’s director, was receptive. “You know, it’s funny,” he told Locklin. “A short time ago I was discussing how Kellogg should get involved in international affairs with my old friend Dean Rusk.” Kellogg gave SAIS $250,000.3

Soon, Eisenhower and Nitze had raised $4,247,000 and the school was ready at last to build a new home and recruit new professors. The speed with which such a huge sum was raised astonished Nitze, who remarked, “I spent two years trying to raise $200,000 for the Washington Center and it took two months for Milton and me to raise four million. It’s certainly easier to raise a lot of money from foundations than a small amount.”

A search for a new site turned up an excellent property on Massachusetts Avenue where the Peter Force grammar school, named after a mayor of Washington, was standing vacant. Charles A. Lindbergh, William Howard Taft’s son Charles, Theodore Roosevelt’s youngest son, Quentin, and SAIS Professor Paul Linebarger had attended the old school. The property had been appraised at $500,000, but the school was only prepared to pay $250,000. Paul Nitze had another stroke of good luck. Phil Watts suggested that Nitze call Elmer Staats at the Bureau of the Budget. Staats informed a delighted Nitze that a federal law authorized the government to sell surplus property to educational institutions at substantial discounts. SAIS got 90 percent off, paying $50,000 for the property. By 1985, the land itself was worth $2.7 million.

Soon after the new eight-story building was completed, the Noble Foundation gave SAIS some handsome fellowship grants.
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From the Cold War to the Vietnam War: 1961–73

On February 17, 1961, Dean Thayer retired in style at a black-tie dinner held in his honor at Washington’s elegant Mayflower Hotel. He had seen SAIS through its formative years and was leaving an established institution with an increasingly strong academic foundation. Students had a choice of eighty courses taught by thirty-two professors and lecturers. The Bologna Center, the Washington Center for Foreign Policy Research, and the corporate conferences continued to flourish.

In Washington SAIS alumni were working in virtually all branches of the government, including the Departments of Commerce, Defense, and State, USIA, and on Capitol Hill. Others were officers at U.S. Embassies in Cairo, Nairobi, Lima, and Singapore. Many non-American alumni had become foreign ministry officials, businessmen, and academics in every region of the world. SAIS graduates were excavating Mayan ruins in Mexico, managing corporate affiliates in the Congo, distributing Ford Foundation money in Turkey and Asia Foundation money in Malaysia, and reporting for Time-Life in Bonn.

Washington policymakers were well aware of the school and made good use of its talent pool. Indeed, members of the administrations—first the Democrats and then the Republicans—went through revolving doors at the school. After Kennedy’s election, Francis Wilcox returned from the Eisenhower administration to SAIS as the next dean. Kennedy and then Johnson tapped the Washington Center for some of its best and brightest, including Roger Hilsman and Robert Good. Dean Rusk came to SAIS as a visiting diplomat after serving Kennedy and Johnson, and Robert Osgood joined Henry Kissinger’s National Security Council. James Schlesinger and Helmut Sonnenfeldt came to SAIS after serving the Nixon and Ford administrations.

Thayer’s successor would face the challenge of determining, together with the senior faculty, how the SAIS program should adapt to the school's physical expansion. The growth of international relations and area programs in other American universities also presented SAIS with greater competition and with a new type of student. Many pro-
spective students of the sixties already possessed a firm undergraduate background in international affairs and were looking for an intellectually stimulating graduate program. SAIS responded by making the M.A. program tougher and enlarging the doctorate program. It bolstered its efforts to recruit top undergraduates and more minority students and raised the number of scholars—as opposed to practitioners—on the faculty.

In international politics, the arena of Soviet-American confrontation broadened from Europe to include the emerging nations of the Third World. This change resonated at SAIS as students and faculty members took an increased interest in comparative politics and the developing regions.

The political crosscurrents running through American society during the Vietnam War were also running through SAIS. The school had its own students who supported the war, protested the war, and died in the war. The school where Charles Burton Marshall was defending American foreign policy in Vietnam was also the place where J. William Fulbright lectured on “the arrogance of power.”

Francis O. Wilcox became dean of SAIS in 1961 after serving as assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs in the Eisenhower administration.
Francis O. Wilcox left the service of one President Eisenhower to join that of another when Milton Eisenhower appointed him dean in 1961. Wilcox was an ardent believer in international cooperation and had been assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs from 1955 to 1960. Earlier, as the first chief of staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he developed an insider’s understanding of the politics behind policymaking and international cooperation.

Wilcox retired from public service to accept the deanship because, as he said, “Milton Eisenhower was a pretty convincing negotiator. The idea of having students study international relations where the important decisions are being made and where they would have access to people who are making them, certainly was attractive to me. I wanted to make it the best institution of its kind in the world. With a new building and with its location in Washington, it seemed to me to be an ideal place for the training of young people in international relations.”

The new dean was an affable Iowan with a natural bonhomie characterized by some as midwestern informality and by others as consummate diplomacy. He had a homespun friendliness and a genuine love of public service. It was Wilcox, however, who at the United Nations in 1960, triggered Nikita Khrushchev’s memorable outburst. Wilcox had commented that the Soviet Union was a colonial power like several Western European countries, but unlike the others, the Soviet Union gave its “colonies . . . no prospects for gaining independence.” The remarks prompted Khrushchev to remove his shoe and pound it angrily on the table.

In Fran Wilcox, Milton Eisenhower discovered someone with a talent for fundraising and a commitment to academic excellence. During his twelve years as dean, Wilcox presided over the school’s transition from a small, collegial institution that emphasized career training, to a larger, nationally recognized, more structured program. Eisenhower’s particular interest in SAIS and close friendship with Wilcox led to closer ties between the Homewood campus and SAIS.

The dedication of the new building on a bright October day in 1963 signaled the school’s coming of age. Milton Eisenhower presented Dean Acheson and Secretary of State Dean Rusk with honorary doctor of laws degrees and Christian Herter with a distinguished service award. Despite the academic regalia worn by the principals, the ceremonies were far from stiff and formal. Upon receiving his degree, Rusk joked that the affection Herter, his predecessor in Foggy Bottom, had for him was like “that which any G.I. in a foxhole feels for his replacement.” Herter drew a laugh by thanking Milton Eisenhower with a comment on how many times he had addressed a “President Eisenhower.”

One mishap occurred that day that never made the press but was
Clockwise from above: Johns Hopkins President Milton Eisenhower, right, watched as former President Dwight D. Eisenhower made a point to a guest at a 1963 SAIS Advisory Council meeting. William McCbesney Martin, Jr., chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, talked with Dwight and Milton Eisenhower. Later in 1963, at the dedication of the SAIS building at 1740 Massachusetts Avenue, Dean Acheson lined up for the processional with Helmut Sonnenfeldt '52, far left, and Professor Isaiah Frank, third from left. Christian A. Herter seated, posed with the “three Deans,” from left Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Dean Francis Sayre of the Washington Cathedral, and Dean Acheson, former secretary of state.
duly recorded in SAIS folklore. A few hours before the ceremony, a young research assistant from Brookings was wandering around the school’s lobby looking for an exit. Mistaking one of the lobby’s tall glass panels for a door, he pushed his hand through the glass, which promptly shattered. Priscilla Mason was summoned from the dean’s waiting room where she had been ironing the academic gowns, and she and Bob Hall rushed the bleeding man to a nearby hospital. “It was this type of unpredictable event that made SAIS so endearing,” Mason recalled.

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Priscilla Mason, along with Bob Hall, registrar Miriam de Grazia and business manager Tom Hugo, provided continuity and firm support for the school’s leaders in the sixties. Fortunately Mason’s retirement in 1967 was only official, not spiritual. Although she withdrew from day-to-day activities, she left an indelible imprint on the school by continuing on as a working member of Advisory Council. Away from SAIS, she was active as the first woman moderator of the Westmoreland Congregational Church and a fundraiser for her alma mater, Smith College.

In 1966, Doris Jackson turned the reins over to Barbara Burns, who oversaw the corporate conferences and the SAIS Review until she was appointed by Nixon as deputy assistant secretary for consumer services at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

As administrative chores mounted, Wilcox created the post of assistant dean. Aldus Chapin, the student who once hid behind a football player in Dean Thayer’s law course back in 1953, held the position from 1961 to 1968 before going on to head Washington’s Corcoran Gallery.

Les Janka ’64 held the post until 1971 when he went to work for Henry Kissinger at the National Security Council. Janka later served as a press spokesman in the Reagan White House but quit after a month because he disagreed with the administration’s decision to forbid on-site media coverage of the early days of the U.S. invasion of Grenada. He became a lobbyist and consultant on Middle East issues, and in 1985 was named chairman of the SAIS Alumni Council.

Roger Leeds ’70 followed as assistant dean from 1971 to 1976 before joining Salomon Brothers and then the International Finance Corporation.

Fisher Howe, a New Englander with a shock of white hair and a flair for quietly efficient management, was Wilcox’s right-hand man and trouble shooter from 1967 to 1973. He managed nonacademic matters from staff recruitment to fundraising.

Admissions, student counseling, public relations, and job placement improved during this period. Student recruitment was stepped up outside the mid-Atlantic states and at small liberal arts colleges. The school
sought more minority students, and the number of women admitted tripled.

“Every other SAIS woman who got a job in the private sector was the first one at this bank or that company,” Janka noted.

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During the 1960s, the faculty underwent a change. Upon Thayer’s retirement some students joked that the “three-martini club” had been replaced by the “sixth-floor mafia.” The sixth floor, of course, was the location of the Washington Center.

Unlike their predecessors who drew heavily on their practical experience in international relations, the young professors were first and foremost scholars. Osgood, Tucker, and Liska had put forth theories that were in the forefront of their fields, yet their affiliation with the Washington Center kept them in contact with policymakers.

“There was a greater sense that we had some kind of eventual, indirect, vicarious impact on policy because of the composition of the center,” said Liska. “For me the Washington Center was a very, very important part of my academic experience.”

George Liska was known for his ability to synthesize a broad spectrum of history into a complete and original analysis. He interpreted American foreign policy in imperialist terms, and he prided himself on his grand view of history. Students found Liska always challenging and occasionally intimidating because he forced them to think. His lectures were sometimes full of emotion, sometimes abstruse.

“At times people thought he would lecture at the windows,” remembered on student. “He would be lecturing and thinking, and he was so deeply involved in thought that he would raise his voice and look at the window as though he had been transformed out of the university environment into the setting of history.”

Like Liska, Tucker was tough with his students and unyielding in his search for analytic consistency. “He forced his students to live up to that standard,” said Charles Doran, a student of Tucker’s who returned to SAIS in 1980 to head the Canadian studies program. “The good part was that as a student you were given credit for having matched wits with these people, even if they didn’t agree with you.”

“Tucker was the person who really made me think for the first time on a lot of major issues in American foreign policy and American history,” Roger Leeds said. “I remember going into his class as a first-year, first-semester student and being really wowed by his approach to American history. He was the first person who exposed me to revisionist American history, which I still find interesting given that he doesn’t agree with it. His reading list was very powerful and very broad.”

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Tucker, who received his B.S. at the U.S. Naval Academy and his Ph.D. from Berkeley in 1949, joined the Hopkins faculty in 1954. In 1985, he became the founding coeditor of the neoconservative foreign policy journal, *The National Interest*.

Osgood enjoyed nothing more than challenging his students with his realpolitik concept of U.S. foreign policy. His courses were organized in the old European style, in which the seminars centered on the subject of his current writing. Many students hoped their ideas might have an impact on his book. Osgood’s courses explored theoretical, historical, and current policy issues, with greater focus on the questions that arose than on clear solutions or answers. Whereas Tucker and Liska were often intimidating, impressions they did little to correct, Osgood was perceived as kindly, easy going, and even shy.

Through the prolific writings of these three and the stream of other works coming out of the Washington Center, the SAIS “approach” was formed. It was characterized as a conservative analysis of foreign policy based on strong theoretical and historical concepts.

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Under Osgood’s guidance, and with the help of Tucker and Liska, the American foreign policy program at SAIS grew in size and stature. The fields of comparative politics, international politics, and history also expanded. Courses in international organizations got a boost with the return of Wilcox, who each year invited the SAIS student body to meet the leaders of the United Nations.
From the Cold War to the Vietnam War: 1961–73

George Liska, far left, Robert E. Osgood, middle, and Robert W. Tucker were the first of the "second generation" of SAIS professors. Highly respected scholars, the three helped raise the academic stature of the school.

Professor Stephen Schwebel, once the State Department’s deputy legal adviser for U.N. affairs, continued Philip Thayer’s examination of international law. Schwebel came to SAIS in 1967, the same year he took a position as executive director of the American Society for International Law. A strong advocate of the United Nations, he held the Edward B. Burling Chair in International Law until 1981 when he became the youngest American elected to the fifteen-member International Court of Justice.

Under Isaiah Frank, the economics program moved into new areas such as regional economic studies and economic development. "Isaiah was an excellent seminar leader in the sense that one either feared or respected him sufficiently to always be prepared for class," said Charles Pearson ’66. "He was very good at pulling important points out of the discussions without actually presenting them himself." Pearson later earned his M.A. and Ph.D. at Cornell University and returned to Frank’s department in 1969 as its first assistant professor.

As the times demanded, SAIS turned greater attention to Latin America, the Soviet Union, China, and Eastern Europe. The Bay of Pigs, the Cuban missile crisis, the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic, and the Alliance for

Stephen Schwebel taught international law at SAIS from 1967 to 1981 when he was elected to the International Court of Justice.
Progress increased the popularity of the Latin American Studies Program, which was aided by a large grant from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation. Beginning in 1960, John Dreier, the former U.S. ambassador to the Organization of American States, ran the program.

Soviet studies were strengthened by the addition of Vernon Aspertiurian and Robert C. Tucker (not to be confused with Robert W.), who had taught at Penn State and Indiana Universities. In 1966, the program recruited from the Rand Corporation its first tenured director, Herbert S. Dinerstein, a congenial and accessible man with a long record of publication and teaching.

After Johnstone retired in 1970, John Badgley ’57, became director of Asian studies and added a new course on China. Badgley was an expert on Burma, and he played a role in convincing the United States not to go into Burma in the mid-sixties. At the time, government analysts feared that events in Vietnam and communist insurgencies would lead to an overthrow of Burma, but Badgley argued that the Chinese and Soviet influence in Burma had not reached a level the U.S. should consider dangerous.

David Calleo, an outstanding young scholar who had earned his
David Calleo joined the faculty in 1968 to direct European studies and to help coordinate the academic programs in Washington and Bologna.

doctorate and taught at Yale, became the school’s director of European studies and a research associate at the Washington Center in 1968. One of his tasks was to work with Grove Haines, who directed the Bologna Center, to remove disparities between the two programs in European studies, a problem they solved by developing comprehensive exams that students both in Washington and in Italy had to pass to receive their degrees.

Calleo went from New Haven to SAIS via France, where he wrote a book, and Oxford, where he wrote another book. Over the years, his writings on the political economy of North Atlantic relations, Germany, and the interwar monetary system drew wide attention in the United States and in Europe. His book on *America and the World Political Economy* (1978), with Benjamin Rowland, won the American Political Science Association’s Gladys M. Kammerer Award in 1974 for the best political science publication in the field of U.S. foreign policy. Calleo also became well-known—at least at SAIS—as the employer of students in search of summer adventure. The chosen few spent the summer with the professor at his old farmhouse on Elba, off Italy’s western coast. There they had to prove their skills as researchers, but more im-
importantly as rock gardeners, a task that some insisted was more difficult than any research.

The school’s Center of Canadian Studies, one of the first graduate programs concentrating on Canada in the United States, opened in 1969. When Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs Mitchell Sharp dedicated the center on March 25, it had a handful of students, good funding, and a threefold aim: to teach graduate students, conduct research, and generate a greater awareness of U.S.-Canadian issues. The center, started with $1 million from the William H. Donner Foundation and the Donner Canadian Foundation, was literally at the fulcrum of political activity between the two countries since it was located in the U.S. capital and next door to the Canadian Embassy. Its first director was Dale Thomson, a distinguished scholar from Montreal’s McGill University.

Thomson, who with Assistant Professor Roger F. Swanson and others in 1971 established the Association of Canadian Studies in the United States, developed many of the center’s interdisciplinary courses
on Canadian government, politics, history, and foreign and economic policy. He took students to the Canadian Parliament in Ottawa to meet with government officials so they might see theory applied to practice. The trip, which eventually added Quebec City and Montreal to its itinerary, became a biennial tradition and a high point for the center’s students.

Charles Burton Marshall, who taught at the school from 1966 to 1975, was known for his folksy wisdom about politics and his allegorical tales concerning American foreign policy. He was also known as “the incredible Charles Burton Marshall,” or ICBM.

“There was a bit of irreverence about him,” said alumnus Richard Gilmore ’67, “and he forced his students not to take a particular position as given. He made it clear that he had his own views but did not intimidate those who had counter-ideas.” Marshall, a burly Texan, was also a regular contributor to the Washington Center for Foreign Policy Research, and was its acting director in 1970–71.

“He left an amazing impression on his students,” Osgood once said of Marshall. “Some who visited Washington after years gone by refused to leave without getting in touch with him.”

Frederick Holborn came to SAIS in 1967 fresh out of the White House, where for five years he was a special assistant to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. Holborn had taught at Harvard and MIT before working as a legislative assistant to Kennedy during his Senate days.

At the White House Holborn cleared almost everything Kennedy signed and helped McGeorge Bundy by dealing with the foreign press and drafting various legislative messages, among other duties. Holborn was an insider’s insider who possessed an expansive memory for people and historical detail. This made him a valuable resource as a consultant to Congress and a font of stories for students in his classes in American foreign policy.

“Fred Holborn was one of the great resources at SAIS, with an un-

Charles Burton Marshall, professor of American foreign policy until 1975, made a lasting impression upon his students with his knowledge of political folklore.
The Story of SAIS

Frederick Holborn, a specialist on Congress and the conduct of foreign policy, came to SAIS in 1967 after working as special assistant to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

failing devotion to both the institution and its students,” said Steven Fleischmann ’85. “He had the uncanny ability to bring out the human side of international relations and Washington politics through his vast repertoire of anecdotes and broad knowledge.” Holborn pored over at least four newspapers every day in the cafeteria and could converse with students on any topic, from art to music to sports.

In 1971, with the help of Dean Wilcox, Les Janka, and former U.S. Representative Bradford Morse, Holborn started a Congressional fellows program for U.S. Foreign Service, USIA, and CIA officers. After taking Holborn’s course on “Congress and Foreign Policy,” the fellows would spend nine months working on Capitol Hill to get a better understanding of the relationship between their agencies and Congress in the conduct of foreign policy.

By the early seventies, each department included a tenured professor and a junior, nontenured professor. Visiting lecturers or part-time professors, several of whom doubled as associates at the Washington Center, rounded out the faculty. The adjunct professors were professionals who generally came from the State Department, The World Bank, congressional committees, and research organizations.

The first woman to break the male professorial ranks at SAIS was Ann Hollick, a 1966 alumna who did her Ph.D. work at the Homewood campus under the triumvirate of Liska, Tucker, and Osgood.
“My instinct was not to feel that being a woman was an issue because I was raised to assume that it was not an issue,” said Hollick, a specialist in U.S. ocean policy. Nonetheless, she thought as a student that a few professors believed “that if you got married, you stopped working. But you wouldn’t think of working and marrying and having children.”

Hollick eventually did marry. She came to SAIS as an assistant professor in 1972 to teach courses on international resource management. She raised money to set up an Ocean Policy Project from 1972 to 1978 and was promoted to associate professor in 1975. While teaching at SAIS, Hollick worked as deputy director of the Policy Planning Staff at the State Department’s Bureau of Oceans, Environment, and Scientific Affairs, and also directed the Economic and Commercial Bureau.

A future dean was hidden in the ranks of the part-time faculty. George Packard, innocent of the fact that he would become the dean in 1979, was a young professorial lecturer on modern Japan in the late sixties. A student of Asian studies with a Ph.D. from Fletcher, Packard arrived in Washington after two years as special assistant to the U.S. ambassador to Japan, Edwin O. Reischauer. Halford Hoskins would no doubt have been amused by the turn of fate that would make a Fletcher graduate the fourth dean of SAIS. Packard’s career path took him from Japan to Washington, where he began a decade of work in journalism. In Washington, Packard was Newsweek’s chief diplomatic correspondent in the late 1960s before moving on as White House correspondent, managing editor, and finally executive editor of the Philadelphia Bulletin.

The changing composition of the faculty heightened the unresolved debate among its members: Should SAIS be a school with an academic or professional emphasis? Some professors dismissed the debate as irrelevant because they perceived the school’s ability to fuse both elements as a strength, not a weakness.

“SAIS was interdisciplinary by its existence, without making it a fetish,” noted Doran. “It combined practical with theoretical work, and students crossed these boundaries all the time.”

The grand finale—the oral exam—was revamped during the Wilcox years to reflect greater emphasis on international and regional studies. In 1961, the oral tested student competency in international economics, law and organization, as well as Western diplomatic history. By 1972, students were required to have international economics as one field but could choose two others from among comparative national politics, international law and organization, regional studies, or international studies, which included American foreign policy.

Some things did not change. The examining board consisted of three professors, the exams were arduous, and in some years quite a
few students failed on their first attempt. The amount of adrenaline, or perhaps caffeine, racing through a student’s blood on that momentous day created occasional mishaps.

Charles Doran, for one, was so nervous after his exam with Johnson, Tucker, and Osgood that upon leaving his exam, he opened the wrong door and strode into Johnson’s closet. This happened a moment after he jammed his foot into the mouth of Johnson’s tiger rug in an attempt to reach over and shake hands with his examiners. Fearing failure, he was relieved to discover that he had, in fact, graduated with distinction.

* * * * *

The Ph.D. program expanded quickly in the sixties, although some members of the faculty and administration were wary of its growth. The school’s strength, they reasoned, was in its M.A. program, and SAIS was too small to offer enough diversity to doctoral candidates. As a result, the school sought only Ph.D. students whose requirements for advanced education could not be better met elsewhere. Nonetheless, the academic market was healthy in the sixties, and SAIS obtained several full scholarships through the National Defense Education Act. In response, the number of doctoral candidates jumped from a handful in 1960 to almost one hundred by 1970.

In another academic development, the five-year A.B.-M.A. program in international relations was launched in 1964 for outstanding Hopkins undergraduates who could earn both degrees after three years of study at Homewood and two years at SAIS. Moreover, SAIS students were allowed, for the first time, to take courses at the Baltimore campus.

* * * * *

In 1966, Christian Herter died. His spirit continued at SAIS, however, through a lectures series established in his memory, a chair in American foreign policy endowed in his name, and the Herter Prize, awarded to the student with the highest first-year academic record. In the 1980s, Christian Herter’s son, a look-alike of his father, would join the adjunct faculty to teach international law.

The idea behind the annual Christian Herter Lecture Series was to invite senior public figures to talk about critical international problems of the day. The lectures took off with a bang. Senator J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was the first guest, and he used the opportunity to speak out against U.S. involvement in Vietnam. In his lectures, later published as The Arrogance of Power, the senator lashed out at American “infatuation” with Vietnam, called Saigon “an American brothel,” and systematically traced the path of an American foreign policy gone awry. Fulbright not only
felt that the United States should not have claimed responsibility for winning the war for the Vietnamese, but he denounced the lack of "honest criticism" among policymakers.

"There is a kind of voodoo about American foreign policy," he said. "Certain drums have to be beaten regularly to ward off evil spirits—for example, the maledictions which are regularly uttered against North Vietnamese aggression, the 'wild men' in Peking, communism in general and President de Gaulle."

Praise and condemnation hit the front pages of newspapers everywhere. "The exercise of power in this century has meant for the U.S. not arrogance, but agony," said President Johnson. Senator Barry Goldwater charged Fulbright with lending "aid and comfort to our enemies."

An equally remarkable roster of speakers followed in Fulbright's footsteps as Herter lecturers. Among them were Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Stanley Hoffman, Hubert Humphrey, Frank Church, and Walt Rostow. Several lectures resulted in books: Barbara Ward's *The Lopsided World*, Gunnar Myrdal's *The Poverty of Nations*, and *Ethics and World Politics: Four Perspectives*, edited by Ernest W. Lefever.

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*Hubert Humphrey was among the prominent speakers who have delivered Herter Lectures over the last two decades. After his address in 1976, he posed with student John Holmgren '77.*
Under Arnold Wolfers, the Washington Center for Foreign Policy Research continued to be highly visible and productive throughout the sixties. Gerard Smith became a research associate after directing the Policy Planning Staff under John Foster Dulles and Christian Herter and before heading the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the U.S. delegation to SALT I. Livingston T. Merchant, former undersecretary of state for political affairs and ambassador to Canada, spent several years conducting research on arms-control issues at the center while serving as Kennedy's special envoy on nuclear-force arrangements in Europe. In 1965, he was appointed U.S. executive director of The World Bank. David W. Wainhouse, a former deputy assistant secretary of state and a specialist on arms-control issues, also joined the center.

The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency awarded the center three contracts during the 1960s to study the fundamental problems of maintaining peace in a disarmed world; the role of United Nations peacekeeping arrangements; and the role of alliances and interstate alignments in a disarming or disarmed world. The studies, with predictable "realism," generally concluded that disarmament was not feasible in view of the inevitable continuance of political disputes and superpower competition. The possibility of replacing national armed forces with a powerful U.N. peace force was also viewed pessimistically because, as Charles Burton Marshall said in the Evening Star in July 1966, "military forces are an essential part of the internal security arrangements of a state. With military power vested in a U.N. force, national governments would lose a power to ensure their survival."

The center also conducted studies for the U.S. Air Force on "The Future Role of Military Alliances" and "1980 and the Balance of Power in the Pacific."

Robert Osgood succeeded Arnold Wolfers as the center's director in 1967 and oversaw a project sponsored by The Ford Foundation. Under the terms of the $345,000 grant, the center analyzed American foreign policy in the context of changing domestic and international political trends. The project resulted in two volumes: America and the World: From the Truman Doctrine to Vietnam and Retreat from Empire: The First Nixon Administration.

During the Vietnam War, Liska and Marshall were the resident "hawks." Tucker, Dinerstein, and a few others were more critical, but debates on the sixth floor were rarely intense. "There was no radical dissent here, which is one thing that could have been charged against us," admitted Liska. "Most of us are not establishment-oriented people, but I suppose mainstream, critical of the administrations but not from extreme ideological viewpoints. Also with age, we become more conservative than liberal."
Among students, however, there was plenty of disagreement. "The war touched the SAIS students in almost every way," recalled George Lawton, a member of the student government in the late sixties. "SAIS was no longer isolated nor a privileged island. All of a sudden, what we were studying had a direct impact on our own lives."

"The student body was very exciting," said Roger Leeds, who headed the student government during this period. "The two extremes were very well represented. In my class we had a number of Marines who had been involved in the Tet offensive and a lot of armed service personnel who had been in the thick of fighting and who believed very strongly in the war."

"At the other extreme you had a fairly active contingent of antiwar activists, people like myself who had just come from the Peace Corps—I had just gotten off the plane a week before I came to SAIS from two years in Brazil, and many of my peers were at that end of the spectrum," Leeds recounted. "There was a tremendous diversity, isolated incidents of tension, and lots of debates."

Despite the strong feelings on the Vietnam issue, SAIS never experienced the turmoil that occurred at other universities. The school did have a small group of antiwar activists. "This was a time when students were questioning things, but I would say their activity was nothing that challenged the institution or brought demonstrators from the streets into the halls of SAIS," said David Barton '70. "It was an important time for those of us going through a international relations education at SAIS. The activists were raising questions, not only about what was right for particular countries around the world but in hopes of promoting a thorough reexamination of American foreign policy in the world. Yet, at the same time, there was nothing really confrontational about the Vietnam War activity or about critiques of the school."

Activism expressed itself in the students' quest to have a greater say in the school's administration. Their efforts were largely successful, and beginning in 1968, students attended general faculty meetings, sat on search committees and set up a student-faculty curriculum committee. "I sensed that this was the time when students were most involved in the running of the school," said Leeds.

The cooperation among the students, faculty, and administration kept tensions fairly low. "The only sit-in I recall was on my thirtieth birthday when about thirty-five students piled into my office when I was out and refused to budge until I agreed to go out and have beers with them," observed Les Janka, then assistant dean.

SAIS students perhaps felt the impact of the war most vividly in the spring of 1970. The war had escalated with the April invasion of Cambodia, and across the United States a wave of antiwar demonstrations swept across college campuses. SAIS was located within the stag-
Les Janka ’64 was the assistant dean for student affairs from 1968 until 1971, succeeding Aldus Chapin ’52 in the post and preceding Roger Leeds ’70. Janka became chairman of the SAIS Alumni Council in 1985.

ing area for the huge Washington march in May protesting the invasion. Henry Kissinger, then Nixon’s national security adviser, invited Roger Leeds, along with several other student leaders from colleges throughout the country, to the White House that weekend to discuss the administration’s justification of the invasion. News of the death of a SAIS student who had been drafted reached the school around the same time. “This put an enormous emotional overload on the student body,” said Janka.

“It was a hot time, there was no question about that,” agreed Barton, who, upon graduating from SAIS, worked in a hospital for Vietnamese civilians for a few years before becoming a staff member on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. “I lived two blocks from SAIS and my apartment was gassed. In one particular incident, some friends of mine from outside of SAIS who came to film one of the demonstrations were gassed and clubbed. They came into my apartment bleeding.”

In May 1970, SAIS students organized an assembly to discuss how they should respond, as a group, to the escalating war. George Lawton recalled that, “there was a vote that SAIS offer its locale as a communica-
tions center for thirty-two different graduate schools with international relations programs to come and carry out different sets of activities. We wanted to issue press communiques on what we as students thought about what was happening and how it affected us and our country. We also wanted to lobby international organizations and embassies, to meet with the administration and with swing members of the House and Senate. Finally we would organize teach-ins at local high schools. All of these activities would take place during a period of limited strike.’’

Students informed the faculty of their plans and asked if the professors would make a collective response to Nixon’s decision to enlarge the war. ‘‘As a group they chose not to speak,’’ said Lawton, who was the student representative at the faculty meeting where these issues were discussed, ‘‘but after the meeting, around nine or ten professors approached me individually to say they respected our activities.’’

Both professors and students signed an open letter to the president criticizing the incursion into Cambodia, an executive decision made without consultation. Many students boycotted classes, and exams were postponed while the student ‘‘strike’’ and related activities took place in early May. A major event was to be a speech by Henry Kissinger before a crowd of students from SAIS and other schools. Lawton, a 1986 SAIS Ph.D. who has lectured and written on American foreign-policy issues, recalled the ‘‘nonevent’’ quite clearly.

‘‘Kissinger arrived at the auditorium late, after everyone was already seated. There was a lot of tension in the room. He came in and walked up to the podium. Then a group of students stood up, read a short statement critical of the enlargement of the war, and sat down. The student moderator, instead of giving a few words of welcome, said, ‘‘Here’s Mr. Kissinger’’ very abruptly. This did not ease the tension.

‘‘Kissinger, rather than making a joke, an introductory remark, or launching right into the speech, said, ‘I’ll go directly to the questions.’ He called on one of the students who had just stood up.

Henry Kissinger gave a lecture at SAIS in 1964. His next appearance at SAIS came in 1970 during the Vietnam War years, but tensions between him and some students prompted him to cut his visit short.
This student simply asked, ‘Mr. Kissinger, do you consider yourself to be a war criminal?’ Kissinger didn’t utter a word. Ten or fifteen seconds passed. Everyone was frozen. Kissinger then turned to the moderator and said, ‘Get your group under control.’ Finally, after a long delay, he walked up the side of the room and out the door.”

‘There was no attempt on the administration’s part to find out who the troublemaker was,” said Barton. “Again, it was a nonconfrontational approach.”’ Kissinger was less forgiving about the matter and has never set foot in the school again, although he did hire Janka a few months later. In the 1980s, he would hire three SAIS graduates to work at Kissinger Associates, his consulting firm.

A year later, however, SAIS students got a chance to be heard. A dozen of them went to the White House to talk about Nixon’s foreign policy with members of the National Security Council staff.

* * * * *

With a new building, a stronger curriculum, and an improved recruitment strategy, SAIS attracted a larger and more diversified pool of applicants. Students were not only better prepared in international relations, economics, political science, and history but they were more experienced. In 1968, the class included thirty-four veterans, forty-six students with advanced degrees, fifteen Peace Corps volunteers, sixty-nine students with overseas study experience (other than in Bologna), four lawyers, two law professors, five journalists, fifteen officers from foreign-affairs agencies, a dentist, a private pilot, an amateur golf champion, a policeman, and three equestrians.

This increasing diversity, together with the tempo of the times, created another challenge: to help new SAIS graduates find employment in a wider array of jobs than their predecessors had sought. Traditionally, the majority of graduates entered the public sector; by 1967, the number of students interested in private-sector careers exceeded the number aiming for careers in government. As a result, assistant deans Janka and Leeds began looking for new ways to place SAIS students in business, media, and nonprofit organizations.

‘There was almost an imperative in 1969 and 1970 to avoid anything that smacked of the U.S. government,” said Janka. Many SAIS students wanted alternatives, although those who still opted for foreign service careers had an outstanding admission record: thirteen out of fifteen SAIS students who passed the written exams were admitted, while the national average was three out of fifteen.

The large student body was a less cohesive group than in the Florida Avenue days, but that didn’t stop the parties. One focal point of SAIS social life was the rugby team that Roger Leeds organized and that played throughout the East.
Many parties were held in the lounge adjacent to the auditorium. Known as the Elephant Room, the name puzzled more recent generations of students; some even wondered if the name derived from a SAIS link to the Republican Party. The fact is that Eleanor B. Lloyd, a Philadelphia art patron and the mother of an alumnus, loaned a huge painting to SAIS in the early sixties, soon after the move to Massachusetts Avenue. Painted in shades of gray, and “with its two big, indistinct lumps, the painting literally looked like the ass end of an elephant,” explained one graduate. “So inevitably the first-floor lounge became the Elephant Room.”

The painting was returned to Mrs. Lloyd in the late seventies. Only then did most people realize that the “elephant” was a Morris Lewis painting and was worth over $150,000.
Steven Muller had been director of the Center of International Studies at Cornell University and later vice president for public affairs before coming to Johns Hopkins as provost. Appointed as president in 1972, Muller has had a special interest in SAIS and its activities both in Washington and abroad.
In 1971, the trustees of Johns Hopkins prevailed upon Milton Eisenhower, by then four years into retirement, to return as university president. Lincoln Gordon, who had succeeded Eisenhower in 1967, had encountered several obstacles as the university’s chief administrator. A former Rhodes scholar who had been Kennedy’s ambassador to Brazil and Johnson’s assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, Gordon had arrived in Baltimore as unrest over the Vietnam War was escalating, and students were demanding a greater say in university decisionmaking. His biggest problem, however, was financial. He increased the size of the faculty and doubled the administrative staff without a parallel rise in income, thus transforming the university’s previous budget surplus into an unprecedented annual deficit of $4.2 million by 1971. Gordon reacted by freezing salaries and reducing the faculty but not the staff. The faculty demanded Gordon’s resignation. He complied, and Milton Eisenhower, at age seventy-two, consented to return temporarily.

Steven Muller had succeeded Provost William Bevan during the last year of Gordon’s administration. As the director of Cornell University’s Center for International Studies and later vice president for public affairs during the sixties, Muller had a track record as an effective administrator and fundraiser. Eisenhower and Muller made an admirable team. Together they slashed Gordon’s budget, reduced the staff, and raised nearly $4 million in ten months. On January 10, 1972, Muller was elected the tenth president of Johns Hopkins by the university’s Board of Trustees. At age forty-four, he was the youngest president of Hopkins since the university’s first president, Daniel Coit Gilman, took office in 1875 at age forty-three. A year later the university’s budget was balanced for the first time since 1968.

The new Hamburg-born president was a man with a deep interest in international affairs; he had received a Ph.D. from Cornell University in comparative politics. “SAIS was the part of Hopkins that spoke most to what I used to do academically,” he said. “I found myself very attracted to SAIS.”
Under Robert E. Osgood, dean from 1973 to 1979, SAIS strengthened the curriculum and introduced a new degree program.

Indeed, it was Muller who ultimately made the decision to save the Bologna Center from extinction when deficits in the early seventies imperiled the center's future. President Eisenhower was confronted with tough budget decisions throughout the university, and the Bologna Center was not a main priority. SAIS Dean Francis Wilcox, who was against closing the center, persuaded Eisenhower to delay a decision on the center's future. Provost Muller visited Bologna and agreed with Wilcox. By the time he assumed the presidency, Muller was strongly committed to keeping the center alive.

Wilcox retired and was named executive director of the Commission on the Organization of Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy. He worked until shortly before his death in February 1985, serving as the director-general of the Atlantic Council of the United States from 1975 to 1984. Muller appointed Robert E. Osgood as the third dean of SAIS for a term that ran from 1973 to 1979.

Osgood's appointment came as no great surprise. The senior faculty sought more responsibility in running the school to build its academic stature and wanted one of their own as dean. The choice of Osgood made sense. He had been running the Washington Center since 1967, except when he was a senior staff member of the National Security
Council in 1969 and 1970. He had an excellent reputation as a scholar, was popular among students, and enjoyed broad support among faculty members.

Probably one of the few people who did not actively seek the deanship for Osgood was Osgood. Being an administrator would be a new challenge for this scholar. "I eventually decided that I would do it for no less than five and no more than seven years," he commented later. "Five years is, in effect, necessary to energize the academic aspect of SAIS. Longer than seven years would be stultifying, and I didn't want to be an administrator for life."

Osgood's characteristically informal and easygoing style was reflected at the school, which had relaxed considerably with the rest of Washington in the post-Vietnam War years. "People were very serious about their studies," said one alumnus. "The school was very quiet and small—a very good graduate school, but it wasn't particularly interested in reaching out into the community. We were there to study and to focus on our academic work."

The faculty saw Osgood as a "faculty dean," who was accessible, with or without an appointment. The students saw Osgood as a "student-oriented" dean, who was sympathetic and interested. "He participated actively in all student activities," said his longtime secretary Elaine Clark. "One year he was on stage in a group of harmonica players at the annual Christmas party." Indeed, his mastery of ballroom dancing, often exhibited at student gatherings, led others to call Osgood the "dancing dean."

As dean, Osgood sought to formalize academic procedures. Since remarkably few rules existed for making faculty appointments, Osgood oversaw the creation of the first handbook on faculty procedures. "While I was dean the school changed in many respects," he said, "It became more organized. No longer could it be conducted by a small coterie of people, certainly not just by the sixth floor. This was partly a function of the expansion of the faculty and the student body, which in turn was partly a function of economic necessity."

In 1974, Osgood also launched the Master in International Public Policy program in which mid-career professionals in U.S. and foreign governments, business, and journalism could take eight courses at SAIS to earn the M.I.P.P. degree.

Osgood was sometimes bemused by his role as administrator. "Academics are endlessly amusing—if you don't take them too seriously," he once remarked. "I enjoyed presiding over their excruciatingly clever arguments over trivial matters. But they are interesting people, and I had great satisfaction seeing the faculty improve. I also enjoyed the students, some of whom became our closest friends."

Osgood managed to continue teaching courses on American foreign
policy while writing several articles and a few books during his dean-
ship. In 1979, he happily turned his full attention to these scholarly
pursuits. He took a two-year leave of absence in 1983 to serve as a
member on Secretary of State George P. Shultz’s reconstituted Policy
Planning Council.

On December 28, 1986, Robert E. Osgood died suddenly of a heart
attack. As hundreds of his friends, colleagues, and students gathered
in Washington for his memorial service, it was clear that he would long
be remembered for his quiet wisdom, his self-effacing sense of humor,
and his enduring joy in teaching and learning.

* * * * *

Bob Osgood had succeeded in raising the school’s academic reputa-
tion in his years as dean. Like many academics, however, he did not
find fundraising to be a congenial task. By 1979, Muller was intent on
bringing in an outsider to be dean, someone with “an excellent ability
at public articulation and some demonstrated skill at development.”
He found the qualities he was looking for in George R. Packard, a
Princeton graduate, Fletcher Ph.D., and a specialist on East Asia who
spoke fluent Japanese. After a successful career in journalism and an
unsuccessful run for the U.S. Senate in 1976, he had become the deput-
y director of the Smithsonian’s Woodrow Wilson Center.

“There was one other thing that was attractive about Packard,”
said Muller. “SAIS had been more oriented toward Europe than any
other part of the world for most of its existence, but a true school of
international studies must be global, and Packard brought with him a
strong interest in Asia.”

Packard, like Muller, is a member of the new generation of academic
administrators who possess a talent for fundraising and grasp the im-
portance of public relations for promoting the school in a competitive
environment. He likes nothing more than a challenge. To nurture a sense
of community at SAIS and to test his running endurance against a
younger generation, Packard invites students each fall to compete with
him in a ten-kilometer race on Hains Point in Washington. He even beats
a few. “Those who show their good sense by letting me beat them will
most assuredly go far in diplomatic careers,” he said.

Packard set the stage for the school’s increased involvement in the
Washington’s foreign-policy circles. His purpose was to encourage
greater dialogue with policymakers, legislators, diplomats, and jour-
nalists; to attract the best students and faculty; to help students find
jobs; and to raise money to keep tuition down and faculty salaries up.

The dean’s style of management increased the tempo of the school’s
activities. The Washington Center for Foreign Policy Research, which
had reduced its activities during the seventies, was revitalized in 1980
George R. Packard, the dean of SAIS since 1979, stepped up the school's fundraising efforts and founded the Edwin O. Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies.

with new funding, a new director, and a new name: The Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute. "I didn't think the old center had a big enough vision of itself," said Packard. The SAIS Review, which disappeared in the mid-seventies through a lack of faculty interest, funding, and focus, was revised. Packard also acted on his long-held belief that the countries of the Pacific Rim would become of mounting important to U.S. economic and security interests by establishing the Edwin O. Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies. During his first seven years he doubled the school's endowment and established chairs in Chinese, Middle East, and Latin American studies and in international finance.

Virtually every department invited more outside specialists to speak to students. By 1986–87, more than four hundred brown-bag lunches, lectures, and conferences, most of them open to the public, were on the school calendar. Students competed for summer internships to work or study in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. Press and policy briefings at SAIS were as commonplace as the appearances by faculty members commenting on the nightly news. Whereas the school had been well recognized in policymaking and academic circles, Packard wanted the general public to know about SAIS as well.

"George saw the potential of the school and wanted people to recognize it," said Associate Dean George Crowell. "It takes an ag-
gressive personality to generate interest. And George is willing to go out there and carry the message.”

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, all fields of study underwent substantial change. This was partly due to new leadership in eight of the ten academic programs. The new professors arriving at SAIS during this period constituted the “third generation” of faculty members. By 1986, thirty-three residents, seventy-three adjunct, and sixteen language professors were offering 330 students more than 180 courses.

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Riordan Roett, the first of this new group, arrived in 1972 to revitalize the Latin American program after directing Vanderbilt University’s Center for Latin American Studies. Roett, a scholar with an endless reserve of energy, felt the program was “perfectly respectable, but sleepy.” He set about cutting static history courses and introducing new courses that explored the processes of change in Latin America. He quickly built the program into one of the largest and most popular at SAIS.

Roett’s strategy was to set up centers focusing on key Latin American countries under the auspices of his larger program. In 1978, he established the Center of Brazilian Studies, the first and only academic program in the United States devoted solely to the study of Brazilian

*Riordan Roett joined the faculty in 1975 and transformed the Latin American Studies Program into one of the largest and most active departments at the school.*
affairs. In 1979, the center organized the Commission on United States-Brazilian Relations, a group of twenty-four American leaders in industry, law, education, and journalism who published policy recommendations for improving the relationship between Washington and Brasilia. The same year, students began producing their own newsletter, INFOBRAZIL, which evolved into an informative quarterly with more than four hundred subscribers. The center also established summer internships so SAIS students could work for multinational corporation in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro.

Jimmy Carter’s election opened channels for “bridge-building,” a Roett speciality, with Havana. In 1980, Roett launched the first exchange of social scientists between the United States and Cuba since the 1959 revolution. With the help of The Ford Foundation, the exchange continued whenever the political climate permitted. When the Reagan administration clamped down on admitting Cubans into the United States, Roett simply held the joint conferences in Mexico and Canada.

The exchange with Cuba did arouse some controversy. Roett didn’t didn’t mind.

“My feeling is that the Latin American program at SAIS or any program at SAIS cannot allow itself to become a victim of a particular administration, be it Democratic or Republican,” he said. “I’ve been criticized by my friends on the left because I take money from multinational corporations and send my students to Brazil. I’m criticized from the right, obviously, for my program’s ties with Cuba. None of that bothers me in the least. Our program is now well established, and if you’re an intelligent observer, you know we’ve had people here from the right, the left, the center, up, down—that is the purpose of SAIS: to be very eclectic. And frankly, we are the only institution in Washington that has escaped being ideologically painted into a corner.”

Roett has been aided by an able junior faculty. Italian-born Piero Gleijeses, is known for his detailed grasp of Central and Latin American history, his ability to argue either side of a debate in order to provoke students, and his unorthodox oral examinations. Gleijeses, equally comfortable conversing in English, Italian, Spanish, German, or French, keeps a very old, very small phonograph in his office. “When you entered his office to take your oral exam, Gleijeses offered you a choice of background music,” said one alumna. “You could have ‘The Sound of Music,’ Central American revolutionary music, or music from the French Resistance.”

Bruce Bagley, who came to SAIS after spending four years at the Universidad de los Andes in Bogota, had written widely on Mexico and Colombia and strengthened the department’s focus on the Caribbean countries. Wayne Smith drew on his experience as chief of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana to teach a course on Cuba. A specialist, too,
The Story of SAIS

Nathaniel B. Thayer is a Japan specialist who directs the Asian Studies Program.

on Argentina, he headed the teaching and research on that country as well.

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The Asian Studies Program developed a wholly new focus through the 1970s and 1980s. Students now concentrated on either Japan or China, and learned the Japanese or Chinese language. Thomas Thornton of the State Department and others taught courses on South Asia and Southeast Asia, but the study of the Indonesian language faded away with the program in Yogyakarta. More and more students came to SAIS from Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, the People’s Republic of China, and other countries in the region.

Nathaniel B. Thayer began directing Asian studies in 1974, taking leave from 1977 to 1979 to be the CIA’s national intelligence officer for East Asia and the Pacific. Thayer, who is also director of the Japanese program within the department, spent almost a decade in East Asia. Like Packard, he once worked for Ambassador Reischauer, as his press attache, in Tokyo. It was then that he met and formed a lasting friendship with Yasuhiro Nakasone, who became Japan’s prime minister in 1982.

The “Nakasone connection” was beneficial to the school. In May 1983, Nakasone spoke at SAIS’ commencement in Washington. A year later, President Muller conferred an honorary doctor of humane letters
Beginning in 1980, SAIS held its own commencement in addition to the ceremonies at Homewood. Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone spoke to the class of 1984.

degree upon Nakasone in a ceremony featuring thirty young Suzuki violinists, a procession of robed university officials, and an audience of five hundred. Held in Tokyo, it was the first Hopkins convocation ever conducted off campus. Nakasone’s support did much to raise the visibility of SAIS in Japan.

“Before the commencement speech, I doubt few Japanese knew that Hopkins was anything other than a big hospital. Once in a while, a Japanese specialist in security would come wandering through,” said Thayer. “Now there are at least ten Japanese students a year and an increasing number of visitors.”

Between 1975 and 1982, most of the China courses were taught by James Reardon-Anderson, a young expert from Columbia University who accompanied SAIS students on a study trip to the People’s Republic of China in 1978. In 1982, A. Doak Barnett, one of the United States’ leading authorities on China, accepted SAIS’ new, handsomely endowed George and Sadie Hyman Chair of Chinese Studies. Barnett, who was born in Shanghai, argued for U.S. recognition of the country as early as 1956, long before such views were popular. After completing a B.A. and M.A. in international relations at Yale, Barnett returned to China in 1947 as a correspondent for the Chicago Daily News. Through the 1950s, he worked in education, journalism, and government both in
the United States and in China. He headed Columbia University’s China program for almost a decade and was appointed a senior fellow at Brookings in 1969.

The $1.1 million endowment for the Hyman chair was given to SAIS by the Hymans’ nephew, Benjamin T. Rome, a 1925 graduate of Hopkins who presided over his family’s foundation and the huge construction company founded by and named after his late uncle. The long association between Rome and the Hymans and SAIS went back to 1966, when Sadie Hyman, an early advocate of U.S. recognition of China, contributed $100,000 to bolster Asian studies at SAIS. Mrs. Hyman was active in several philanthropic groups, including the American Association of the United Nations where she met Francis Wilcox. She remained the Asian studies department’s key benefactor until her death in 1978. Rome, a member of the SAIS Advisory Council and a Hopkins trustee, has continued the family’s philanthropy to SAIS.

Packard, who received tenure as a professor of East Asian studies in April 1986, led the effort to link the program to the outside world. With a grant from the U.S.-Japan Foundation in New York, he set up the U.S.-Japan Study Center in 1982 to conduct research and publish policy recommendations.

Five years of fundraising culminated in the 1984 opening of the

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Edwin O. Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies. Named in honor of Packard’s mentor who was then seventy-four, Packard called him “quite simply the preeminent scholar, diplomat, and statesman of our time.” The U.S.-Japan Study Center and the SAIS China Forum, which Doak Barnett and Professor Ralph Clough had founded, were brought under the auspices of the Reischauer Center, as were new courses on Korea and Taiwan.

“Asia is becoming increasingly integrated. When I was a graduate student at the Fletcher School it was perfectly conceivable to study Japan and not even think about China or Southeast Asia. The relationships were very demarcated,” said Packard, who directs the Reischauer Center. “Today, it is all one thriving, burgeoning economic area which

Senator Jay Rockefeller, inset, paid tribute to his former teacher, Edwin O. Reischauer, at the 1984 dedication of the Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies. Looking on, from left, are Haru and Edwin Reischauer, Steven Muller, and George Packard.
has become vital to the future of the United States. We, as an academic institution, have had to adjust to these developments.”

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The Reischauer Center was designed to oversee the teaching, research, and publishing programs on East Asia. Some of the center’s associates were involved in one of Johns Hopkins’ most ambitious enterprises, the Hopkins-Nanjing Center for Chinese and American Studies. The center, which opened on September 10, 1986, was an unprecedented educational partnership between the two countries, the first in more than fifty years in which costs, facilities, and administration were shared by both. The aim was to train up to fifty Americans and fifty Chinese postgraduate students each year in economics, history, political science, and international relations.

The idea of this undertaking was rooted in a conversation that occurred in 1977 as Muller and Dean Osgood were strolling through Rome, where the Bologna Center Advisory Council was meeting. “What was on our minds was the Bologna Center,” said Muller. “Bob and I were congratulating ourselves about the fact that the center was almost twenty-five years old. In some fairly natural manner, I remember raising the question of setting up something similar to the Bologna Center in East Asia.” The People’s Republic of China was of particular interest to Muller.

Osgood, however, did not know whether to take Muller seriously. “Steve has a delightful sense of drama and a slightly irreverent sense of humor,” he later recalled. “I thought some of his comments were slightly hilarious. But, by God, he meant them.”

Professor Chien Chih-Yung, a China-born physicist who had been teaching at Hopkins since 1969, was a key figure in helping Muller achieve his vision. In 1979, Chien arranged to have a delegation of Chinese university presidents who were visiting the United States add Hopkins to their itinerary.

“How Chih-Yung got himself into that, I don’t remember,” said Muller. “I decided, then, that I would use the opportunity of the delegation’s presence to raise the question of a mutually beneficial venture between Hopkins and a Chinese university.” Nanjing University President Kuang Yaming was receptive to Muller’s ideas.

A year later, Chien spent the summer as a visiting scholar in China. He looked for a partner for Hopkins and was particularly impressed with Nanjing University, one of China’s most prestigious universities. Nanjing city, in east central China on the Yangtze River, has been a political center for centuries. In the twentieth century alone, it was twice the seat of Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist government and earlier was the capital of seven dynastic and regional empires.

At the end of his visit, Chien was appointed an honorary professor,
one of the few foreigners to receive this honor, and the first at Nanjing University. On the evening of the ceremony, Chien and Kuang decided that a Hopkins delegation should visit Nanjing.

In 1981, Muller, Chien, Packard, Isaiah Frank, and four other university representatives did travel to China. "I thought there would be a lot of discussion, but no decisions made," Muller recalled. "Instead, in the course of three weeks, an agreement (with Nanjing University) was written up, signed, and publicly announced."

In March 1982, China’s State Council approved the project. On September 1, 1984, Chinese and U.S. educators and dignitaries donned hard hats in a downpour for the center’s groundbreaking ceremony at Nanjing University. Two years later, Muller and President Qu Qinyue of Nanjing University cut the ribbons signifying the opening of the center.

Nanjing Center, the two, in fact, are quite different. The Bologna Center is a branch of SAIS, while the Nanjing Center, although administered on the American side by SAIS, is a university-sponsored and -financed program. The Bologna Center is an American school with an American director, but the Nanjing Center is a bilateral program with Chinese and American codirectors. The Nanjing Center does not award degrees; Bologna students may work toward a SAIS M.A. degree. Classes in Bologna are taught in English, while Americans in Nanjing study with Chinese professors in Chinese, and Chinese students are taught by American professors in English.

One element the two centers have shared is the skepticism they
William Speidel is the U.S. coordinator for the Hopkins-Nanjing Center. In the photo above right, Leon Slawecki, left, and Wang Zbigang, right, were appointed as the first resident codirectors of the center. With them is Yu Shaoi, a vice president of Nanjing University.

By the time the Hopkins-Nanjing Center opened, SAIS librarian Peter Promen and his staff had shipped ten thousand English-language books to the center’s library. The Chinese supplied ten thousand Chinese-language volumes.
engendered. Grove Haines, the SAIS professor who founded the Bologna Center in 1955, had a tough time convincing others that his plan would succeed. Muller and Packard encountered similar reluctance but were determined to proceed.

"The Nanjing Center is the biggest new opportunity facing the school," said Packard in SAISPHERE in 1984. "Clearly it hangs in the balance whether it will succeed. The point is that rarely has anything like this ever been attempted in either country. It is pioneering, it is exciting, it is full of dangers and full of opportunities."

The 64,000-square-foot Hopkins-Nanjing Center was built with residential space for students and faculty members, dining areas, classrooms, administrative offices, an auditorium, a language laboratory, and a library. The building was designed and constructed by the Chinese, with advice from Johns Hopkins architect Thomas P. McCracken. The Americans contributed some building materials as well as video cassette recorders, televisions, typewriters, and audio-video equipment. The library opened with about twenty thousand volumes and four hundred periodicals, half in English and half in Chinese; Nanjing University and Johns Hopkins would each add two thousand more books a year.

Differences and misunderstandings between the Chinese and American planners did occur occasionally. The space Hopkins thought was for a receptionist was meant as a ceremonial tea room by the Chinese. The Chinese tried to discourage the installation of central heating and air conditioning, but Hopkins insisted.

The U.S. coordinator of the center's construction, fundraising, and recruitment of American students and professors was William Speidel, a specialist on China from the University of Virginia. Speidel was the man who searched the world for a company that makes copper pipes in the metric system and arranged the shipment of materials to China from Japan and Hong Kong. He was involved in everything from tightening up the center's budget to choosing colors for the curtains.

Wang Zhigang, a linguistics scholar at Nanjing University, and Leon M.S. Slawecki '63, a Yale Ph.D. who served as the U.S. Embassy's cultural affairs officer in Beijing, were named as the center's first codirectors. Faculty members were recruited from around the United States and China.

At the center's dedication, Muller was moved by the enormity of the task that dozens of individuals on opposite sides of the world had helped to accomplish, and he thanked them for it. He then looked at the center's first class of students, professors, and staff members and said that they ultimately carried the burden of making the center a success or failure. He also called them "the bravest of all."

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William Zartman, director of African studies since 1980, decided to put his program "on the map, in academic terms," while tightening the connections between the study of Africa and the overall study of international relations. A prominent scholar with an M.A. from Hopkins and a Ph.D. from Yale, he lived and lectured all over Africa, and taught for twenty years on the faculties of the University of South Carolina and New York University. He was a founder and president of the Middle East Studies Association.

In 1981, Associate Professor Michael G. Schatzberg, a specialist in comparative politics, joined Zartman in the department. A graduate of the University of Wisconsin, he had been a Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Fellow in Zaire.

Zartman's other role as a professor of international politics who specializes in conflict management illustrates his belief that the study of Africa must be linked to a broader international scenario. "African studies should be comprehensive and integrated as well," he has said. "It should not be its own island. We're beyond the days of 'orientalism' in area studies. Africa is not only part of the geographic world, but of the world of understanding."

Zartman unfurled a new roster of activities in his program. The annual Africa Country Day offers a comprehensive analysis of the political, social, and economic issues of one country. The All-University African Workshop draws Africanists from throughout Hopkins to present papers representing various disciplinary perspectives. "We added a mini-course on political inquiry that is required of all African studies students," said Zartman. "It tells people how to recognize a hypothesis if it goes walking down the street, and how to use it."

With the help of his students, Zartman initiated a summer internship program in 1982 allowing students to conduct individual research in Kenya. When the Kenyan government decided the students must have a full-blown research clearance before arriving in Nairobi, Zartman abolished the program.

I. William Zartman, director of the African Studies Program and professor of international politics, specializes in conflict management.
"Since the aborted coup of August 1982, the Kenyan government has progressively tightened up its restrictions on doing research, not just for expatriates, but for Kenyans as well," explained Schatzberg. "It takes nine months to get a research clearance, which is a long, very complex, and convoluted process. The program became administratively unworkable for us." Zartman, in response, set up new programs for students in Tunisia and Senegal.

"If you can't get every student to go to Africa, you bring Africa here." Zartman said. Professors from Nigeria, Togo, Ivory Coast, Kenya, South Africa, and Tunisia taught at SAIS in the early eighties.

Lebanese-born professor Professor Fouad Ajami, appointed director of Middle East in 1980, likes to walk on the edge between the topical and the historical since he feels there is no other way to understand the region and its lack of political stability. "You have to find the magic of the middle ground between that which passes under the name of policy analysis and that which passes under the name of cultural Middle East Studies Program director Fouad Ajami received the MacArthur Prize in 1982 for his contributions to his field.
analysis—the study of history and civilization,” explained Ajami, a former Princeton professor.

“Ajami was extremely eloquent and able to synthesize broad scenarios into very succinct conclusions,” said a former student. “He meandered about from one theme to another, and you didn’t realize until he finished that he had actually been weaving one huge tapestry, which somehow held all the themes together.”

Ajami’s elegant way with words, his ability to clarify the tumultuous events of the Middle East have made him a favorite commentator among news organizations. His analysis of events surrounding the TWA hijacking in Beirut in June 1985 led to a contract with CBS News.

In 1982, Ajami received the MacArthur Prize, commonly called the genius award. It is given to people who, if freed from financial pressures, can make exceptional contributions in their chosen fields. With his five-year grant, Ajami by 1986 had written a book on Lebanon’s “vanished Imam” and an account of his own family history.

To balance his own expertise on the Arab world, Ajami brought noted Israeli expert Amos Perlmutter to SAIS to teach courses on Israel and comparative politics. Islamic specialist James Piscatori, who had taught at the University of Virginia, became an associate professor in the program in 1986. Ajami also brought in as guest speakers Arab and Israeli scholars, politicians, and journalists to enlighten students on Middle East issues.

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Under the successive directorships of H. Edward English (1973–76), Roger F. Swanson (1976–79), David Dodge (1979–80), and Charles Doran (beginning in 1980), the Center for Canadian Studies strengthened its teaching and intensified its involvement in U.S.-Canadian relations.

With an average of twelve students, the department is one of the school’s smallest. It is also one of the better funded, thanks to a $1 million endowment established in 1974 with grants from the William H. Donner Foundation, the Arthur Vining Davis Foundation, and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. The center’s endowment was boosted further in 1986 when $700,000 was raised to meet the requirements of a two-for-one, $350,000 challenge grant from the Mellon Foundation.

Students examine Canada’s policies and politics through courses taught frequently by Canadians. Robert Bourassa, then the former premier of Quebec, taught a course on Quebec politics in 1977, and continued giving occasional talks at the center until he reassumed the premiership in 1985. An exchange between SAIS and Carleton University in Ottawa begun in 1984 brought other Canadian professors to SAIS to teach. The amicable relationship between the center and the neighboring Canadian Embassy has also benefited students, who make
use of its library and information facilities, and meet now and then with the ambassador.

Under Charles Doran, the center began to make an impact on Washington’s policymakers. In 1981, it launched a USIA-funded speaker series on current Canadian issues for representatives from the American private and public sectors. That year Doran also organized the center’s Advisory Council, a group of distinguished Americans and Canadians including former U.S. secretary of state Edmund Muskie and former Canadian minister of finance Donald S. Macdonald.

In 1985, Jonathan Lemco, a Canadian who had taught at McGill University, the University of Victoria and Wilfrid Laurier University, joined the faculty to teach Canadian domestic politics and foreign policy.

A challenge the Center for Canadian Studies now faces is attracting more students. Although Canada is the United States’ neighbor and largest trading partner, Americans at SAIS and other schools are less interested in specializing in Canada than in other countries and regions. As a result, a growing number of the center’s students are Canadian.

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Directed by Charles Doran ’66 since 1980, the Center for Canadian Studies is a resource for policymakers as well as scholars.
The Soviet studies program worked hard, too, to broaden its visibility while introducing students to numerous outside experts. Bruce Parrott, who succeeded Herbert Dinerstein upon his retirement in 1984, set up roundtables where Sovietologists discussed U.S.-Soviet economic, political, and military issues. In March 1986, the department sponsored a major conference analyzing the Soviet Union's Twenty-Seventh Party Congress. The session was widely covered by journalists curious about Mikhail Gorbachev, then the new Soviet leader, and his plans for the Soviet government.

Students give Parrott high marks for his teaching. "Instead of constantly lecturing, Parrott uses the socratic method of teaching," said one student. "He presents his own view and then lets us dive in and discuss our own opinions."

Since the late seventies, the Soviet studies program has had an average yearly enrollment of twelve students. Parrott has said the generational gap among Sovietologists would lead to a tremendous increase in the need for competent analysts by the year 2000.

"Many of today's Sovietologists were trained shortly after World War II and will likely retire in the 1990s, so there is an increasing need for people who understand the Soviet Union," said Parrott, a Ph.D. graduate of Columbia University and a specialist in Soviet-U.S. trade and technology. "Also, the Soviet society is changing. A whole genera-

Professor Bruce Parrott succeeded Herbert Dinerstein as the director of Soviet studies in 1984 and has brought in numerous Sovietologists to give students a more comprehensive view of U.S.-Soviet relations.
tion of leaders is leaving the scene, and you have new, and perhaps unpredictable, leaders replacing them.”

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The European studies program remained strong and stable through the seventies and into the eighties. “We began with a certain basic structure that hasn’t changed a great deal, though we are constantly changing the content within that structure,” said David Calleo. In the seventies, Calleo began to give his courses a “political economy” orientation, that is, treating the economic dimensions of the political issues confronting European countries. In the eighties, Calleo dealt increasingly with security concerns in Europe in his courses.

Michael M. Harrison ’68, a specialist in French politics and political theory, began teaching in the department in 1973. A Ph.D. graduate from Columbia, Harrison is also an opera buff, but not in the usual sense: he is interested in the role of lyric opera in creating the concept of “nationalism” in nineteenth-century Europe. By 1986, he was in the process of writing a book on the subject. Indeed, Harrison has such a keen interest in Europe’s nineteenth-century “political artists” that in 1983 he organized a large symposium on Richard Wagner in New York City on the occasion of the centenary of Wagner’s death.

Of all the school’s area programs, European studies had the headiest list of requirements, namely three comprehensive exams that students had to pass in order to graduate. Although European studies did bring in occasional visiting speakers, Calleo did not contribute to the “event inflation” that overtook SAIS in the 1980s. Calleo, who was never shy about expressing his opinions, said he preferred to organize research seminars that generated intense discussion, rather than big conferences which generated publicity.

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The functional programs—nonregional fields of study—underwent a complete transformation that climaxed in 1979 in the establishment of a core curriculum. Before then, the final oral exam required students to have command over economics and two other fields chosen from area studies or the functional programs, including American foreign policy, comparative politics, international politics, and international law and organization. As area studies and the field of American foreign policy grew in strength, the functional areas were virtually ignored in the oral exams.

“The third fields were never very serious,” said David Calleo, who helped devise the core curriculum as chairman of the curriculum committee. “They were only covered briefly during the oral exams.”
After extensive deliberations, the faculty approved a reshaping of the curriculum that would include a set of core examination requirements for M.A. candidates in four fields: Evolution of the Modern International System, Theories of the International System, Comparative National Systems, and America and the World Since 1945. Students had to pass three out of the four, preparing for them either on their own or in courses covering each topic. The core curriculum was intended to give SAIS students a common foundation in international relations needed for more advanced study and to help them see the linkage between the various fields. The oral exam, in turn, was reduced to two fields—economics and one other—since the core requirements, in effect, replaced the weak third field.

However well-intentioned, the core curriculum immediately generated an outcry by students. Generally, students favored its objectives but deplored its implementation. Some resented the imposition of more requirements and believed they were capable of choosing courses that met their basic needs. Others complained that the core courses were too large, too oriented to the West, and too disorganized.

In 1980, dissatisfied students organized a petition drive seeking to change or eliminate the core but without success. The debate, review, and re-review continued through the years. David Calleo and his committee in 1986 began another reassessment of the program. Calleo hoped the core war would abate if students were offered a wider choice of courses and smaller classes.

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Under the steady hand of Isaiah Frank, the international economics department weathered the curricular storms. The quadrupling of the price of oil in the early 1970s, the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system in 1973, and the private sector’s growing demand for students of international relations and economics were challenges that Frank sought to accommodate by increasing the range and depth of his department’s curriculum. Students who got beyond basic trade, monetary, and macro- and microeconomic theory could move on to quantitative and financial methods, international economic policy, economic development, and international resource policy.

By the early 1980s, the department had three tenured professors. Frank taught courses on international economic policy and economic development while also chairing the State Department Advisory Committee on International Investment, Technology, and Development.

Charles Pearson, who received tenure in 1978, parlayed his interest in international environmental issues into a new course. He demanded as much hard work from his students as Frank had demanded from Pearson during his student days.
Isaiah Frank has guided the international economics department, now the largest program at SAIS, for more than twenty years.

After receiving his doctorate at Cornell, Charles Pearson '66 returned to SAIS to teach; his interest in environmental issues resulted in a new course.
Few students pass through SAIS without taking at least one course with Professor James Riedel, an expert on international trade and monetary theory.

“We respected Professor Pearson because he really cared about the work we did in his courses,” said Monique Maddy ’86. “He took the time to critique each of our papers as though they were being prepared for publication.” Others agreed: Pearson was twice cited by students for excellence in teaching.

All SAIS M.A. candidates have to be adept in analyzing international trade and monetary theory to pass the economics part of the oral exam; therefore, most take courses with Professor James C. Riedel, an expert on these subjects. With a low-key manner and a dry wit, Riedel can demystify the most baffling economic intricacies. Riedel, an avid tennis player who enjoys challenging his students—or Charlie Pearson—on the courts, earned his undergraduate and advanced degrees at the University of California at Davis. Michael Lewin, a Hopkins doctoral graduate who previously was an economist with the Israeli government, joined the full-time faculty in 1985.

By 1986, sixteen part-time faculty members were teaching economics. One of them, Warrick Elgin Elrod Jr., who taught financial analysis from 1974 to 1985, reportedly held the school’s record for conducting the greatest number of oral exams. A former foreign service officer and senior economist at several federal agencies, Elrod conducted as many as forty-four oral exams annually. Most professors never give more than thirty a year; they say they find giving oral exams as draining as the students find taking them.

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After 1979, the international history and theory courses were consolidated under the international relations program headed by Roger D. Hansen, who holds the Jacob Blaustein Chair in International Organization. A 1970 Ph.D. graduate of SAIS, Hansen returned to the school in 1976 after working as a senior associate at the Council on Foreign Relations. In addition to teaching at SAIS, he worked as a senior
fellow at Washington’s Overseas Development Council and, in 1977, he was a senior staff member of the National Security Council. His program oversees the subfields of global theory and history, international law and institutions, and conflict management and security.

Security studies were first set up under the Foreign Policy Institute in 1980 by Robert Osgood, with support from Paul Nitze and the Smith-Richardson Foundation. Nitze, then the chairman of policy studies for the Committee on the Present Danger, cotaught a course on security issues that year. Defense analyst Paul Wolfowitz joined the program as codirector but was soon beckoned to join the Reagan team in the State Department.

In 1981, Michael Vlahos, a former CIA analyst who specialized in Soviet naval developments joined Osgood as codirector. Vlahos is famous among students for his ability to describe, in detail, the military structure of any country in the world. He also has some unique teaching methods. For example, he has thrown beer and pizza parties during which he showed old Hollywood movies that reflected the evolution of America’s perception of its world role.

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_A faculty member since 1976, Roger D. Hansen directs the international relations program, covering global theory and history, international law and institutions, and conflict management and security._
The field of comparative politics and modernization had a difficult

time getting started, probably because it never had a true home

in the curriculum. Until the mid-seventies, it had no director, very few

students, and probably would have vanished if professors like John

Badgley in Asian studies, Michael Hudson in Middle East studies, and

Harlan Robinson in African studies had not offered courses in the field.

As the area studies departments grew stronger and as interest in

the Third World mounted—in part from the Carter administration’s

foreign-policy focus and events like the post-1973 oil shock—an increasing

number of students and faculty members were eager to study
development and to compare issues that cut across national and regional

boundaries.

In 1973, Roett and Lystad suggested to Dean Osgood that the pro-

gram needed a director. He agreed, and on their recommendation, hired

Joan Nelson in 1974 as a part-time professor with a de facto mandate
to organize a department, of which she was named director in 1978.

With a Ph.D. from Harvard, where she had been a protege of the emi-
nent political scientist, Samuel P. Huntington, Nelson taught at MIT and

Wellesley College, was a research associate at the Harvard Center for

International Affairs and the Urban Institute, and was a consultant for

AID and The World Bank. A specialist in urbanization in developing na-

tions, Nelson was respected by students for her analytic mind and friend-

ly counsel. She became the only part-time professor at the school to
direct a field of study, for which she developed courses and syllabi that

essentially focused on the dynamics of social change and development.

Despite the growing popularity of the field, its status was far from

secure. A long and difficult faculty debate ensued when Nelson applied

for tenure in 1980. She was denied in 1982.

"The trouble with history is that it reminds us of the big stinks

in the past," said Zartman in 1986. "Unfortunately, this debate was a

very important big stink."

The legitimacy and importance of Nelson’s field was as much at

stake as her tenure. "In a school that had historically been more oriented

toward the great powers, the debate was an intellectual one between

the First and Third Worlds," said one professor.

There was also the matter of faculty politics, since a new tenured

director heading a strong field would alter the power balance on the

Academic Board and realign the relative strength of other fields. A threat
to "baronial imperialism" was how one professor described it.

Matters were even worse because some faculty members and

students who supported Nelson felt that the circumstances pointed
toward sexism. After all, Nelson was the first woman seeking entrance
to an all-male club. The debate dragged on for months. Then Nelson

filed a complaint with Provost Richard P. Longaker because of alleged
irregularities and delays in the Academic Board’s procedures. Longaker appointed two women and a man to a review committee at Homewood. They concluded that while the procedures were flawed, sexism was not a determining factor in the board’s decision to deny Nelson tenure. Meanwhile, angry students wrote petitions and picketed an Advisory Council dinner. In a strong show of support, they singled Nelson out at the 1981 commencement for her contributions as a teacher.

Nelson left in 1982 to work at the Overseas Development Council, but the department at SAIS floundered for a few more years without a full-time director. The program would endure, however, because of abiding student interest in development studies. In 1984, a professor was finally recruited as the tenured head of the department. Ironically, the best candidate turned out to be a woman.

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With two B.A. degrees, three M.A. degrees, a Ph.D., almost a decade of work overseas, and mastery of six languages (including Tagalog), Grace Goodell brought experience and a sense of leadership to the department. With a new director, faculty tension evaporated and the impasse was transcended. “I never noticed biases one way or another,” said Goodell, an adventurous anthropologist who actively sought out unusual challenges. For example, to learn about weaving in Peru for project at New York’s American Museum of Natural History, she traveled on foot among remote Andean villages, where villagers and even local prisoners taught her how to clip sheep, spin the wool, make dye from flowers, dye the wool, and weave it.

Reorganizing the newly named Social Change and Development Program was also a form of weaving for Goodell since an understanding of social change meant tying together issues and institutions of both the Third World and advanced industrial countries. The department, therefore, focused on developing countries but set up a program on advanced industrial societies, headed by Michael Harrison.

“Because I am an ‘applied’ person and the students keep telling me they want ‘relevance’ and ‘hands-on experience’ in their courses, we have instituted a few courses on methods,” Goodell said. “I insist, though, that students leave the department with a strong theoretical background as well.” By 1986, her program was one of the school’s largest.

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Lisbeth Stevens retired as director of the language department in 1980, and Jerry Lampe, a 1969 alumnus who had been teaching Arabic at SAIS since the second year of his M.A. studies, succeeded her. Though the program had grown much stronger under Mrs. Stevens’
With six academic degrees to her credit, Grace Goodell came to SAIS in 1984 to organize a new program on social change and development.
directorship, its faculty felt isolated from the school’s other academic program and from its decisionmaking process.

“We felt we had very little say in an institution in which we had a major stake,” said Lampe, who worked hard to help integrate the language faculty with the rest of the school. “Finally, after years of requests, we were appointed to all of the school’s various committees,” he said.

Language faculty members have turned their attention to new teaching techniques. Improving the aural skills of students is an area where the program made great strides. “We began to use a lot of films and videotaped television programs and news broadcasts,” said Lampe, “to not only develop better listening skills but to enhance the cultural content of the language courses.”

By 1986, the department had sixteen instructors, of which at least four—Ch’i Li-Chuang Duke, Natasha Simes, Nelly Plaza Kratochwil, David Heft, and Micheline Toumayan—had taught at SAIS for more than a decade. Madame Toumayan, director of the French program who first taught at SAIS in 1958, was known to generations of students for her tough standards; many a student has taken her proficiency exam more than once.

Courses were offered in nine languages: Arabic, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Chinese, and Japanese. French and Spanish traditionally attracted the most students, yet the percentage of students who wanted to learn Japanese and Chinese increased noticeably as a result of the school’s new focus on Asia.

A summer program was set up for the first time at SAIS in 1976 for people interested in studying the less commonly taught languages of Arabic, Japanese, Chinese, or political Russian. Thanks to the efforts of Professor Souraya Haddad, students could also study Arabic at Yarmouk University in Jordan. Jacqueline Flynn and Francoise Remington

Under Jerry Lampe, the director of the language program since 1980, SAIS offers classes in nine languages and relies increasingly on high-tech audio-video equipment as teaching aids.
led a French summer program on the coast of Normandy, and students could go to Tokyo to study Japanese. In addition, the language faculty began offering summer courses for local high school teachers who wanted to explore political and economic materials in Spanish, German, or French in their own classes.

By 1986, Lampe looked forward to computerizing the language lab. His hope was to bring in television programming from all over the world via satellite so students could practice their language skills while studying the politics, economics, and cultures of various countries and regions.

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The development of the curriculum was not confined to programs within SAIS. Students increasingly desired to link their studies in international relations to other fields. In 1983, SAIS and the Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health established a three-year program leading to an M.A. in International Relations and a Master of Health Science for those who wished to work in international health services.

About the same time, SAIS joined with the University of Pennsylvania's famed Wharton School of Business to offer a three-year M.A.-M.B.A. program. Students had complained for several years about the inadequacy of finance courses at SAIS which they said hampered their ability to compete with M.B.A.s in the job market. There was resistance to hiking the number of finance courses at SAIS, however, for fear of turning the economics program into a mini-M.B.A. program and away from its basic mission of teaching the fundamentals of international economics.

Advisory Council members Morris Offit and G. Donald Johnston, Jr., suggested that SAIS explore the possibility of a joint-degree program with Wharton. Wharton was receptive, and in January 1983, Peter Drittel became the first student to enter the joint program.

"Wharton taught me business discipline while SAIS gave me a broad view of the world," said Drittel, who later became an investment banker. "The students at Wharton had experience in the private sector and were extremely motivated in their career goals. The people at SAIS were very well-rounded—many had lived abroad and brought fresh insights to problem-solving."

Bart Fisher '67 (M.A.) '70 (Ph.D.) saw burgeoning opportunities for SAIS graduates in international law, and in trade, customs, patent, and trademark law. A law graduate of Harvard who practices in Washington, Fisher was aware that many SAIS alumni had earned law degrees in addition to their SAIS M.A. degrees and that a combined program in the two fields made sense. With the backing of George Packard, Fisher
looked for an appropriate partner, and in 1985, the joint, four-year J.D.-M.A. program with Stanford Law School was announced.

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Although the Ph.D. program continued to grow in the 1970s, doubts about its appropriateness as a SAIS offering lingered into the 1980s. The question remained: What role does a Ph.D. program have in a small graduate school whose strength lies in a professional M.A. program? Critics of the Ph.D. program at SAIS said the school was too small to provide the extensive resources that are available at major universities. Indeed, that was why many SAIS graduates pursued doctoral studies at Homewood’s Political Science Department or other institutions. Others disagreed strongly.

"The Ph.D. program in very important ways makes this an academic institution. I resist when people say this is a trade school. It's not," said Professor Zartman. "SAIS is actually a very large department made up of small departments for the Ph.D. student. The degree, after all, is in international relations, not in a regional or functional field. The question is not whether two professors in Middle East studies or African studies is enough, but whether thirty-three full-time and seventy-five part-time faculty is enough for a Ph.D. student."

In the early and mid-1970s, when there was a great demand for Ph.D.s in international relations and plenty of scholarship money available, SAIS admitted Ph.D. students more freely. Between the late sixties and mid-seventies, the roster of doctoral candidates more than doubled. Many candidates, however, took an excessively long time to complete their dissertations; others didn’t bother at all, but simply disappeared, presumably, into the nonacademic job market as teaching opportunities diminished. By the eighties, the number of students admitted to the program was curtailed sharply to about fifteen a year, while the rigor and quality of the program itself were strengthened.

"The ultimate decision was to have a Ph.D. program but to keep it small," said Professor Roett. Special Ph.D. workshops and seminars were developed to give the program more structure since, as Zartman explained, "We are no longer in nineteenth-century Europe where you work with a Herr Professor and become his acolyte for a while before going out into the world."
Associate Dean George Crowell '74 has overseen student affairs since 1976 and in recent years has also aided the school's fundraising efforts.

Associate dean for academic affairs, Robert Lystad, with more than twenty years of tenure at SAIS, handles faculty and curriculum concerns.
Robert Osgood left George Packard a balanced budget in 1979. Nonetheless, to pay for the school’s new programs, faculty members, and facilities, Packard spent a heavy portion of his time increasing the school’s endowment, which had reached $16 million by 1986. The goal was to make SAIS less dependent on tuition income and short-term grants.

Packard in 1980 appointed a 1980s Committee to examine every aspect of the school. Members included professors, staff members, students, alumni, and Advisory Council members, who looked at the curriculum, the physical plant, rising costs, and the size of the student body. They made educated guesses about the state of the world ten or twenty years hence and how SAIS should evolve in order to respond effectively. The school acted upon many of the committee’s recommendations by adding, for example, more international finance courses, by focusing more on Mexico and Japan, seeking more physical space to relieve overcrowding, and launching a major fundraising drive.

One committee recommendation was to increase the administrative staff to cope with the school’s burgeoning programs. Packard invested heavy responsibilities in his two associate deans. Professor Robert Lystad became the first associate dean of academic affairs in 1979. With an astute sense of what makes the school tick after twenty-plus years on the faculty and with an affable temperament, Lystad has been involved in most aspects of the school’s internal affairs including admissions, the visiting scholars program and recruitment of part-time faculty members.

George Crowell ’74 returned to SAIS in 1976 after working on the admissions staff at Vassar to become the assistant, and then associate, dean. Before entering the SAIS M.A. program, he was the associate director of admissions at his alma mater, Antioch College, and later spent a year in Africa studying and performing with the Ghana National Dance Ensemble. An enthusiastic administrator, Crowell is easily accessible to students. His office by the mid-1980s oversaw career planning, admissions, financial aid, and summer school.

The Development Office expanded to reflect the new emphasis
The Story of SAIS

on fundraising. Bob Hall, who had handled this chore for twenty-five years, personally knew foundation and corporate officers and most of the school's alumni. Upon his 1984 retirement, a new team handled alumni relations, governmental affairs, corporate relations, and individual donors. The new team computerized their records, developed new programs for alumni, and devised new fundraising strategies.

In the early 1980s, SAIS revamped its career services to reflect the movement of more students away from public-service jobs toward the fast pace and higher salaries of the private sector. The business world was hard to crack, however, since many firms traditionally hired M.B.A.s, even for their international operations. Students who still aspired to careers in government also faced an uphill battle because of cutbacks in federal hiring.

Maureen Golden, a Stanford graduate who had worked in job counseling at Georgetown University, became head of the new Career Services Office in 1981. She set about wooing corporate and banking recruiters to consider SAIS graduates and prevailed upon SAIS alumni and friends to open doors for them. She instigated what became an annual trip to New York so students could visit executive suites and explore job opportunities. (In 1985, Golden moved on to become director of corporate relations. Her successor, Michele Clark, along with Paul Alter ‘81, director of alumni and government affairs, launched a similar program in Washington in 1986.) Golden also brought in alumni and others to talk about their own experiences in the job market and to counsel students on how to market themselves. "Networking" became the catch word as Golden helped students cultivate contacts who could aid them in the job search.

Susan Crowley, who became SAIS’s first director of public affairs in 1978, focused on making SAIS more visible. She ran numerous press briefings and alerted the media to faculty talent at SAIS. She also overhauled the catalogue and other publications, and produced SAISPHERE, the alumni magazine, and a monthly calendar of events and news.

"One of our main challenges has been selling the acronym ‘SAIS,’ since the name itself is impossible to remember," said Crowley, a former writer for the Washington Post. "When we saw ‘SAIS is NAIS’ painted on the sidewalk on Eighteenth Street, we figured we’d arrived," she joked. The Public Affairs Office also started a brisk business in SAIS sweatshirts, ties, mugs, and other school paraphernalia.

Key staff members continued to keep SAIS afloat, getting the right professor to the right class at the right time, locating the crucial book for a research paper, and offering a celebratory nip to the student who made it through orals. Veterans like librarian Peter Promen, business manager Jim Cochran and personnel officer Larry Woodward, along
with such dedicated staffers as Barbara Bowersox, Linda Carlson, Elaine Clark, Kay Butler, Ellen Nesheim, Judy Tarpgaard, Marsha Mirsky, Elaine Ferat, Diane Monash, Theresa Simmons, Maryllis Bartlett, Lois Woodson, Priscilla Rossetti, Leroy Tsutsumi, Rudy Miller, Barbara Prophet, Gigi Famularo, Luise Spies, and Nancy McCoy are among those who carried on the school’s tradition of helping students pull through. The SAIS building owed its spotless appearance and smooth functioning to the efforts of Art Hampton and Miguel Flores, the building engineers.

Betty Beauchamp came to SAIS in 1961 as assistant registrar and became the registrar in 1979. By the 1980s, the school population had swollen to the point where she had to fit around ninety classes a semester into eleven classrooms. Although SAIS had changed greatly since the 1960s, Beauchamp was amused by the quintessential “types” of students that reappeared year after year. She observed that the Bologna-returnees “tend to be a little more flamboyant” and casual until they settle in with the rest of the second-year class. Of those who put off requirements or papers until the last possible moment, she said that in 1986, “you heard the same sob story you heard in 1966.”

For eight years until 1986, Marilyn Bugg, assistant to the dean, coordinated the school’s special events, planned the Academic Board meetings, and kept the entire school up to date on in-house events. As the person who allocated office space to faculty and staff, Bugg became the school’s leading diplomat.

“You name it and some aspect of it may come though this office,” is how Bugg described the extent of her duties. “My title should have been ‘Mrs. Bugg, Name-What-Ails-You,’” she laughed. “I was once a housemother in a dorm at a private girl’s boarding school. At one point I had sixty-seven teenage girls, and that mellows you in a big hurry,” added Bugg, who spent seven years as Johns Hopkins’ director of career services before coming to SAIS.

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By the end of the 1970s, the Washington Center for Foreign Policy Research had lost its earlier vigor and had wound down to a dialogue among seven or eight members of the senior faculty, along with an occasional visitor. When Osgood left for the NSC, the center experimented with a rotating directorship among its members, and a small group managed to sustain a debate among themselves. The old format, however, began to wear thin.

“There were various reasons for that,” remarked David Calleo, a member of the club. “Maybe any group of people who go on for a very long time finally reach the point where they’ve said everything there
is to say about each other to each other. There is a certain entropy in a group like that.”

What Dean Packard had in mind by turning the Washington Center into a new Foreign Policy Institute was “to integrate the policy arm of the school with the entire life of the school.” All professors would be members of the institute, and students would participate. The Foreign Policy Institute would also serve as an umbrella for many of the school’s public seminars and conferences.

Dean Packard invited Lucius D. Battle in 1980 to preside over the new institute. Battle, a member of the SAIS Advisory Council, had served in the State Department as special assistant to Secretary of State Dean Acheson, as Kennedy’s assistant secretary of state for educational and cultural affairs, and as Johnson’s ambassador to Egypt and then assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs.

Assisting Battle at the FPI were editor-in-residence Philip Geyelin, a Pulitzer Prize-winner and former editorial page editor at the Washington Post who had been writing about international issues for over thirty years, and Robert Osgood, who became the institute’s director of studies.

“The Foreign Policy Institute is not to be confused with the ordinary Washington think-tank,” said Battle at the time. “The big difference is that it operates in the atmosphere of a vibrant educational institution.”

The institute started up with a whirlwind of events. In its first year alone, it sponsored fifty-eight seminars and conferences, including six Media Roundtables, seven Embassy Series meetings, eight Asia-Pacific Forums, seventeen Washington Roundtables, and twenty conferences on topics ranging from U.S. relations with Latin America to the nonfuel minerals situation in the Soviet Union.

In 1981, the Foreign Policy Institute established the International Energy Program under the guidance of Research Professor Wilfrid Kohl, a former director of the Bologna Center. Oil politics and energy-
resource policies increasingly affected governments, industries, and individuals alike and had moved to the top of the international agenda. Kohl’s program probed these issues through its annual Washington Energy Conferences, seminars for outside experts, the SAIS Energy Papers, and through new energy courses.

In March 1981, the FPI announced the revival of the school’s SAIS Review to a group of five hundred well-wishers, including Congressman Les Aspin, television anchorman Roger Mudd, and the ambassadors from Saudi Arabia and Spain. Under the auspices of the Foreign Policy Institute, the new Review would be entirely edited and managed by students, with advice from old pros like Geyelin. The impetus behind the reestablishment of the school’s journal came from both the students and the dean. The students wanted a journal that would serve not only as an outlet for their best papers but as a platform for authorities on foreign affairs. They chose the two student editors, Paul Fekete and Erik Peterson, who put together a student staff. Dean Packard, always a journalist at heart, had also thought about capturing the wisdom of the school’s professors and graduates in a journal that would attract public attention to SAIS. He found a generous benefactor for the Review in his old friend, Philip Merrill, publisher of the Washingtonian magazine and the Capital Gazette Newspapers.

Since then students have produced two issues of the Review a year, with articles that range from analyses of the Caribbean region or Euro-
pean Alliance, to the global implications of Reagan's second term, to the controversial issues surrounding free trade. George Ball, Robert McNamara, Caspar Weinberger, and George Bush are among the national figures who have contributed articles to or been interviewed by the Review. "It ranks as high as Foreign Affairs and International Affairs," said the Library Journal of SAIS Review in 1985.

Harold Brown, secretary of defense in the Carter administration, succeeded Luke Battle as chairman of the FPI in 1984. Brown, who earned his Ph.D. in physics at age twenty-two, had also served as a delegate to the SALT I negotiations, secretary of the Air Force under Johnson, and president of the California Institute of Technology. Simon Serfaty, research professor of American foreign policy and a former director of the Bologna Center, was named executive director.

By 1986, Brown and Serfaty had secured funding to conduct major new research projects on the impact military efforts in space could have on policymaking, the differences in U.S. and Soviet policymaking processes in defense and national security, the influence of the media on foreign policy, and the role of international financial institutions in the West and the Third World. A study headed by defense analyst Barry Blechman that spelled out for the first time probable costs of the Strategic Defense Initiative proposed by Reagan drew press attention around the world. The FPI tapped William Zartman to head a project to develop a range of case studies on diplomatic and economic negotiations, which relate to U.S. experiences of recent years. The case studies,

Harold Brown succeeded Lucius Battle as chairman of the Foreign Policy Institute in 1984. Simon Serfaty serves as executive director.
coauthored by students and faculty members, were designed as tools to teach students to think creatively and respond knowledgeably in international crises. The institute also sought out the help of experts such as Alexander Haig, Sam Nunn, Brent Scowcroft, Richard Perle, Strobe Talbott, and Harold Saunders.

The FPI publishing program, headed by Nancy McCoy, burgeoned with the production of the SAIS Papers in International Affairs; the FPI Policy Briefs (background papers on current or breaking issues that are written and produced rapidly for journalists and others); the Policy Study Group papers that result from short-term research projects on concerns such as U.S. Soviet relations or the Middle East conflict; and of course, SAIS Review.

Brown and Serfaty also put together the Vandenberg Program, in which members of Congress—Richard Lugar, Jim Wright, Jake Garn, Ernest Hollings, among others—give the view from Capitol Hill on various foreign-policy issues. Through the Washington Briefings, they presented SAIS faculty members and other specialists who could brief the press on emerging international news. In 1986, the institute took on responsibility for organizing the Sturc Memorial Lectures, held in honor of Ernest Sturc, the director of the IMF Exchange and Trade Relations Department from 1965 to 1980. With a grant from the Sturc family, the annual lectures are given by luminaries of the international finance community such as Robert Roosa, C. Fred Bergsten, and Lord Eric Roll.

The FPI also gave program advice to organizers of the British-American Conference for the “successor generation.” The conferences

*Former Secretary of State Alexander Haig joined Harold Brown in 1985 at a working session on Middle East policy issues.*
The deluge of speakers and events meant that students were more apt to be found rushing toward lunchtime lectures, brown bag in hand, than whiling away a few hours in the cafeteria. As the school grew larger, it seemed to pick up speed. Students were noticeably busier. Indeed, by the mid-1980s, over two-thirds of the student body had part-time jobs; others worked full time and enrolled as part-time students. Most worked to cover the escalating costs of graduate school and for professional experience. Some professors expressed concern that students spent too much time at jobs, and not enough in the classroom. Most students, however, seemed to cope.

"It's true that your life could become hectic between classes, special lectures, and twenty hours of outside work," said Shelley Harris '85, "yet I really enjoyed having a part-time job that allowed me to apply my studies. At one point I worked as an analyst at the Commerce Department's International Trade Administration while taking Bart Fisher's course on international trade policy. I found that the issues we discussed in class were the issues I was working on at Commerce."

Some old hands at SAIS lament the loss of cohesion within the student body; gone are the days when everyone knew everyone else and went en masse to a neighborhood bar. Yet, the large SAIS community has been replaced by several smaller communities, which often revolve around the fields of study. Professors Roett, Zartman, and Barnett are among several faculty members who make it a point to have students in their programs over to their homes at least once a year. Dean Packard stays in touch with students during his 8 A.M. breakfast every Wednesday in the cafeteria. Students are encouraged to drop by for coffee and for a chat about any topic of their choosing.

One of the Student Association's major tasks is nurturing social life.
The centerpiece of student social life is Friday happy hours. Occasionally faculty and administration members, like Dean George Packard and his assistant Kay Butler, are called upon to act as bartenders.

Larry Woodward came out of retirement in 1982 to be personnel director at SAIS. Two years earlier, Jim Cochran was named as business manager in 1980. Marilyn Bugg, here with daughter Laura, was assistant to the dean from 1978 to 1986.
Some student leaders are more creative than others in dreaming up new escapes from the daily routine. They organize not only just happy hours and picnics, but ice skating parties, international potluck dinners, and round-robin pool and tennis tournaments. One group gave a “suitcase” party—the winning couple departed straight from the party for a four-day trip to the Bahamas.

Different departments throw their own parties as well. “In my opinion, the African studies party was the number one social event during my two years at SAIS,” said Eric Stromayer ’86. “It would start with an array of African dishes prepared by students and move on to six hours of wild revelry to African music. Last year there must have been fifteen or twenty African diplomats at this party, along with half of the SAIS community,” he said.

The biennial Soviet “bloc parties” have also been big hits, with invitations such as: “Stop your Stalin, drop your Lenin, and Trotsky on over to the Soviet bloc party—the socialist event of the year!” Students, as they have since 1944, also gather at watering holes in the Dupont Circle area (in recent years Mister Eagan’s bar on Connecticut Avenue has been the flagship) and in their apartments.

Though its level of activity varies from year to year, the student government’s main function is to make the administration aware of students’ concerns. Students sit on all school committees, including,
since 1985, the budget committee. In 1984, the student government also established an Excellence in Teaching award. Students by 1986 had elected Isaiah Frank, Piero Gleijeses, Fred Holborn, Bruce Parrott, Charles Pearson, Michael Schatzberg, Stefano Zamagni, and Vera Zamagni for this honor.

Prior to 1980, SAIS students traveled to Homewood for commencement. That year, the Student Association asked to have their own graduation at SAIS, and thus began a tradition. Students can still go to Baltimore for the university ceremonies, but the big celebration comes later in the day at SAIS. In 1986, six hundred parents, grandparents, and siblings jammed into the auditorium, lounge, lobby, and courtyard to watch some two hundred students receive their degrees. Afterward, the champagne flowed.

Students choose the guest speakers for graduation, eminences such as Peter Jay, then British ambassador to the United States; economist John Kenneth Galbraith; Clifton Wharton Jr., former chancellor of the State University of New York and a 1948 SAIS alumnus; Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone; Secretary-General of the United Nations Javier Pérez de Cuéllar; Paul Nitze; and the Reverend Jesse Jackson, chairman of the National Rainbow Coalition. Governor Mario Cuomo of New York was invited to address the class of 1987.

Students occasionally apply their talent for organizing celebrations to organizing events related to their studies. In 1983, for example, security studies students put together day-long crisis simulation in which students played the roles of high-level officials forced to deal with a hypothetical international crisis that threatened U.S. security. The student response was so enthusiastic that crisis simulation became an annual event. Various rooms at SAIS are transformed into briefing rooms, a press gallery, and a NSC chamber for the thirty or so students who play the parts of reporters, White House and Cabinet officials and military officers. Professor Holborn and Vlahos act as faculty advisers. They organized a year-long seminar for the simulation control group that became an official one-credit course in 1984.

Students organized a branch of the Overseas Development Network in 1984 to provide information on careers in development and to sponsor events like a Hunger Symposium featuring John Kenneth Galbraith. A branch of Amnesty International and the Progressive Student Network have been set up since then. The SAIS Women’s Network has been active on and off since 1979.

In 1985, students organized the SAIS Forum, which sponsored rigorous debates between prominent public figures. In one debate, Richard N. Perle and Paul C. Warnke, then the present and former assistant secretaries of defense, clashed over the effects of defense spending versus social and economic spending on national security. According
to a student vote taken after the debate, Perle presented the best arguments but changed few minds about the adverse impact of high defense spending on social programs.

Also that year, six students interested in examining the role of U.S. business in South Africa organized their own one-day conference with a diverse group of American and South African academics, government officials, businessmen, and labor leaders.

Community-spirited students worked in local drug-abuse programs and a neighborhood center for Hispanic-speaking residents. Others joined Professors Thomas Thornton, Bruce Bagley, Michael Schatzberg, or Bill Zartman in going out to Wilson High School in northwest Washington to assist in the international studies program there. By 1986, Wilson was sending student interns to work at SAIS during the summer.

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atirical student newsletters have appeared from time to time at SAIS. The 1981 “Insaisor” poked fun at everyone and everything. Once, it announced a new course on “Foreign Policy, Grammar, and Taking Control,” to be taught by Secretary of State Alexander Haig. The course would “context the manifestations of where American foreign policy is trending, caveating our decisions by juxtaposing American nuclear strategy. Students will be required to turn all nouns into verbs and will make up several dozen words of their own.”

In 1982, mysterious signs appeared announcing special events given by the Polar Studies Department. Students were invited to attend discussions on “Harpoons, Harp Seals, and Hegemony,” or “Ice and Ethos: the American Eskimo and the Nuclear Age.” The meetings “would be held” at 2 A.M. in various bathrooms, nonexistent classrooms, or the “Woolly Mammoth Room.” “In the beginning, people would tear our signs down,” said Polar instigator Michael Mendenhall ’83, “but soon people started putting up funnier signs for serious talks just to compete with us. Once in a while Polar studies signs that weren’t ours would appear. Later we heard Professor Holborn put some up, but we have no proof.”

The Polar Studies Department actually did hold one event: a happy hour, in the spring of 1986. Standing in front of a huge map of the North Pole, Professor Vlahos gave a splendid presentation of the strategic importance of the region. “The biggest joke is that we now have a student who is deadly serious about his interest in the North and South Poles,” said Holborn later that year. “He’s an M.I.P.P. from the Coast Guard.”

Mendenhall and his cohort Peter Wendolkowski ’83 also organized a talent show in 1983. Students presented their rendition of taking an oral exam with Richard Nixon, Ted Kennedy, or Darth Vader. Another
skit depicted Professor Adrian Lyttleton debating himself. David Fuhrmann’s rock band, “The Dry Heaves,” performed. “This was the best rock band at SAIS,” noted Wendolkowski. “In fact, it was the only rock band at SAIS.”

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More than five thousand men and women had graduated from SAIS by 1987. They worked in more than 130 countries in a variety of fields. Many had risen to the top or made singular contributions to their professions. Judy Hendren Mello ’68, for example, was one of the first women in the United States to be named as president of a bank (the First Women’s Bank of New York). Pam Potter Flaherty ’66, as vice president for corporate personnel and a member of the management committee, is the highest-ranking woman at Citibank, N.A., while her husband, Peter Flaherty ’66 is a partner with McKinsey & Co. Frank Savage ’64 is vice chairman of the Equitable Management Corporation in New York, and John Graham ’75 is a partner in Salomon Brothers International, Ltd. in London.

Hundreds of SAIS alumni have gone into public service. Seven have become U.S. ambassadors: Robert Blake, ’47; Hermann Eilts ’47; Patricia Byrne ’47; William Steadman ’47; Samuel Lewis ’54; Nicholas Platt ’58; and Sally Shelton-Colby ’68. Foreign alumni have attained ambassadorial rank as well, among them Kiyoaki Kikuchi ’51, Japan’s ambassador to the United Nations, and Prince Bandar Bin Sultan ’82, Saudi Arabia’s envoy in Washington. Jim Leach ’66 is a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Iowa, while others, including Michael Van Dusen ’71 and Joanna Shelton ’77, hold senior staff positions on Capitol Hill.

Many SAIS graduates have gone into teaching and research. Clifton Wharton ’48 for many years was chancellor of the State University of New York. Others went into journalism, such as Raymond Carroll ’47, Newsweek’s longtime correspondent at the U.N., and David Schneiderman ’70, the publisher and editor in chief of the Village Voice.

Some alumni have strayed from the field of international affairs, pursuing new endeavors to be added to the list of SAIS careers. Richard Creighton ’74 is vice president of The Magazine Group in Washington, which has designed and produced this book. Nicole Gillman Salinger ’60 is the public relations director for the Orchestre de Paris, while Daniel Wile ’81 is a computer systems consultant in Cincinnati. Mark Runions ’68 is a farmer and musician in Washington state and Emiline Ott ’65 has pursued a career as a photographer.

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By the mid-1980s, the student body represented over 60 countries and 80 foreign and 130 American universities. Around two-thirds of
SAIS alumni have entered a diversity of fields, many of them rising to top-level positions. Clockwise from top are Hermann Eilts '47, Samuel Lewis '54, and Patricia Byrne '47, three of SAIS alumni who have served as U.S. ambassadors. U.S. Congressman Jim Leach '66 of Iowa; Judy Hendren Mello '68, a vice president at American Express Travel Related Services; Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker '65, and Prince Bandar Bin Sultan '82, the Saudi Arabian ambassador to Washington.

Each graduating class sought jobs in the private and nonprofit sectors, usually in international banking and business, and a few pursued careers in public relations, journalism, or research organizations. The others took jobs with their governments or with international organizations. Some continued their studies.

"Just as the SAIS degree is a very eclectic degree, so are the opportunities that present themselves for SAIS graduates," said former career services director Maureen Golden.

Yet the eclectic nature of the SAIS program, the SAIS degree, and the SAIS student body continued to fuel the debates over the school's aims and emphases. The 1980s Committee in its report recognized the extensive nature of the debates between:

...training specialists and generalists; training for public service and the private sector; training in language and area versus training in theoretical or "functional" disciplines; training in "vocational" courses which prepare students for their entry into the professions versus training in history and theory; and training in traditional analysis versus training in newer statistical or behavioral approaches.

And with diplomatic finesse, the committee attempted to settle the issues by recognizing them:

As long as the tensions do not lead to debilitating bickering, they should probably be seen as inevitable and perhaps even useful in the long run. The school should be preparing students both for their first jobs and for positions of leadership in the twenty-first century. It should prepare students for both the public and private sectors, and it should offer a multiplicity of approaches to analyzing international developments.

With these words, the committee rested its case, yet the debates will continue as long as the field of international relations branches outward in new directions, as long as students come to SAIS with different goals, and as long as the faculty views the world from different disciplines and perspectives.

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The school's growth had led to one conclusion over which there was no debate: for the second time in twenty years, SAIS had outgrown its home. Students were packed into classes, and office space was at a premium. Librarian Peter Promen and his staff complained that books overflowed the shelves and that seating for students was woefully inadequate. Indeed, the library collection had grown from 68,000 volumes to nearly 90,000 between 1974 and 1986.

The 1980s Committee had highlighted the need for more space. The most convenient plan was to build an L-shaped extension onto the existing building, which would give the school 60 percent more space. Some neighbors heatedly opposed the plan, which was scuttled in 1984 when the D.C. Zoning Commission denied the school's application for special zoning. Business manager Jim Cochran explored other possibilities such as purchasing the neighboring Canadian Embassy or buying a site upon which SAIS could construct a new building.

In 1985, the collapse of the American timber industry forced the National Forest Products Association to sell its building at 1619 Massachusetts Avenue, a block away from SAIS. The school promptly bought the eight-story building for $7.3 million, and moved in during the spring of 1987.

The new building, which houses attractive new classrooms, a ninety-nine-seat, state-of-the-art auditorium, a television studio, and the office of the Foreign Policy Institute and other programs, is named for Benjamin T. Rome, who committed more than $2 million to the school for general support. The existing building at 1740 Massachusetts Avenue holds offices, classrooms and the library, which is now on the seventh and eighth floors and will be expanded down to the sixth floor.

"When we have more space, as we will in the new building, we will be better able to invite scholars and statesmen—for shorter and longer periods—to the school," said Packard. "We'll have a continuing flow of interesting people moving in and out. It will be a desirable roost for people in the policymaking community."

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Donald Johnston, Jr., a graduate of Michigan State, came to SAIS in the class of 1952 on a grant provided to him by his employer, J. Walter Thompson, the advertising agency. In the years that followed, Johnston kept up his ties to the school; he saw his son graduate from SAIS twenty-seven years after he did. By 1981, Johnston was chairman and CEO of J. Walter Thompson. He also became chairman of the SAIS Advisory Council, filling the post that only two people—Christian Herter and Paul Nitze—had held since SAIS was founded nearly forty years before.

Nitze had stepped down from the chairmanship to answer, once
SAIS purchased the National Forest Products Association building a block away at 1619 Massachusetts Avenue to relieve overcrowded conditions in its other building. The new facility is named for Benjamin T. Rome, below, one of the school's most generous benefactors.
G. Donald Johnston, Jr. '52 succeeded Paul Nitze as chairman of the SAIS Advisory Council in 1982. Johnston, chairman of the JWT Group, Inc., participated in the Corporate Speakers Series, using two eggs to make a point about marketing techniques.

again, the summons of a U.S. president. Reagan needed Nitze as a principal arms-control negotiator in Geneva. Nitze was then seventy-three years old. A dinner held in tribute to Nitze turned out to be an evening of reminiscence by old colleagues and friends.

A larger tribute was in store. On April 22, 1986, the SAIS building at 1740 Massachusetts Avenue was named The Paul and Phyllis Nitze Building. The Nitzes had supported SAIS for more than four decades and had committed a $3.5 million gift to the Campaign for Johns Hopkins, a major fundraising drive launched in 1984.

Secretary of State George Shultz, D.C. Mayor Marion Barry and scores of other VIPs, friends, and students turned out for the dedication ceremony and the unveiling of a plaque attesting to the Nitzes' lifelong dedication to public service, to education, and to SAIS.

By early 1987, Paul Nitze was hardly resting on his laurels. He was Reagan's adviser on arms-control policy and was, of course, keeping his eye on SAIS.
Secretary of State George Shultz, Washington, D.C. Mayor Marion Barry and Johns Hopkins President Steven Muller were among those paying tribute to the Nitzes at the dedication ceremonies.

In 1986, nearly twenty-three years after SAIS moved to 1740 Massachusetts Avenue, the building was named in honor of Paul and Phyllis Nitze.
C. Grove Haines’ search for a home for his European studies center came to end when Felice Battaglia, left, the rector of the University of Bologna, offered him free office and classroom space in 1955. The Bologna Center has had close ties to the university ever since.
The Bologna Center was the result of C. Grove Haines' desire to create an American graduate school in Europe, a place where young Europeans and Americans could learn together how to help Europe recover from a devastating war. He wanted a school that would teach future leaders to reach beyond national boundaries and biases, to work cooperatively toward common international goals.

Haines conceived of such a school in the late 1940s while working in Milan on a classified project for the State Department. "It seemed to me that there was a place for something of this kind—between the American school, physically removed from the European scene, and the traditional year of study abroad in a European university having totally different patterns than ours," he explained. "There was also a place for a center for American studies for Europeans in Europe."

Dean Thayer was unenthusiastic about Haines' proposal in the early 1950s, partly because SAIS could not afford such a program. Nevertheless, Thayer authorized him to explore the possibility of establishing a West European center while Haines was on leave in 1951–1952. The university, in turn, backed Haines' idea but told him that he had to raise the money himself. With this cautious approval, Haines began his search for an appropriate location for the new branch of SAIS.

At first, Haines considered setting up his school in France, Austria, or Germany, but Italy was the country he clearly preferred. Haines loved Italy; he loved its culture, its history, its people, and its language. The country had captured his heart in 1930 when he spent a year at the University of Rome conducting research for his Clark University dissertation on "Irredentism and American Foreign Policy 1866–1882."

Haines traveled around Europe explaining his idea to scholars, cultural affairs officers at American embassies, European government officials, and many others. In 1952, he contacted Professor Felice Battaglia, rector of the University of Bologna. He found in the rector someone who not only liked his concept but offered free office space, classrooms, and access to the university's vast library collection. Haines was delighted. What could be more appropriate than launching an inno-
ervative academic program at the home of Europe’s oldest and one of its most respected universities?

Scholars had traveled to Bologna for nine hundred years, first to study Roman law and later theology, the physical sciences, and liberal arts as well. By the thirteenth century, the university had become Europe’s chief center for legal studies, although classes were held in convents and palaces until permanent facilities were built in the fourteenth century. Innerius and Accursus were two of the university’s most celebrated teachers, and Dante, Petrarch, and Copernicus studied there.

The city is steeped in history. Bologna is the capital of northern Italy’s Emilia-Romagna region and is situated in the fertile Po Valley at the northern foot of the Apennines. The Etruscan’s Felsina was renamed Bononia around 190 B.C. when the Romans made it a colony. Bologna has since been dubbed “La Dotta” (the learned) for its university, “La Grassa” (the fat) for its famous cuisine, and “La Rossa” (the red) for an efficient communist government that has been in charge since 1945. It is also famous for its thirty-five kilometers of porticos, first built in the eleventh and twelfth centuries over the old Roman streets to alleviate a housing shortage caused by the influx of scholars from all over Europe and of peasants from the countryside. The narrow, arcaded streets radiate from the city’s Asinelli and Garisenda towers, two reminders of the twelfth century’s feudal gentry.

Haines’ next task was to tackle the question of funding. Europe was hardly fertile ground for fundraising since universities there were supported by governments; private philanthropy for advanced education was unheard of. In the United States, Haines faced competition for funds from the highly regarded Salzburg Seminar. Organized by Harvard graduate students and American professors in 1947, these sessions brought an elite corps of American teachers and mostly European students together in Austria to discuss international topics.

Eventually Haines persuaded the U.S. government to provide seed money to launch the center. With the funding problem temporarily under control, Haines set off on the first of countless visits around Europe to recruit faculty members and students and to pry fellowships out of European governments. He visited officials in France, Austria, and Italy again and again. He sent three thousand bulletins in four languages to European and American universities. By early 1955, Haines’ energetic traveling, cajoling, and publicizing bore fruit. He had put together a faculty, staff, and student body.

The center’s first home was on two floors of a small red house on Largo Alfredo Trombetti in the middle of Bologna’s old university quarter. Haines brought an assistant and a secretary to Italy and borrowed SAIS bursar Tom Hugo for eighteen months.

Gertrude Pellegrini, who became Haines’ secretary in 1956, laughed
Tom Hugo, the business manager at SAIS, was recruited to help set up the new school. Hugo stayed for eighteen months before returning to Washington.

Gertrude Pellegrini was the assistant to the Bologna Center’s first three directors over a period of twenty-four years. Johns Hopkins President Steven Muller paid tribute to her at the center’s twenty-fifth anniversary in 1980.
Bologna’s leadership in education, cultural heritage, political vitality—and its arcaded avenues—made the city an attractive location for SAIS’ European branch.
about those early quarters. "The mimeograph machine was in the bathroom, Dr. Haines had a bedroom, I had the dressing room. The coffee machine and a huge American refrigerator containing mineral water and Coke were in the bursar's office because he was in the kitchen," she recalled. "The refrigerator was shipped over from the States along with crates full of 'soft' toilet paper. The offices had two desks and no chairs."

A warm, efficient Austrian woman, Pellegrini spent twenty-four years as secretary to Haines and his two successors. Like Priscilla Mason in Washington, Pellegrini was constantly involved in many nonadministrative matters, such as making costumes and rerouting lost Americans who spoke no Italian.

Two Austrian, two French, two Italian, and four American students made up the center's charter class. Four professors, including Haines and John Loftus, who was recruited from SAIS in Washington, taught courses on the economics and politics of France, Germany, Austria, and Italy. Jean Baptiste Duroselle, a historian of international relations at the prestigious Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Paris, joined the faculty and so thoroughly enjoyed the center that he commuted to Bologna from Paris for seven years. Giovanni di Maria, an economist and former rector of Milan's University of Bocconi, taught at the Bologna Center during its first three years.

The center's inauguration in Europe was celebrated on February 22, 1955. More than a thousand guests attended the event, held with stately medieval pomp. Bewigged mace-bearers escorted a procession of dignitaries, including Italian Education Minister Giuseppe Ermini and U.S. Ambassador Clare Booth Luce, into the University of Bologna's Aula Magna for a round of speeches congratulating Haines and Hopkins on their new enterprise.

Almost immediately Haines went back on the road. By the autumn of 1955, seven additional lecturers had been recruited to teach eighteen American and twenty-two European students. When it came to rounding up faculty members, Haines was the quintessential talent scout. He looked more for potential than credentials, and his hunches often paid off. Many of the young men he chose arrived in Bologna with more eagerness than experience and went on to achieve distinction in their fields. They also became so attached to the center that, like Duroselle, they commuted from other cities for many years.

Antonio La Pergola, a professor of law from Catania University who later became a member and then vice president of the constitutional court in Rome, began teaching in Bologna in 1956 and stayed for twenty-one years. Federico Mancini, one of the founding fathers of the study of Italian labor law, began twenty-three years of teaching at the center
Mace-bearers in medieval attire escorted U.S. Ambassador to Italy Clare Booth Luce and other officials in the procession at the Bologna Center’s inauguration on February 22, 1955.
in 1956, and was vice director from 1973 to 1976. He impressed his students with his fluency in languages, gliding easily from Spanish to German to English to Italian. Mancini was eventually elected a member of the Consiglio Superiore della Magistratura, the governing body of Italian magistrates, in Rome. In 1982, he became a member of the jurists’ ad hoc panel, which represents the Italian government at the Supreme Court of the European Community in Brussels.

Now one of France’s foremost experts on German politics, Alfred Grosser, taught at Bologna from 1955 until 1968, living in Bologna the first year and commuting from France for the next twelve. Duroselle had recommended Grosser, then a capable young scholar from the Sorbonne. Grosser quickly moved up the ranks at the Foundation Nationale des Sciences Politiques in Paris, eventually becoming the director of its graduate program. He spent every other Friday-to-Sunday in Bologna, teaching eight hours of class. In class, he was tough and unyielding in the demands he placed on students; outside, he was a regular at the Friday-night parties. “You should have seen Grosser do the boogie-woogie,” one Italian observer recalled.

“Haines chose the faculty very carefully, not looking so much at what people were supposed to be able to do, but what he thought they were able to do,” said Grosser. He credits Haines for nudging him into the study of French politics by asking him to teach a course on it even before he had focused on the area. “He trusted me and he capitalized on my youth,” said Grosser. “I think it was one of the best teaching experiences of my life.”

Others who were adventurous enough to teach at such an unusual program in its early years included Wilhelm Weber, a Viennese economist; Claude Fohlen, the maitre des conferences at the Institut d’Etudes Politiques; Giovanni D’Orlandi, a member of the Italian Foreign office and chairman of NATO’s Coordinating Committee on Export Controls; Federico Caffé, an Italian economist; Mario Toscano, professor of political science at the University of Rome; international law expert Angelo Piero Sereni; Rudolfo Mosca, a diplomatic historian; Reimut Jochimsen, an economist from the University of Freiburg who was a 1956 center alumnus and later the minister for economic and technological affairs in the state of Rhineland-Westphalia; and monetary theorist Robert Mundell, who was to become a leading figure in conservative American economic thought.

During the center’s early years, the curriculum focused on the economies, political parties, and labor movements of Italy, Germany, France, and Austria, although other Western European countries were included as the program expanded. “Since it was a brand new idea and nobody knew whether it would work, I thought we ought not seek too wide a spread at the beginning but concentrate on four countries
for our major interests and our student body,” explained Haines.

One memorable course Haines started in 1955 examined Western European efforts towards political and economic integration. Each semester twenty to thirty well-known European and American scholars and officials came to the Bologna Center as guest lecturers for the course, which was the Bologna Center’s version of the “Wide, Wide World” course at SAIS in Washington. Lionel Robbins, Walter Hallstein, Helmut Schmidt, Geoffrey Barraclough, James Zellerbach, and Arnold Wolfers were among those who participated.

The highlight of the course was a visit to the European Coal and Steel Community in Luxembourg and the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. By 1960, the visit to the ECSC was replaced by one to the European Economic Community headquarters and the European Atomic Energy Agency in Brussels. The week-long trip became a tradition that outlived the course. By 1986, NATO headquarters in Brussels and OECD headquarters in Paris were regular stops on the itinerary.

During the late fifties, students went on study trips in the German Federal Republic, Austria, Sweden, France, and other parts of Italy.

In the early days, the curriculum consisted of four full-year seminar courses plus the optional course on European integration. The center offered language courses, often taught by former students, in English, French, German, and Italian. At the end of the one-year program, students received the Bologna Center Diploma. Most Americans and a few Europeans completed the M.A. program during a second year in Washington.

The students probably learned as much from each other as they did from their professors. For several years beginning in 1956, the center rented twelve apartments in a new building on Via Degli Orti, where students lived together in groups of four, usually two Americans and two Europeans. Male students had complained vociferously about the strict housing rules at the University of Bologna’s Collegio Irnerio. Grove Haines had been sympathetic to their grievances, conceding that “it is understandable that mature young men accustomed to regulating their own lives should feel that they ought not be required to secure permission to go out for meals or to stay out beyond eleven o’clock at night, that it is hardly reasonable to prohibit their receiving guests after seven o’clock in the evening.”

An enormous amount of education occurred in these apartments, in the midst of clashing cultures and lifestyles. The endless rounds of all-night debates were hardly casual exchanges; often they were vigorous explorations into various national histories and cultures, out of which emerged an appreciation of the problems of other countries and a grow-
ing sophistication about politics. The apartments were the hub of the center's social life and the scene of countless spaghetti dinners, parties, cram sessions, and language lessons.

Germana Rinaldi, a center staff member since 1960, remembered those Via Degli Orti days. "There was always something happening, lots of allegria, movimento," she said. "The neighbors weren't allowed to sleep, the elevator was often not running—guasto—from so much use, and some of the Italian ragazzi used to climb a tree adjacent to the apartments to visit their girlfriends. Those were good times."

Unfortunately, the tolerance of the neighbors did not match the level of the students' gusto. "We used to get calls from the carabinieri or from the owners saying, 'When is it going to stop?'" recalled Mrs. Pellegrini. "As anticipated, the owners did not renew the leases—they must have been so angry because there were complaints, complaints, complaints." From that point on, students had to fend for themselves in the search for housing.

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Under Grove Haines, the center grew quickly. Fellowships from the U.S. State Department, the Austrian, German and Dutch governments, USIA, the Council of Europe, and the Fulbright Commission covered the expenses of most students. Enrollment jumped to forty-
Alois Mock '56, now Austria's foreign minister, formed the first alumni chapter of the Bologna Center.

six by 1959, near the maximum of fifty that Haines hoped for. Some graduates found jobs working in their countries' foreign ministries, the United Nations, and international business, while others went to SAIS in Washington.

Graduates of the first classes met at the beaches of Ravenna or Rimini for spring reunions, thus launching a tradition of alumni weekends. The Austrian Alumni Chapter, the center's oldest, was organized in 1958 by Alois Mock '58, who later became Federal Party Leader of Austria's People's Party. Their first project, in 1959, was to sponsor a trip to Austria for the new graduates to explore Vienna, Linz, and Graz. By the mid-eighties, the class of 1958 still gathered in one European city or another from time to time to remember Bologna. "It was," said Mock recently, "one of the happiest experiences of my life."

The Bologna Center quickly outgrew its tiny quarters and Grove Haines began looking for a new, larger building. In January 1958, the Bureau of the Budget in Washington approved Haines' request for U.S. PL-480 counterpart funds. Dean Thayer and U.S. Ambassador James Zellerbach signed the contract in Rome that September, and SAIS consequently received $552,000 to construct a building and to support American faculty salaries and an American studies program for European students. Several Italian industrialists also contributed.

A site was found on Via Belmeloro, a few hundred yards from Largo Alfredo Trombetti. Professor Sereni helped Haines over bureaucratic hurdles to gain approval from numerous national and local ministries, and construction began in November 1958.

Enzo Zacchiroli, the architect, designed a modern five-story building with an auditorium, classrooms, offices, a snack bar, and a library that could hold 100,000 volumes. The modern structure was an unusual sight among the ancient buildings of the university quarter, yet its siena-colored bricks and its scale blended well with its surroundings. Zacchiroli won a regional architectural award for his design when the center
was chosen the best building of 1961 by Italy’s National Institute of Architecture. On April 27, 1961, President Milton Eisenhower, Dean Wilcox, Bologna’s Mayor Giuseppe Dozza, Felice Battaglia, and his successor, University of Bologna Rector Gherardo Forni, attended the dedication of the building. The event marked the end of the Bologna Center as an “experiment”; the school was now a successful permanent undertaking.

Throughout the first half of the 1960s, funds flowed into the center more readily, with help from the State Department and The Ford Foundation. With the new building came ten thousand library books. The U.S. Information Service in Bologna loaned the collection, which consisted primarily of fiction and some history and reference books, with the understanding that the library be open to the public. As the center continued to acquire books and periodicals related to its teaching, the library evolved into a primary source for students from the University of Bologna and other Europeans doing research on European integration and the Atlantic Community.

As the PL 480 grant agreement of 1960 had stipulated, an American studies program was introduced. Fulbright professors taught U.S. history, politics, and government. For several years the school published a quarterly, The American Review, with articles in several languages, which examined American issues for a European audience.

In the late sixties, language department director Carmen Licari and
assistant director Mel Schlein began intensive summer courses in English and Italian. The five-week sessions met five hours a day to counter the language difficulties that arose when a multinational student body attended an English-speaking institution in an Italian city. The courses were a remedy for non-Americans who had sat mute through their classes and for non-Italians who could barely order a cappuccino outside the center.

By 1966, enrollment exceeded Haines’ expectations and reached ninety-four: forty-two Americans, forty-eight Europeans, an Algerian, a Brazilian, a Colombian and an Indonesian. By then, the center had 634 alumni; one-sixth found employment as foreign service officers, while the rest went to work in international organizations, business, banking, and law, or pursued advanced graduate degrees.

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The sixties also brought several new professors to the center from Italy, France, and Germany, including Altiero Spinelli, founder of the European Federalist Movement; Karl Kaiser, an economist who came to Bologna via Grenoble, Oxford, Cologne, and Bonn; Paolo Calzini, a specialist on East European Affairs from Rome’s Istituto Affari Internazionale; Ekkehart Krippendorff, a political scientist from Berlin’s Free University; and Pierre Hassner, who like Grosser, commuted the Centre d’Etudes des Relations Internationales of the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques in Paris.

Although the number of commuting professors made collegiality among faculty members more difficult, it did not hamper the strong relationships they formed with students. Hassner, for example, has come to Bologna every other week on the Thursday-night Palatino train from Paris for over twenty years to teach between four and eight hours of weekend classes. He used Altiero Spinelli’s classroom for a while and knew what brand of cigarettes Spinelli smoked, but the two did not meet until several years later. Hassner’s lectures, usually one long sentence punctuated by a few quick breaths and several animated gestures, have always been well attended. Yet he is determined to know individual students, and takes them to a local trattoria for long, multicourse lunches on Saturday afternoons. “I always made many more friends with students in Bologna than in Paris,” said Hassner.

The small staff has been the anchor for the ever-changing community at the center. Trudi Pellegrini organized everything from strudl-baking committees to the schedules of the directors. Angelo Buldini maintained the center’s buildings since the early days on Via Trombetti. In 1984, his son Marco, who grew up at 11 Via Belmeloro, became the accounting assistant to the center’s business manager. Germana Rinaldi became a familiar figure, first as library assistant and then as assistant business
Professor of Politics Pierre Hassner has commuted from Paris to Bologna to teach twice a month for more than twenty years.

manager, after she came to the center from USIS, along with its library books, in 1960. Although she spoke perfect English, she encouraged students to speak Italian as part of her personal campaign to keep the center from turning into an English-speaking island.

Pellegrini, Rinaldi, and the others remained at the center for so many years because Haines made them proud of their role. "The center really had a purpose," said Rinaldi, "and Haines gave us the feeling that we were working for something good." Certainly, no one worked there for financial gain. For years, the staff salaries were hardly competitive with Italian salaries, but most staff members just shrugged their shoulders with stoic resignation and went back to work.

A cherished member of the center community has been Dr. Luciano Finelli, who designated himself as the school's physician—without pay—ever since he first tended to Grove Haines in 1955. "I think when you fall sick in another country, you must have a friend," he said. "I don't become rich by charging the students, and it makes me feel young."

In 1964, Finelli and center librarian Richard Lewanski founded the Italo-American Association, which offered English lessons, American films, and cultural activities to Italians. Operated out of a basement office at the center, the association has awarded scholarships to many Italian students.

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In the early 1960s, a local ristorante offered to make students an authentic Thanksgiving dinner. The cooking was unfortunate. The
pebble-like corn, for example, was inedible and better suited for chicken feed. As the guests looked at their plates with disappointment, someone emitted a loud cock crow. Everyone burst out laughing. The spirit of the occasion, not the cuisine, saved the day and led to a long tradition of Thanksgiving dinners prepared not by the hapless ristorante, but under the quality control of the center's students and staff. The turkeys, sweet potatoes, and cranberry sauce were purchased at the American commissary in Vicenza. Students made the apple and pumpkin pies, stuffing, and sweet potatoes, and the local bakeries roasted the turkeys. Haines, brandishing a long, slender knife, would show off his carving skills. Alumnus Charles Doran recalled:

"I remember seeing Grove Haines in his white shirt, with his coat off, rolling up his sleeves in front of this giant turkey, preparing to slice it. That experience and the joyousness of that event sort of set a tone for the class and for the year. After that, each of the national groups—at least the well-represented ones—had a party of some sort. Of course, each group had to be more flamboyant and somehow different from the others. Once the Italians brought in a dance band and spent a lot of time decorating the place. That party lasted the entire night, and I remember leaving in the morning, going arm in arm with my friends from various countries, walking down Via Belmeloro into the sunrise. It was that wonderfully close kind of feeling that is difficult to match in any strictly academic setting outside of that area."

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In 1967, the seeds of what was to become a major financial crisis took root. A budget deficit of $10,000 grew to $125,000 by 1969, and almost forced the school to close. The State Department funding and several Fulbright scholarships and professorships were not renewed. Johns Hopkins, struggling with its own $2 million deficit, could do little to help.

Haines informed the staff and faculty of the gloomy state of affairs in 1970. After meeting with SAIS and university officials in the United States, Haines reported that, "it was decided that a December 15 deadline be set by which time the center must show guarantees of financial support for a period of three to five years, or operations will be terminated in June 1971."

The reaction was calm, not panicky, probably because the school frequently ran more on faith than on funding. Nevertheless, this was a difficult period. "Not a piece of paper was wasted," said Mrs. Pellegrini. "Once Grove Haines even accepted a check for a small amount, twenty-five thousand lire or so, for which we had to send a big thank-you note."

The crusade to keep the center open meant reducing the size of the staff, shortening library hours, and limiting the number of guest lec-
tures. Haines briefly considered joining a consortium of universities to widen the center’s financial foundation.

In 1971, the crisis was averted in part by a five-year grant of fifty million lire, which came from a new source: the Italian government. Securing the funds was a major victory for Haines. He had to corral the support of several opposing political parties to pass a parliamentary bill authorizing the government to give money to a foreign educational institution on Italian soil. With the help of Giovanni Malagodi, secretary of Italy’s Liberal Party, the grant was approved just before Johns Hopkins was due to close the center, and just before the Italian government collapsed. There was not even enough money for the staff to celebrate with a bottle of champagne; spumante had to suffice.

“This was an important grant and Haines carried it through single-handedly,” said Simon Serfaty, who succeeded Haines as the center’s director. “First, you can imagine how difficult it is to guide a bill through the Italian Parliament from the first step to completion. Second, you will understand the uniqueness of a foreign government giving funds to an American institution—I know of very few examples. It also showed the other unique feature of the Bologna Center—its total political credibility. We had better relations with the left than the U.S. Embassy, and we also had outstanding relations with the right.”

Despite a brighter financial picture, the center was experiencing other growing pains. Its relation to the SAIS-Washington curriculum was unclear, it lacked a resident faculty, and its student enrollment had declined. At this point David Calleo began to work on the center’s problems from Washington. He and Haines implemented comprehensive exams to unify the requirements on both sides of the Atlantic. They made plans to increase the resident faculty in Bologna, and to conduct faculty exchanges between Washington and Italy.

Years of hard work and the recent overload of stress took their toll on Haines, who suffered a major heart attack in August 1971. He retired in 1972 to a beautiful renovated farmhouse deep in the Tuscan countryside, several miles from the nearest telephone. It was in this bucolic setting that C. Grove Haines died on May 25, 1976, at the age of seventy. His death was a vast loss to the faculty, students, and staff.

“Haines was undoubtedly un grande uomo,” said Signora Rinaldi. “Even though he was a man of few words, he instilled in us a great sense of purpose, of belonging to an important burgeoning enterprise that was helping to rebuild the world and to unite Europe.”

* * * * *

Simon Serfaty, born to a Brazilian father and a French mother in Morocco, succeeded Haines in 1972. Serfaty came from UCLA where he had been named political science teacher of the year. With an M.A.
Simon Serfaty, who had studied at Johns Hopkins under George Liska and Robert W. Tucker, became director of the Bologna Center after Grove Haines' death in 1972.

awarded by SAIS in 1964 and a Ph.D. in political science from Homewood under the tutelage of George Liska and Robert Tucker, Serfaty was strongly connected to Johns Hopkins.

"Replacing Haines was not easy," recalled Serfaty, "to the extent that the center was primarily based on the network of personal relationships he had developed over the past seventeen years." Nonetheless, by the time Serfaty returned to teach at SAIS in 1976 he had earned the respect of his Bologna colleagues and made significant contributions to the center.

With the help of Dean Wilcox, Serfaty obtained an AID grant, which by 1973 comprised almost 40 percent of the school's budget. A budget surplus was actually achieved in that year, diminishing the uncertainty about the center's future and freeing Serfaty to turn to pressing academic issues.
Serfaty’s administration, as well as the next two, was aided by Kay Butler, the center’s registrar from 1971 until 1981, when she left to become Dean Packard’s executive assistant. Butler was an authoritative source of guidance for students and staff alike. In the process of smoothing out various institutional bumps, of which there were no shortage, she helped set up the school’s exchange program with Hungary, paved the way for students to take courses at the University of Bologna, and pulled off huge but flawless Thanksgiving dinners for two hundred people. Mrs. Butler, a native of Germany, has jokingly called herself a “one-armed wallpaper hanger with an itch,” but no one has ever seen her flustered.

The student body reached 108 by 1975, with sixty-three Americans and forty-five non-Americans, who had their choice of fifty semester courses. The curriculum moved away from the strict emphasis on Western Europe as courses on the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and North-South issues were developed. Among the new faculty members in the early seventies were economist Giorgio Basevi; Gianfranco Pasquino, a 1967 alumnus who had been teaching at the University of Bologna; and Robert Skidelsky, the biographer of John Maynard Keynes and a political scientist who also taught in Washington.

Relations with SAIS in Washington grew closer, although the debate over the degree of autonomy that should be accorded the center continued across the ocean. One question revolved around whether the center should have the power to grant its own degree. Washington frowned upon the center awarding an M.A. because the center would become a parallel to, rather than a part of, the Washington program. From the Washington perspective, the Bologna Center was a branch focusing primarily on Europe and thus inherently limited in other fields. To make the Bologna Center a sister institution of SAIS would entail duplicating the entire Washington program in Europe, a difficult proposition on several levels. It would also require financing that SAIS could not provide.

Gianfranco Pasquino ’67, a member of the Italian Senate, has been teaching at the center since the early 1970s.
Underlying the debate were vestiges of the old tensions between SAIS and Hopkins; some faculty members in Washington viewed their counterparts in Bologna with the same suspicion they themselves once received from the Hopkins faculty; after all, Haines had run the young Bologna Center with the same degree of autonomy that SAIS had exercised just after integrating into Hopkins.

The center, in turn, argued that a degree program would stabilize the transient nature of its student body and attract a greater number of prominent European professors. Serfaty and Calleo, representing the two sides of this debate, finally agreed on a compromise: the center would offer a research degree, the Master of Arts in International Affairs. The M.A.I.A. would be awarded only to non-Americans, who would spend their second year in Bologna preparing a thesis under the guidance of two readers. They were required to pass a foreign-language proficiency and three oral exams covering a functional field, a geographical area, and international economics. The center’s ability to grant its own degree was the formal seal of academic approval from SAIS.

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The center’s desire to broaden the study of Eastern Europe led to exchange programs with the Institute of International Politics and Economics in Belgrade and the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. In 1973, the first group of students and professors made what is now an annual trip to Belgrade’s Institute of International Politics and Economics for a week of lectures and excursions. In return, Branko Pribičević, chairman of the University of Belgrade’s Department of International Studies, joined the ranks of the center’s commuting professors in 1974 to teach East-West politics or the socialist experience in Eastern Europe.

“We experienced everything, from debating with students of the Economics Department of the University of Belgrade to imbibing Bip beer under the watchful eyes of Marshall Tito, whose portrait was in every bar,” reported two of the first American student participants, Marshall Millsap ’76 and Prescott Wurlitzer ’76. Since then, students have also had the chance to examine the merits and problems of self-management within workers’ councils, to visit Tito’s tomb in 1980, and to discuss nonalignment and East-West relations with the institute’s top scholars.

The center developed contacts within Poland, and by 1975, it was sending thirty to forty students to the Jagiellonian University’s three-week summer session in Polish cultural, historical, political, and economic issues. In return, Polish students began to come to the center
Wilfrid Kohl, who had come from Columbia University to direct the center in 1976, worked on fundraising and broadening the Bologna Center’s academic reputation.

for a year on full scholarship, along with two or three Polish professors who wished to teach or do research.

* * * * *

Wilfrid Kohl was appointed center director in 1976 after serving as the associate director of Columbia University’s Institute on Western Europe and, before that, as a staff member at the National Security Council. As a former program officer at The Ford Foundation, he had administered research grants in European studies; now he was applying for them. Under Kohl, the Italian government renewed its grant for five more years, and new fellowships were found for Swedish, British, and Belgian students.

Kohl felt that the primary academic challenge facing him lay in “beefing up the academic image of the center.” He expanded the Research Institute, which Serfaty had created, and launched regular
monthly seminars with visiting scholars and international conferences on Italian politics and European-American relations. A conference on the role of Germany in Europe resulted in one of the first institute’s books, West Germany: A European and Global Power, a collection of articles edited by Kohl and Giorgio Basevi.

Meanwhile, student enrollment rose to 120 during this period, while the resident faculty members numbered six professors, including Kohl, and visiting faculty numbered fifteen, including Hedley Bull, Louis Halle, and Wilhelm Hanel.

* * * * *

In March 1977, the tranquility of Bologna was shattered. For several months Italian students throughout the country had protested overcrowded university conditions, insufficient pay, the lack of positions for researchers and teaching assistants, and the scarcity of jobs for graduates. On March 11, Franco Lo Russo, a student at the University of Bologna, was shot and killed during a confrontation between student groups and police forces. Protests, strikes, and more confrontations erupted as police barricades were erected around the university area and as students barricaded Via Zamboni.

_Students and citizens gather daily in the Piazza Maggiore to argue politics. In 1977, the piazza was the scene of mass student demonstrations against the local government._
“Suddenly we had tear gas coming up to our terrace because Via Rizzoli (near the center) was a prime target area of the demonstrations and the stand-offs between police and groups of students,” recalled Kohl. Stores were looted and tear gas fired as carabinieri toting machine guns were posted at strategic points throughout the city during an especially tense period of more than a week.

Bologna Center students were divided over what action to take. The more active, along with Professors Krippendorff and Calzini, wanted to intervene on behalf of the Italian students and to close the center temporarily as an expression of sympathy. Classes were called off for several days so everyone could assess the unfolding events. Professor Pasquino analyzed the university problems in Italy and hinted that police occupation might have been motivated by the national Christian Democratic party as an attempt to embarrass the local communists.

Kohl insisted that the center remain officially neutral, while Krippendorff and Calzini urged student participation. Ultimately, a group of students approved a declaration calling for the removal of police from the city’s center and the immediate release of the Italian students who had been arrested. The Bolognese were no doubt surprised when some center students joined a mass demonstration in Piazza Maggiore, thus appearing to align themselves with the leftist Italian students, who essentially criticized the conservative manner in which the communists ran the city. The violence abated soon after the demonstration, but the issues remained alive throughout the spring.

A popular social tradition began on Via Belmeloro in 1975 when six Austrian students, representing one of the center’s largest national groups, organized an authentic Austrian Ball. That year, and every succeeding year, the industrious Austrian students produced an evening of Austrian folk songs, waltzing, wurstel, strudl, wine, and sometimes even a Viennese orchestra. Students were well prepared for this event; several would participate in the opening Polonaise, and willing Europeans gallantly taught inexperienced Americans the art of waltzing, usually in the center’s lobby between classes. By 1984, the Osterreicher-ball was truly a Bolognese society event, held in the resplendent thirteenth-century Palazzo Grassi. Among the several hundred formally attired guests were the Austrian consul general from Milan, the city fathers of Bologna, students, alumni, faculty and staff members.

The Austrian students in the class of 1985 wanted to outdo their predecessors. Instead of bringing Austria to Bologna, they brought nearly ninety of their classmates to Austria for four days in May. Their guests were treated to receptions with two Bologna Center alumni: Joseph Krainer ’56, the Styrian governor, and Austrian opposition leader Alois
Mock '58. They saw the different faces of Vienna—baroque, imperial, and art nouveau—and the opera, ballet, and Lippizzaner horses. Karl Newole, one of the organizers, attributed the Austrian students' initiative to their "Alpine spirit."

* * * *

Ronald Tiersky, a professor of political science on leave from Amherst College, directed the Bologna Center from 1980 to 1982. AID had announced that their subsidy would be phased out, so Tiersky sought new Italian sources of support. He worked to renew the Italian government grant and to engage Italian business people and public figures to help with fundraising. Giuseppe Gazzoni, a Bolognese industrialist who became a member of its Advisory Council, helped Tiersky set up the Bologna-Johns Hopkins Association to increase private-sector support for the center.

Meanwhile, in Washington, Dean George Packard undertook his own lobbying campaign in 1980 to renew the AID and Italian government grants, the center's two major sources of funding. Over the next two years, with strong support from President Muller and Provost Longaker, Packard succeeded in his efforts. Later, in 1984, as part of the Campaign for Johns Hopkins, the Bologna Center set a target of $10 million to give it a strong endowment base to avert future financial crises.

At the end of Tiersky's second year, Dean Packard, citing various administrative and leadership problems, offered him a paid sabbatical year to conduct research in France. Robert Gard, a three-star general and former president of the National Defense University who was educated at West Point and received a Ph.D. from Harvard in political economy, was named in 1982 to a five-year term as director. The replacement of one director by another, however, aroused discontent in Bologna, since the faculty was irritated at not being consulted about the appointment.

Despite the frictions, Gard set about his new duties with enthusi-
Under Robert G. Gard, the former president of the National Defense University who was named the center director in 1982, the Bologna Center added new courses on the Third World and international finance.

asm. Since a greater number of Bologna Center graduates pursued careers in the private sector, Gard added two courses in international finance and banking and planned others on financial analysis and the role of transnational corporations in the world economy. Courses concerning the Third World increased to include seminars on African politics and Latin American development. The Research Institute continued to attract European and American scholars who studied and wrote about international economics, European socialism, security studies, and science, technology and public policy.

By 1985, the resident faculty was well established and included economists Richard Pomfret and Jan Kregel and political scientists Richard de Angelis, Douglas Stuart, and John Harper '76 (M.A.), '81 (Ph.D.).

Adrian Lyttelton, a Briton who taught and studied at Oxford and the University of Reading, has taught European history at the center since 1976. He is a renowned specialist in the history of Italian fascism who takes a genuine interest in his students' research. He has even rushed into a group of chatting students with lists of suggestions for
new articles or to hash over a new idea.

"Professor Lyttelton is so knowledgeable," said one student, that he goes off "on several interesting tangents before he can make his point. He is also more interested in having you challenge or argue with what he said, rather than repeating it to him."

Professor Stefano Zamagni has the knack of bringing the study of economics to life. After arriving at the center from the University of Parma in 1977, Zamagni, who also heads the economics department at the University of Bologna, took on so much extra responsibility that Tiersky created the post of associate director for him in 1982. His wife, Professor Vera Zamagni, is an Oxford-trained economic historian who has been a visiting professor at the center since 1974 and the first woman on the Bologna faculty. She was singled out as an exceptional teacher by SAIS students in 1984, an honor accorded her husband the following year.

Lidia Licari, who had joined her sister Carmen on the Bologna language faculty in 1969, heads the language program. She teaches French and Italian, and her colleagues offer English, German, and Spanish as well.

The status of the Bologna Center’s “visiting” professors is often misleading since many are “visiting” on a long-term basis. Marco Biagi, an expert in comparative law, has been “visiting” since 1980. Other longtime visiting professors who are also alumni are David Ellwood ’71, who teaches course on British politics; Gianfranco Pasquino ’67, an
The Bologna Experience: 1955–86

Lidia Licari followed her sister Carmen to the Bologna Center to teach French, and she now heads the language program.

independent senator on the PCI's list of candidates, who brings a wealth of experience to his courses on contemporary Italian politics and has also taught at SAIS in Washington; and Guiseppe Pennisi '68, the director of the Italian Planning Ministry's Public Investment Council, who teaches economics of the public sector.

The staff has remained small and is as international as the student body. Sheila Nannetti, the receptionist, is Scottish. For more than a decade, she has done battle with the temperamental switchboard in the lobby while relaying messages, passing out long-awaited mail, and bailing students out of various crises. Neilita Landau, for many years the assistant for alumni affairs, and more recently, secretary to the Research Institute, is Brazilian; Hannelore Aragno, who followed Kay Butler as the registrar, is German. Richard Thompson, Linda Marion, and Alfredo di Marino—respectively the school's business manager, assistant for alumni and public affairs, and librarian—are American.

Hasan Teoman, named as the first dean of students in 1981 after he graduated from the center, is one of its best sources of information and advice. Inevitably, a long line of students waits to see him for guidance on careers, summer internships, courses, housing, and personal matters. Teoman's door is always open, and from the comfort of his office, covered with posters of Italy and his native Turkey, he dishes out useful advice while the sounds of neighing horses and braying mules drift in from the nearby college of veterinary medicine.

"The evolution of this institution has influenced a lot of minds in Europe," he said. "Traditional American concepts, such as tuition and internships, are better understood. People laughed at me when I asked them a few years ago to take interns."

For more than ten years, Ivo Rossetti has managed the busy snack bar off the lobby. As the center's unofficial alumni secretary, he has covered the walls of his bar with two thousand postcards and posters sent to him from all over the world by scores of students. Each graduate
Egidio Ortona, former Italian ambassador to the United States, has been chairman of the Bologna Center Advisory Council since the late seventies.

leaves Bologna with memories of many an hour spent in Ivo’s haven, sipping espresso over conversations in any one of several languages.

By the mid-eighties, about half the center’s 125 students were American. Large numbers came from Italy, Austria, West Germany, and the Netherlands, and a few from Sweden, the United Kingdom, France, Spain, Hungary, and Poland. Some also came from Colombia, Liberia, Venezuela, the People’s Republic of China, Turkey, Pakistan, Korea, and Malta.

When students arrive each fall in Bologna, they are acutely aware of their cultural and national differences. By May, the language barriers have largely disappeared, along with cultural unawareness. What began as a fragmented collection of individuals has been transformed into a group with shared experiences and a more tolerant, global outlook.

Certainly the social life coalesces the student body. The chocolate club, organized by the class of 1985 for connoisseurs who would enter their home country’s chocolate in competitions, was open to all. And everyone in the class of 1984 could hum the tune and fake the words to old Swedish drinking songs, taught by the Swedish contingent over schnapps.

The study trips and summer sessions in other countries contribute to the reservoir of common memories. In the early 1980s, programs were initiated at Humboldt University in East Germany and the University of Budapest in Hungary. “It is a rewarding experience,” said Hasan Teoman of the East German trip, “considering the fact that no one can go there as a tourist and do the things we do.”

Perhaps the most spectacular trip occurred in spring 1984 when Muller, Packard, and Gard accompanied students to the Vatican for a private audience with Pope John Paul II. In a chamber adorned with gold-leaf carvings and marble flooring, the pontiff entreated students to remember that the ultimate aim of their studies is “the promotion
and protection of the dignity of the human person... In this way you will make a significant contribution to the advancement of a more genuinely human society, one that is founded on justice and crowned with charity.’”

The pope later greeted each student, pausing to give special counsel to a young woman from Poland. “Some students wept in the presence of the pope,” according to one observer. “Others viewed the visit as a historic event, as an opportunity to see an important world leader. Virtually no one was unmoved by the occasion.’”

* * * * *

The Bologna Center’s financial health improved when the U.S. Senate on September 10, 1986, passed by amendment a special appropriation of $1 million to the center “in recognition of the distinguished career of Senator Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., and his lifelong commitment to enhancing international cooperation through scholarship and economic linkages.” The tribute was made to Mathias as he prepared to retire as the senior senator from Maryland. On January 1987, Mathias, a longtime member of the SAIS Advisory Council, was to become the first Milton S. Eisenhower Distinguished Visiting Professor in Public
Policy at Johns Hopkins. His new duties would include counseling students and lecturing at SAIS.

Alumni loyalty has also aided the center's fundraising efforts. Hasan Teoman calls this loyalty emotional. "The alumni are a driving force behind the center," he says.

Mitchell Wolfson Jr. is the son of a man who built a Florida-based empire of entertainment and soft-bottling enterprises. A serious art collector, Wolfson is a businessman and philanthropist. He is also a 1965 alumnus of the Bologna Center and the "driving force" that launched the center's endowment fund in 1985 with a $250,000 grant. Later that year, a Bologna classmate of Wolfson's, British member of Parliament Richard Shepherd, established a trust fund of about $25,000 for scholarships for British students.

Like Shepherd and Wolfson, many alumni have special feelings about their Bologna days. Many have joined chapters in Austria, Sweden, Belgium, Luxembourg, the United Kingdom, and Italy. Clusters of graduates in New York and Washington gather together on a regular basis. Dozens of former students return each spring for the annual weekend reunion.

The alumni weekend of May 1985 was cause for special celebration as the center reached its thirtieth anniversary. As five hundred alumni, students, Bologna citizens, and friends watched from their seats
Johns Hopkins conferred an honorary doctor of laws degree upon Italian President Sandro Pertini at the Bologna Center's thirtieth anniversary celebration. Later, students presented Pertini with a pipe.

in the magnificent Teatro Comunale, President Muller and Provost Longaker conferred an honorary doctor of laws degree upon the beloved former Italian president, Sandro Pertini. Later that day, the eighty-eight year old statesman did what he liked to do best: he returned to the center and sequestered himself with students behind closed doors to encourage them, advise them, and to give his opinion on anything from war and peace to the Italian soccer team.

Stephen Low, director of the U.S. Foreign Service Institute, was appointed as the new director of the Bologna Center in 1987.
Epilogue

On a sparkling winter weekend in February 1987, the entire SAIS faculty did something that had no precedent in the annals of the school: they held a two-day “retreat” at Airlie House, the pastoral former estate of a wealthy Virginian and now a conference center.

President Muller participated on the first day. A searching agenda ranged across every aspect of the school as the faculty worked to envision needs, opportunities, and problems in the year 2000. The discussions lasted all day Saturday, through dinner, and became spirited in the early hours of Sunday morning in the tavern.

Hanging heavily over the deliberations was the recent and untimely death on December 28, 1986, of Bob Osgood, a beloved teacher, and the impending retirements of Professors Frank (international economics), Liska (international relations, East-West relations), Barnett (China) and the prospects of other retirements a few years thereafter, including those of Professors Lystad (associate dean for academic affairs), and Tucker (international law, American foreign policy). The loss of these giants and the appointment of their successors would clearly affect the future of SAIS well into the next century.

At the same time, other changes offered new prospects for growth: the move into a second building, the Benjamin T. Rome Building at 1619 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., the development of the Hopkins-Nanjing Center in China, the establishment of the National Foreign Language Center at SAIS in Washington, and the appointment of a new director of the Bologna Center, Ambassador Stephen Low, director of the U.S. Foreign Service Institute, to succeed the retiring Dr. Robert Gard. The discussions took on a sense of urgency.

Former Deans Thayer, Wilcox, and Osgood would have been amused at the number of issues that lingered from earlier days—and that had never been finally resolved: How big should the student body be? How does the school hold down tuition and attract the best students? What sort of Ph.D. program should it offer, and with how many of its scarce resources? Should it offer more “vocational courses” such as international business management? Is SAIS a research, professional, or trade school? Is it training generalists or specialists? Should it consider new alliances, similar to those already in existence with Wharton Business School at Penn and the Stanford Law School? Is the core curriculum working? Should core courses be remedial or advanced? Taught by regular or part-time faculty? Should the school abolish area programs and divide all courses into 1) international economics, 2) in-
ternational politics and 3) comparative domestic systems? Is it doing enough in collaboration with the faculties at the Homewood Campus? Is too much of the students’ time being devoted to language? Too little? Should its admissions standards be higher, obviating the need for so many basic courses? Should the number of students entering each field be capped and students forced to declare their field of concentration earlier? Should summers be used as another semester for M.A. candidates? How could faculty salaries remain competitive? Were foreign students sufficiently prepared, especially in English, and how could all incoming students be better screened and interviewed? Were jobs going to be available for SAIS students in the year 2000?

Clearly, the faculty would have to come to grips with many of these problems, and just as clearly, there would be heated arguments over their resolution. What was encouraging to many of those present at the retreat was the new level of collegiality that marked the debates, and the sense of share destiny. In addition, among a faculty generally regarded as one of the nation’s finest in international studies, there was no hint of resting on laurels. “SAIS is now the best, and the only real question is whether we will remain the best,” one faculty member said later.

Of course the school, while better financed than at any time in its history, required still more resources and most of all a substantial endowment if it were to meet the challenges ahead. In early 1987, tuition dependence stood at 65 percent, still far too high to offer real security for the future. New faculty chairs, programs, and student assistance were vitally needed. A strong Advisory Council, chaired by SAIS alumnus G. Donald Johnston, and composed of such notable public figures and private-sector leaders as Harold Brown, Edmund R. Fitzgerald, Marvin Kalb, James Leach, Walter Levy, Sol Linowitz, Charles McC. Mathias, Walter F. Mondale, Paul Sarbanes, Brent Scowcroft, and Alexander B. Trowbridge, was now helping to fill the roles of the original founders in tracking down new sources of support. SAIS was actively recruiting new friends throughout America. Foreign sources were being tapped in the Middle East, Japan, and elsewhere. Alumni, especially the recent graduates who were entering the private sector, were enlisting in the school’s $40 million fund drive, a part of the Campaign for Johns Hopkins that would end in February 1990. (By early 1987, SAIS has raised $24 million toward its goal.)

While there was a broad spectrum of views within the SAIS community about how the world would look in the year 2000, no one doubted that the need for responsible, trained leaders in international affairs would be greater than ever. With the enormous U.S. trade deficit, frightening Third World debt and liquidity crisis, growing protec-
tionism, an arms race that was careening out of control, newly industrialized nations clamoring for a place in the sun, and disease and poverty stalking two-thirds of the planet's people, no one was questioning the original mission of the school. There was a strong consensus that SAIS should hold fast to its traditional emphasis on a liberal arts approach: an understanding of history, a knowledge of foreign cultures and languages, reasoning, judgment, analytical skills, competence, and integrity.

The school, in 1987, was mindful of its past as it looked to the future. There was the "Philip H. Watts Reading Room" in the "Sydney and Elsa Mason Library," and the "W. John Kenney Auditorium" in the "Paul and Phyllis Nitze Building." Professor Frederick Holborn, son of the late Hajo Holborn, taught American foreign policy, and Christian A. Herter Jr. taught international law. Professorial chairs were endowed in the names of founders and longtime friends such as Edward B. Burling, William L. Clayton, Sarita and Don Johnston, Majid Khadduri, William McChesney Martin, and Robert E. Osgood. Fellowships honored the memories of Philip W. Thayer, Francis O. Wilcox, and Christian A. Herter.

But the same restless spirit that led to the school's establishment in Washington moved its current stewards to seek new approaches. A new scandal, the Iran-contra affair, had shaken the Reagan administration just as Watergate had shaken the Nixon administration a decade earlier. The scandal had its origins in the fatal error of entrusting foreign-policy operations to the hands of amateurs and adventurers. If the United States were to mature as a world power, it would require the talents and judgment of trained professionals. It would need men and women who could earn and deserve the trust of political leaders.

George Packard summed up this restless spirit in an interview toward the end of his eighth year as dean:

The school is a gem of rare worth in today's compartmented world: a unique, unpredictable, priceless institution in the study of international relations, defying image, daring its competitors to fit it into a stereotype, cheerfully maintaining its roots in the liberal arts, ignoring those who would have it follow trends. I have learned to cherish this creative disarray, and devoutly hope to pass it on some day to my successor in its pristine, inchoate form.
Appendix A

BOARD OF DIRECTORS, FOREIGN SERVICE EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION, 1944:

Christian A. Herter, Chairman
William A.M. Burden
Edward R. Burling
William L. Clayton
William Y. Elliott
Joseph C. Grew
Coleman Jennings
George L. Harrison
Halford Hoskins, ex officio
Paul H. Nitze
Helen P. Emmet, Secretary to the Board

Finance Committee

William L. Clayton, Chairman
George L. Harrison
Paul H. Nitze

BOARD OF TRUSTEES, FOREIGN SERVICE EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION, 1944:

Christian A. Herter, President. Member of Congress
William R. Austin, United States Senator
Robert Woods Bliss, Former U.S. Ambassador
Francis P. Bolton, Member of Congress
William A. M. Burden, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Aviation
Edward B. Burling, Senior Partner, Covington, Burling, Rublee, Acheson & Shorb

Curtis E. Calder, President, American & Foreign Power Co.
James S. Carson, Vice President, Electric Bond & Share Co.: Chairman, Education Committee, National Foreign Trade Council
William L. Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State
John Cowles, Publisher, Minneapolis Star Journal and Des Moines Register and Tribune

Lewis W. Douglas, President, Mutual Life Insurance Co., of New York
William Yandell Elliott, Professor of Government, Harvard University
Thomas K. Finletter, Senior Partner, Coudert Brothers
J. William Fulbright, U.S. Senator
Joseph C. Grew, Under Secretary of State
George L. Harrison, President, New York Life Insurance Co.
Coleman Jennings

**Henry R. Luce**, Publisher, *Time, Life* and *Fortune*

**Paul B. McKee**, President, Pacific Power & Light Co.

**Paul H. Nitze**, Treasurer, Special Assistant, War Department; Former
  Partner, Dillon, Read & Co.

**Arthur W. Page**, Vice President, American Telephone and Telegraph Co.

**William Phillips**, Former U.S. Ambassador

**Lewis L. Strauss**, Captain, USNR; Partner, Kuhn, Loeb & Co.

**Myron C. Taylor**, Personal Representative of the President

**Wayne C. Taylor**, Under Secretary of Commerce

**Robert J. Watt**, International Representative, American Federation of Labor

**Charles E. Wilson**, President, General Electric Co.

**Hugh R. Wilson**, Former U.S. Ambassador
Appendix B

1986–87 FACULTY AND ADMINISTRATION

RESIDENT FACULTY

George R. Packard, Ph.D.
Dean of SAIS and Professor of East Asian Studies

Robert A. Lystad, Ph.D.
Associate Dean for Academic Affairs and Professor of African Studies

Fouad Ajami, Ph.D.
The Majid Khadduri Professor and Director of Middle East Studies

A. Doak Barnett, M.A.
George and Sadie Hyman Professor of Chinese Studies

David P. Calleo, Ph.D.
Professor and Director of European Studies

Charles F. Doran, Ph.D.
Professor of International Politics and Director of the Center of Canadian Studies

Isaiah Frank, Ph.D.
The William L. Clayton Professor and Director of International Economics

Roger D. Hansen, Ph.D.
The Jacob Blaustein Professor of International Organization

Majid Khadduri, Ph.D.
University Distinguished Professor Emeritus

George Liska, Ph.D.
Professor of International Relations

Robert E. Osgood, Ph.D.
Christian A. Herter Professor and Director of Foreign Policy

Charles S. Pearson, Ph.D.
Professor of International Economics

James C. Riedel, Ph.D.
Professor of International Economics

Riordan Roett, Ph.D.
Professor and Director of Latin American Studies

Nathaniel Bowman Thayer, Ph.D.
Professor and Director of Asian Studies

Robert W. Tucker, Ph.D.
Edward B. Burling Professor of International Law and Institutions

I. William Zartman, Ph.D.
Professor of International Politics and Director of African Studies

Bruce Bagley, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Comparative Politics and Latin American Studies

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3. Ibid.

Chapter 2


3. Ibid., 192.

Chapter 3


2. The Conference for Corporation Executives continued under the direction of an outside organization until they were discontinued in the 1970s.

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