### Inside

Fiery Fall and Incredible Rise	
of Liberal Education	
by Wallace A. Russell p.	<b>2</b>
About Our Reviewers p.	4
Recommended Reading p.	4



VOLUME 50  $\square$  NUMBER FOUR  $\square$  SUMMER 1985

### Columbia Ph.D. Candidate Wins Sibley Fellowship

Lavinia Lorch, who is working toward her Ph.D. in classics at Columbia University, has won the 1985 Sibley Fellow-



ship for studies in Greek language literature. and plans to She study the odes in three plays of Euripides as "lyrical structures with sophisticated and complex thematic and/or imagistic relations to the plot and to each other." A

Lavinia Lorch

graduate of Barnard, she was admitted to Phi Beta Kappa in her junior year there. A native speaker of Italian, she has taught Latin, Greek, and French. She is the 37th winner of the award, which was stablished with funds bequeathed to Phi Beta Kappa in the will of Isabelle Stone.

In 1986, the Sibley Fellowship, which carries a \$7,000 stipend, will be offered for studies in French language or literature. Candidates must be unmarried women between 25 and 35 years of age who hold the doctorate or who have fulfilled all the requirements for the doctorate except the dissertation. They must be planning to devote full-time work to research during the fellowship year that begins September 1, 1986.

Further information and application forms may be obtained by writing to the Sibley Fellowship Committee, Phi Beta Kappa, 1811 Q Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20009.

### Some Reflections of a Key-bearing Traveler

### By Elspeth Rostow

N A WAY, my assignment as a Visiting Scholar began in September 1983 when I stood in Fukui, Japan, before a cenotaph commemorating the life and death of Taro Kusakabe, probably the first Japanese member of Phi Beta Kappa. Ties between Fukui and New Brunswick, New Jersey, blossomed into a city-to-city relationship in consequence of the fact that Kusakabe had graduated from Rutgers around 1870. Although, in the words of my hosts, Kusakabe "regretfully passed away at the age of 26 by his hard study and severe life in [a] foreign land," William Eliot Griffis, an American who had befriended Kusakabe, went to Japan as a tribute to his friend and remained there to teach until his own death many years later. In the city of Fukui, a Phi Beta Kappa key opens many doors.

How did I happen to be in Fukui? Ask USIA and the Fulbright Program. From July 1983 to July 1984, my husband and I traveled through 34 countries, visited roughly 115 cities, and gave some 220 talks and lectures. Two months after returning home, I embarked upon my wanderings as a Phi Beta Kappa Visiting Scholar. Several of my friends suggested that I must be mad.

At least from my point of view, an assignment as a Scholar is both delightful and enlightening. In one sense I am adding new countries—in the classic sense of *terrae incognitae*—to last year's list. As a Manhattan-born, East Coast type, transported to Texas 16 years ago, I find each new campus a revelation.

### Good Scholarship Nationwide

This exercise in secular circuit-riding has suggested several conclusions. The first is that we have a level of nationally distributed scholarship unrealized a generation or two ago. The departments with which I tend to deal—history, political science, econom-

ics—not only have excellent and largely similar curricula, but also develop able researchers and good teachers. In fact, some smaller colleges that emphasize teaching may well out do their larger counterparts in the classroom.



Elspeth Rostow

It is easy to believe, if you find yourself in a well-ivied citadel of learning, that you are surrounded by the Happy Few, and that the world beyond is populated by Yahoos. Not so. I probably was guilty (continued on back cover)

### Triennial Council to Meet in Baltimore, Oct. 31-Nov. 3

The 34th triennial Council of the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa will meet this fall from October 31 to November 3 in Baltimore, Maryland. A highlight of the national meeting will be the presentation of the Phi Beta Kappa Award for Distinguished Service to the Humanities to Robert M. Lumiansky, former president of the American Council of Learned Societies and past president of the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa. The award will be presented at the Council banquet on November 2 at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in Baltimore.

As the legislative body of the United Chapters, the Council will consider and vote on the Senate's recommendations



Robert M. Lumiansky

for the establishment of five new chapters and will elect officers and senators for the coming triennium. Nominated for president of the United Chapters is Norman F. Ramsey, Higgins Professor of Physics at Harvard University and currently vice president of the United Chapters and chairman of the Phi Beta Kappa Foundation. The nominee for vice president is Otis A. Singletary, president of the University of Kentucky and currently a member of the Senate's Executive Committee. Eight senators at large and four district senators will be elected for six-year terms.

Although the voting members of the Council are the chapter and association delegates, any member of Phi Beta Kappa is welcome to attend the Council meeting. Members wishing to attend as nondelegates may receive information from the United Chapters, 1811 Q Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20009.

### THE FIERY FALL AND INCREDIBLE RISE OF LIBERAL EDUCATION

### by Wallace A. Russell

This article is taken from a Phi Beta Kappa initiation speech delivered this spring at Wake Forest University.

This is a particularly propitious time to be welcoming new members into Phi Beta Kappa, this most venerable and venerated of scholastic honorary societies. Throughout the turbulent history of this country, this organization has symbolized devotion to the enlightening, ennobling, and enriching consequences of education at its best.

There have been times in the recent past when new members of Phi Beta Kappa were welcomed in the same way that new recruits were accepted into General Washington's battered army at Valley Forge. The smart money said that our cause was doomed. It took courage to be labeled a "liberal arts type." However, liberal education appears to be on the verge of an unexpected resurgence. Out of the ashes of the educational world an implausible phoenix may be about to arise.

## The Alleged Demise of the Liberal Ideal

What happened to produce the ashes from which this incredible phoenix may be arising? The fire was ignited, I believe, by the higher education community itself. In the years following World War II there was a movement toward specialized training for academic professionals. It produced the phenomenon of professors who knew more and more about less and less; they could succeed by publishing widely on narrower and narrower subjects.

In that climate undergraduate education suffered. Many professors viewed it at best as a recruiting ground for bright students who might become specialized duplicates of themselves. The breadth dimension of the baccalaureate was ignored or given merely formal recognition in so-called distribution requirements, which allowed virtually random selection of diverse courses in loosely defined subject matter domains. Somehow these courses were supposed to coalesce in the mind of each student to generate an integrated perception of the overall structure of the great world of knowledge.

Not surprisingly, there was a strong reaction against this sort of academic irresponsibility among students themselves in the activist years of the late 1960s and early 1970s. They demanded that their education speak to their own "felt needs." For a brief period during the Vietnam era these "felt needs" had to do with saving the world, which they saw as crumbling around them. They shouted for "relevance." As job markets tightened, however, they called shrilly for merely vocational preparation. It became popular to assert that economic success was the sole purpose of a college education.

Caroline Bird's book *The Case Against College* put forth an economic analysis of the costs and benefits of college that was assumed to exhaust the arguments for and against advanced education. Many students, parents, and even professors accepted this analysis, and it has become rampant among us. In fact, it seems al-

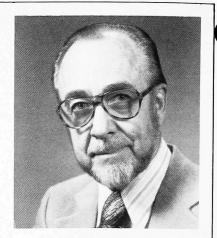
For a generation, educators have been engrossed in teaching students things to do. We have almost forgotten that doing is a product of being. In the end, action is determined by what you are.

most a heresy these days to suggest that money is not the ultimate value.

In a recent article, Barbara Ehrenreich says she has found today's colleges so efficient in adhering to Caroline Bird's economic analysis that she would do anything to keep her kids from going to college. She writes, "When college turns a decent kid into a money-grubbing preppie, it's time to cut off its funds." But she is a voice in the wilderness. The hordes who see college in terms of a purely economic investment deserve a name; I call them "the new philistines." They have been major contributors to the fall of liberal education.

Philistinism, old and new, means blind conventionalism—for example, to see scholarship only in term of its applicability to the existing economy. Philistinism also means devotion to low aims—for example, to trivialize the world of intellectual effort by reducing it to its current serviceability. In the dictionary, a philistine is defined as an ignorant, narrowminded person, devoid of culture and indifferent to art. The ideal of liberal education is essentially the opposite.

Another contributor to the fire that consumed liberal education was the "back to basics" movement, which emerged in response to the recognition that our precollege educational system often failed to provide students with the fundamental skills necessary to carry out the tasks of a complex technological so-



Wallace A. Russell is dean of the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, University of South Florida, Tampa.

ciety. How can Johnny succeed if he cannot read? How can new engineers get promoted if they cannot write a grammatically correct sentence? How can anyone work in a computerized world if he or she doesn't know basic mathematics? The criticism was fair enough, but as university resources were poured into remedial education, there was less and less emphasis on the higher goals of liberal education.

Now our new philistines are beginning to realize that they need more than greed and a degree even to climb the corporate ladder. Even the "back to basics" faction is finding that the three R's are not in themselves sufficient; those reading, writing, and figuring skills must be used in conjunction with critical analysis, logical thinking, and, yes, even creative insight. These are good omens.

### Three Reports

The primary evidence for a possible resurgence of liberal education lies in the content of three recent, highly publicized, national reports dealing with the status of higher education. Each is critical of much that has characterized the undergraduate curriculum in recent years. Each offers a prescription for action, and each emphasizes a theme that bodes well for liberal education.

The first report, "Involvement in Learning," was submitted just last October to the then secretary of education, Terrel H. Bell, by the National Institute of Education. It clearly stated these bases for concern about undergraduate education:

 An increasing number of undergraduates are majoring in narrow specialties.

- The proportion of bachelor's degrees awarded in arts and sciences, as opposed to vocational programs, fell from one-half to almost onethird in a little more than a decade.
- Students have abandoned the traditional liberal arts and sciences in large numbers.
- Accreditation standards for undergraduate professional programs present barriers to liberal learning. One association, for example, prescribed 80 percent of a student's work within its professional field.

This report marked the end of the long swing of the educational pendulum toward increased emphasis on specialized professional training. It recommended that all bachelor's degree recipients should have at least two full years of liberal education, and it boldly acknowledged that this would, in most professional fields, require extending undergraduate programs beyond the normal four years. It urged the expansion and reinstatement of liberal education to ensure the integration of knowledge from various disciplines, and it urged direct attention in the curriculum not only to subject matter but also to the development of capacities for analysis, problem solving, and synthesis. All this would require, it said, far more active involvement of students in the learning process. It further suggested that serious efforts be made to assess the effectiveness with which the goals were actually met.

["Involvement in Learning"] marked the end of the long swing of the educational pendulum toward increased emphasis on specialized professional training.

Hardly had "Involvement in Learning" been released when William J. Bennett, who was shortly to succeed Bell as secretary of education, penned the second report designed to invoke the reincarnation of the old liberal ideal. He wrote from his post as chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. This report, titled "To Reclaim a Legacy," understandably emphasized the centrality of the humanities in higher education. Bennett, too, stressed the need for balance in the curriculum, and he deplored excessive concentration and narrow departmentalism.

Bennett recalled that liberal education should serve as a vehicle for acquainting students with our great heritage as civilized human beings. He called for reidentification with the roots of our society. We are the inheritors of Western civilization, and American students need an understanding of its origins, an acquaintance with its masterworks, and a knowledge of its significant ideas and debates, including those in science and technology. Beyond that, he held, there must be more than a superficial knowledge of non-Western culture, and there must be proficiency in a foreign language.

The third invocation for the phoenix of liberal education to rise up appeared as the result of a project released in February by the Association of American Colleges, which found the undergraduate curriculum in disarray and called for a restoration of its former coherence and integrity. Its report, "Integrity in the College Curriculum," proposed to restructure undergraduate education around nine basic intellectual, aesthetic, and philosophic experiences, including these:

- Basic literacy in language and numbers
- Abstract thinking and critical analysis
- Acquaintance with science
- Capacity for moral choice
- Sensitivity to art
- Multicultural experience
- Study in depth sufficient to know the "joy of mastering" a complex structure of knowledge.

The report called for a revived sense of responsibility by the faculty *as a whole* for the curriculum *as a whole*. It recognized that the liberal objectives of undergraduate education must be met in various ways in different institutions. It did not seek to prescribe how the objectives should be met; rather it stressed acquaintance with the methods and processes of knowing and the modes of access to understanding and judgment that should inform all study.

### What Next?

Where do these three reports leave us? In themselves, of course, they change nothing, but they cannot be ignored. The context of their release from the highest levels of the educational establishment, the nationwide publicity surrounding them, the common concerns they express —all force us to attend to them. They have changed the universe of discourse in higher education.

Key words in the titles suggest new dominant themes: involvement, legacy, integrity. If students have been passive rather than active in the learning process, they are called upon to become involved. If faculty have not given appropriate attention to the undergraduate experience, they are on notice to reorient their thinking. If we have failed to pass on the legacy of human culture that is the essence of civilized life, we are reminded of our purpose. If our courses and curriculum have become disorganized, we are urged to restore their coherence and integrity.

These themes are precisely consonant with the historic purposes of Phi Beta Kappa. The recommendations in the reports call for a radical shift in the prevailing popular conceptions of the purposes of the educational enterprise. Their analysis is not the tired economic one centered on how much money you can make by "investing" in a college education. It is not about what specifically you will do following graduation. It is

It will take more than three national reports to spur our jaded and overspecialized professors to a sincere commitment to the totality of an undergraduate liberal education....

gratifyingly about what an educated person should be. It seeks to define the kind of person you can be when you have experienced what college at its best can offer.

This is where the emphasis should have been all along. Liberal education is about being and becoming. It is learning what you are in the fullest sense and becoming what you can be as an educated person. The word "education" means "to lead from." An educated person is one who has been led out of strife and ignorance to a more abundant life. An educated person has been liberated from the blinders of provincialism and the limitations of thoughtlessness, and has become a more complete being-an autonomous person capable of choosing wisely what to do in the world. In the words of one of the reports, the baccalaureate experience provides "an opportunity for a student to establish a style and a certain kind of bravery in the presence of the uncertain and the unknown."

For a generation, educators have been engrossed in teaching students things to do. We have almost forgotten that doing is a product of being. In the end, action is determined by what you are. The proper concern of education is the kind of person you are as a consequence of that education. If you are a wise and good person, you will do well. These reports remind us of that basic truth.

But change does not come easily to education. A cynic could say that the call for revolution itself is not well motivated and that, even if it were, the necessary conditions to produce change are simply not in place. Could these reports be simply a masked conservative appeal for a nostalgic return of the "good old days" of a 19th-century gentleman's educational system for an elitist few? Critics have suggested, for example, that, to qualify for study in William Bennett's vision, a masterwork would have to have been produced by a white, European male who had been dead for 200 years. Such a prescription would surely not fill the bill for a contemporary liberal ideal.

Will there be support for truly desirable reforms? The new philistines will have to progress well beyond the meager insight that critical thinking may increase their profit margin. It will take courage to push the "back to basics" advocates into the dangerous terrain of free thought. It will take more than three national reports to spur our jaded and overspecialized professors to a sincere commitment to the *totality* of an undergraduate liberal education and to the release of the creative energies essential to carrying it out.

But the lines of debate have been clearly drawn, and the central issue on the national educational agenda is the restoration of liberal education.

### ABOUT OUR BOOK REVIEWERS

**Frederick J. Crosson** is Cavanaugh Professor of Humanities at the University of Notre Dame, a senator of Phi Beta Kappa, former dean of the college, and former editor of the *Review of Politics*. His most recent articles have appeared in the *Review of Metaphysics* and the *Journal of Religion*. He has edited and contributed to several books on artificial intelligence and on the philosophy of religion, and contributed a chapter in the forthcoming A *Century of Psychology as Science*.

Andrew Gyorgy is chairman of the Inter-University Research Colloquium on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, a five-university consortium course offered in the Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies of George Washington University, where he has been on the faculty since 1966. He has also taught at Yale University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston University, the U.S. Naval War College, and the National War College. He is the author or editor of a dozen books, including Geopolitics, the New German Science; The Communist States in Disarray, 1965–1971; Basic Issues in International Relations; and Eastern European Government and Politics.

**Robert B. Heilman** is professor emeritus of English at the University of Washington, where he was chairman of the Department of English from 1948 to 1971. He is the author of seven books. His *Magic in the Web* won the Explicator Prize in 1957, and *The Ways of the World: Comedy and Society* won the Christian Gauss Prize of Phi Beta Kappa in 1979. He has been a senator of Phi Beta Kappa since 1967. He has served a term on the Executive Council of the Modern Language Association of America.

Madeline R. Robinton is professor emeritus of history at Brooklyn College of the City University of New York. She has served on the council or committees of the American Historical Association, the North American Conference of British Studies, and the Anglo-American Conference of Historians, and is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. She has contributed numerous articles and reviews to professional journals. Recipient of grants from the Social Science Research Council and the reading recommended by the book committee

FREDERICK J. CROSSON, ROBERT B. HEILMAN,

humanities social sciences

sociul sciences

natural sciences

### **RICHARD N. CURRENT**

Intellectual Life in America: A History. Lewis Perry. Franklin Watts, 1984. \$19.95.

Intellectual history often verges on the amorphous, but Perry gives it shape by concentrating on the activities of intellectuals. What his book lacks in comprehensiveness (it does not mention Phi Beta Kappa), it more than makes up for in sparkling generalizations presented in graceful prose. Tracing a "degradation of reason" in recent years, Perry ends on a rather pessimistic note. "But," he reassures us, "once we have tried to understand John Winthrop and Cotton Mather, Jonathan Edwards and Thomas Jefferson, Ralph Waldo Emerson and W. E. B. Du Bois, Jane Addams and Walter Lippmann, and many others discussed in these pages, we are less likely to feel that current problems are unique and insurmountable."

Latrobe's View of America, 1795–1820: Selections from the Watercolors and Sketches. Ed. by Edward D. Carter II, John C. Van Horne, and Charles E. Brownell. Yale, 1985. \$35.

English-born Benjamin H. Latrobe, famous as an architect and engineer, chief designer of the U.S. Capitol, was also a devoted naturalist and a fine draftsman and watercolorist. A handsome volume, published for the Maryland Historical Society, now brings together 161 of the sketches and watercolors with explanatory notes, many of them by Latrobe himself. Included are landscapes, seascapes, and depictions of buildings, roads, bridges, ships, flora and fauna, and people. Everything

American Council of Learned Societies, she has written on the Prize Court of New York during the American Civil War and on political corruption in Great Britain.

**Robert P. Sonkowsky** teaches classical literature and later Latin literature at the University of Minnesota, where he was chairman of the Classics Department from 1965 to 1978. He has also taught in the Departments of Comparative Literature, Speech, and Theater Arts and has acted in plays and films. His most recent publications include the chapters on the oral performance of Greek and Latin literature in *Performance of Literature in Historical Perspective*. A few months ago, Jeffrey Norton Publishers released some recordings by Sonkowsky of Cicero in restored classical pronunciation.

**Russell B. Stevens**, a biologist, has taught at Birmingham-Southern College, University of Louisville, Auburn University, University of Tennessee, and George Washington University. He also has worked for the Central Intelligence Agency and was, for almost two decades, chief staff officer for the biological sciences at the National Academy of Sciences. He is the author of a textbook on plant pathology and of a handbook for teaching mycology.

www.pbk.org

ROBERT P. SONKOWSKY, LAWRENCE WILLSON EARL W. COUNT, RICHARD N. CURRENT, LEONARD W. DOOB ANDREW GYORGY, MADELINE R. ROBINTON, VICTORIA SCHUCK, ANNA J. SCHWARTZ RONALD GEBALLE, RUSSELL B. STEVENS

from "dirtdaubers" (wasps) to Niagara Falls interested Latrobe and will interest the reader. The editors provide introductions to the man, his work, and this book.

### The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846–1890. Robert M. Utley. New Mexico Univ., 1984. \$19.95; paper, \$10.95.

In no other period have there been so many "historic encounters" between Indians and whites as in the years of the final "Indian frontier," 1846–1890, when western tribes repeatedly rose up against the reservation system. Combining his own research with that of hundreds of other scholars, Utley tells the story with both authority and balance. He shows, for example, that what happened at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, on December 29, 1890, was neither "an outbreak of treacherous Indians" nor "a massacre plotted by brutal soldiers."

Woodrow Wilson and World War I, 1917– 1921. Robert H. Ferrell. Harper & Row, 1985. \$19.95.

Ferrell offers a fresh treatment of a familiar subject. Not only has he mastered a vast amount of published material, but also he has looked into a great many manuscript letters, diaries, reminiscences, and other sources. He writes effectively, with due attention to the telling detail. "Wonderfully prophetic," he concludes, "were the words of Woodrow Wilson, that America by choice had been confined and provincial and henceforth belonged to the world."

# The Airman and the Carpenter: The Lindbergh Kidnapping and the Framing of Richard Hauptmann. Ludovic Kennedy. Viking, 1985. \$18.95.

Kennedy, a British journalist, has written three other books that, according to the publisher of this one, brought pardons to people wrongly convicted of murder. This one cannot do the same for Hauptmann, who went to New Jersey's electric chair in 1936. But the book certainly can shake the reader's belief in Hauptmann's guilt, despite the ransom money in Hauptmann's garage, the ladder allegedly made from a floor board in his attic, and the testimony of Lindbergh himself—who claimed to recognize the accent of a man he once had heard, 80 yards away, call out just two words, "Hey, Doc!"

Prophets of Regulation: Charles Francis Adams, Louis D. Brandeis, James M. Landis, Alfred E. Kahn. Thomas K. McGraw. Harvard (Belknap), 1984. \$20.

Business regulation has been an issue of particular importance in the 1870s, the early 1900s, the 1930s, and the 1970s-80s. At each period one man has strongly influenced the regulatory movement. Having observed this fact. McGraw has organized a history of regulation around the careers of four preeminent regulators. Regulation has succeeded fairly well in its objectives, he believes, when the right man and the opportune moment have met. He makes complex questions understandable and interesting for the ordinary reader as well as for the expert. The book eminently deserves the Pulitzer Prize it has been awarded.

### MADELINE R. ROBINTON

### Diaspora: An Inquiry into the Contemporary Jewish World. Howard M. Sachar. Harper & Row, 1985. \$27.50.

This, the third volume of a trilogy on contemporary Jewish history, is a remarkable compendium of what has happened to the Jewish communities in both Western and Eastern Europe, in the Moslem states, in Australia and South Africa, and in Central and South America since World War II. Basing his study primarily on interviews with leading members of the various communities, and describing the careers or experiences of representative individuals, Sachar is able to reveal the tremendous disparities in the way these communities functioned or were allowed to function and the changing patterns of anti-Semitism in post-Holocaust times.

Change in Central America: Internal and External Dimensions. Ed. by Wolf Grabendorff, Heinrich-W. Krumwiede, and Jörg Todt. Westview, 1984. \$16.50.

A collection of papers edited by three German political scientists sponsored by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation of West Germany and written by Latin American specialists in the United States (including a former member of the National Security Council), Germany, and several Latin American countries, which discuss the revolutionary transformations in Nicaragua, the civil war in El Salvador, the problems in Guatemala, and the responses of the United States to these situations. Papers also deal with the different perceptions of these events in Cuba, Mexico, and in the Contadore countries as well as in the countries of Western Europe.

### Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics. Emmanuel Sivan. Yale, 1985. \$18.50.

This is actually a study of the revolt of the religious fundamentalists among the Sunni Moslems, a return to medieval tradition, and the attack on modernism, which they define in Arabic as barbarism. Sivan, an Arabist and professor of history at Hebrew University, principally studies the writings of Sunni fundamentalists in Egypt (Muslim Brethren), Syria, Iraq, and Lebanon, who (1) attack the secularism of the West, nationalism in its pan-Arab form as opposed to Pan-Islam, and socialism—in particular, a complete rejection of Western values—and (2) seek to return to the codes and forms of medieval Islam.

### The Origins of Trade Union Power. Henry Phelps Brown. Oxford, 1983. \$32.

This valuable book by the professor emeritus of the economics of labor at the London School of Economics seeks to explain how the British trade unions achieved their unique position of power. His primary emphasis is on the particular historical factors that contributed to the development of the unions' power. Brown also compares the power of the British unions with that of unionism in other industrial countries, with special chapters on the United States, Canada, and Australia. In addition, his analysis takes into account economic theory and questions of public policy. Valuable for understanding the current situation.

Labour in Power, 1945–1951. Kenneth O. Morgan. Oxford, 1984. \$29.95.

In these days of the Thatcher government's policy of "privatization," this book is most important for an understanding of the program that was expected to lead to "socialism in one country." Unbelievable as it seemed shortly after V-E Day, Churchill was defeated and Labor was elected with an overwhelming majority committed to a program of democratic socialism. Kenneth Morgan of The Queen's College, Oxford, does a masterly job, based on public and private sources, of portraying the priorities, policies, and personalities of the Attlee government. He treats the nationalization of industry, the welfare state, the Beveridge plan of health insurance. public housing, education reform, the withdrawal from India and the transformation of the British Empire, the foreign policy necessitated by the end of the war, the peace treaties, and the necessities of defense. Morgan reassesses the programs, the difficulties, and the achievements. Most informative.

#### The French Socialist Party: Resurgence and Victory. D. S. Bell and Byron Criddle. Oxford, 1984. \$29.95.

A study of the rise to power of Mitterrand and the Socialist party by two British political scientists, this is a careful guide to the intricacies of the restructuring of the Socialist party and its relations to other sources of power on the Left such as the Communists and the trade unions, culminating in the nomination and election of Mitterrand. The book includes an analysis of Mitterrand's policies from 1981 to 1983.

### LEONARD W. DOOB

Ruth Benedict: Patterns of a Life. Judith Schachter Modell. Pennsylvania Univ., 1983. \$11.95.

A competent, dispassionate, nonpsychoanalytic biography of this creative, humanistic anthropologist and folklorist whose close colleagues included her mentor "Papa Franz" Boas, her student and friend Margaret Mead, and the gifted Edward Sapir. Patterns of Culture still challenges us to decide whether simplistic labels like Apollonian and Dionysian validly designate the distinctive configurations of cultures. Benedict herself struggled with partial deafness and other problems, especially loneliness, even while teaching, lecturing, writing, doing field work, publishing poetry, and striving to comprehend the bases of behavior. Nevertheless, she felt, "All things fail save only dreams."

#### Rights and Goods: Justifying Social Action. Virginia Held. Macmillan, 1984. \$22.95.

A provocative, citation-jammed, USA-oriented probing of the moral questions that are or should be raised when current policies and problems are analyzed and evaluated. Admittedly the author is undogmatically "highly critical" of her own country. Unlike most of

www.pbk.org 🖷

her philosophical colleagues, she relates her inquiries sympathetically and critically to social science. Her rejection of "a single theory to cover all moral problems" does not presage a millenium of ethics; yet the manner of thinking displayed here merits the respect of readers with sufficient patience to challenge her somewhat empirical theses.

### Children's Literature in Hitler's Germany. Christa Kamenetsky. Ohio Univ., 1984. \$32.95.

A definitive, indignant portrayal, by a humanist who herself was a pupil in one of the schools, of how Nazi authorities sought to achieve Gleichschaltung (conformity) of children in Hitler's Reich by prescribing how the "new paganism" could be promulgated in school texts, festivals, holidays, and even puppet shows. Schirach, Goebbels, and Rust struggled with one another to lead the crusade, for they believed that books were a significant "weapon" both during the war and into the future. Service to nation and community, absolute loyalty to the Leader, and traditional virtues allegedly from Germany's past were emphasized. Some evidence suggests, however, that the children continued to prefer folklore and cowboy adventure stories.

### Heading toward Omega: In Search of the Meaning of the Near-Death Experience. Kenneth Ring. Morrow, 1984. \$15.95.

A popularized, condescending, quotationpacked summary of testimonials and systematic studies by the author and others not methodologically sophisticated, of the fairly common elements in the "spiritual experience" of some persons during the period when their bodies were technically "dead." After accepting this phenomenon as proven fact, the author stresses the usually beneficial changes in philosophy and mental health of the survivors that supposedly resulted from the experience. Perhaps, and again perhaps, is thus foreshadowed a higher biological state in human evolution, hence the Omega in the flamboyant title. Skeptical readers will find here an instance in which scientific methods are somewhat cautiously employed to establish the existence of exotic data and a sample of what appeals to an American mass audience.

William James on Exceptional Mental States. Eugene Taylor. Massachusetts Univ., 1984. Paper, \$9.95.

A skillful, painstaking reconstruction of the dozen lectures (with topics ranging from hypnosis and hysteria to witchcraft and genius) on the basis of the few remaining lecture and other notes, letters, and contemporary writing by James himself, as well as his markings in the margins of books in four languages, public announcements, and newspaper accounts. As the editor and the contents of the lectures suggest, we have here a compelling link between James's tough Principles of Psychology (1890) and his humanistic Varieties of Religious Experience (1902). Equally important at a time when contemporary social scientists are once again intrigued with their predecessors is this opportunity to glimpse the influence of James upon the psychological investigation of extrasensory perception and the so-called abnormal, and upon writers as compelling as Prince, Sidis, and McDougall. James seems to have been a step away from, or ahead of, Freud and psychoanalysis.

The Social Dimension. Ed. by Henri Tajfel. Cambridge Univ., 1984. 2 vols. \$59.50 each; paper, \$19.95 each.

A valuable collection of 33 essays summarizing the research and views of 46 European psychologists who concern themselves primarily, as stated in a concluding chapter by the late editor, with group interactions, social myths about groups, and social justice and who usually admit that they have not solved their chosen problem and hence recommend future research. American social scientists will decide whether there is anything distinctively "European" about these two volumes, but inevitably they will extract nuggets challenging them to reflect and possibly to improve their own research. Or at least they will wonder what "improve" means.

### VICTORIA SCHUCK

The Two-Party South. Alexander P. Lamis. Oxford, 1984. \$25.

This monograph is about that willo'-the-wisp of American politics, party realignment. Lamis has written a carefully researched, comprehensive, fast-moving, and often dramatic account of the transformation of the South from a one-party-the Democratic, riveted to race-to a two-party system in the post-civil-rights period of the mid-1960s through the 1983 elections. His interpretations of national and regional trends are followed by chapters on each of the 11 southern states. He tells how the Republicans gained the support of upper-class conservatives and how the Democratic party forged a whiteblack coalition-all of which is important to an understanding of party strategies today.

The Signs Reader: Women, Gender, and Scholarship. Ed. by Elizabeth Abel and Emily K. Abel. Chicago Univ., 1984. \$25; paper, \$8.95.

Women Writers and the City: Essays in Feminist Literary Criticism. Ed. by Susan Merrill Squier. Tennessee Univ., 1984. \$19.95; paper, \$9.95.

Gender Politics: From Consciousness to Mass Politics. Ethel Klein. Harvard, 1984. \$16.50.

Women as Candidates in American Politics. Susan J. Carroll. Indiana Univ., 1985. \$25.

Recent scholarship about women affords new insight into the meaning of feminism. The 13 papers in feminist research selected by the Abels from *Signs*, the interdisciplinary journal, raise theoretical issues and challenge the traditional wisdom of academic disciplines indeed, the entire enterprise of scholarship.

Squier's book is an intriguing collection of 15 essays covering the past two centuries of Continental, British, French, and American authors. Included are such classic and popular writers as George Eliot, Virginia Woolf, Willa Cather, and Adrienne Rich. Contributors view the city as a symbol system and a vehicle to examine feminist issues. Essays range from literary criticism to feminist theory.

Klein uses a quantitative-historical approach in tracing the growth of women's activism from the 1890s to 1980, when it became a full-blown women's movement and entered the arena of politics. Her analysis of the 1972, 1976, and 1980 elections reveals that men as well as women support feminism. If the 1984 Reagan landslide presages a trend, however, the author's projection of gender politics as a dominant theme in policy formulation beyond the turn of the century will need tempering.

Carroll's ground-breaking study of the persistent underrepresentation of women in major political office turns to the subject of barriers to women in the structure of political opportunities. From her 1976 nationwide survey of women candidates in congressional, statewide, and state legislative campaigns, Carroll finds no real barriers to success in terms of qualifications, gender, workers, or strategies. The significant impediments lie in the failure of political parties to recruit women candidates, the lack of open seats, the extraordinary advantages to incumbents, and women's limited access to money. For remedies she proposes restrictions on the number of terms officials can serve and changes in the methods of campaign finance.

# The Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s. Allen J. Matusow. Harper & Row, 1984. \$22.95; paper, \$8.95.

An absorbing review of a turbulent decade, the Kennedy and Johnson years. The book details the resurgence of liberal intellectuals; their definition of the problems of unemployment, racism, and poverty facing the country; the policy issues and struggles in pursuit of reforms; and the mismatch between ideals and realities. The result of the failures and turmoil came in the withdrawal of Johnson from the 1968 race, and the rejection of the Democrats in the elections that year—the unraveling of America.

### Regulation and the Courts: The Case of the Clean Air Act. R. Shep Melnick. Brookings, 1983. \$29.95; paper, \$11.95.

An important study of the role of federal courts in policymaking within federal regulatory programs. In evaluating the capacity of courts as policymakers, the author describes the influence of judicial decisions under the Clean Air Act from 1970 to 1980. Two-thirds of the book is devoted to issues in six cases, each of which focuses on a major program or policy question. Melnick relates how the Environmental Protection Agency responds to outside pressures in a system of "muddling through" to policies that, however reasonable, breed cynicism and distrust of government. He concludes by offering "roads to reform."

### LAWRENCE WILLSON

Ezra Pound and Dorothy Shakespear: Their Letters, 1909–1914. Ed. by Omar Pound and A. Walton Litz. New Directions, 1984. \$33.95.

Dorothy Shakespear's letters are not always, perhaps not ever, memorable in themselves, but they serve as grace notes to the Trollopeian drama of her life during the five years of Ezra Pound's courtship, while she waited for him to find a paying job or for her parents to withdraw their (wholly financial) objections to the marriage. Eventually, of course, Dorothy got "the beautiful Ezra." In the interval she wrote in winsome and demure fashion about the activities of the hens, cats, dogs, and dragonflies of her acquaintance, about leopard cubs in Rome and Mrs. Fowler's pet lemur. She sent invitations to tea and discussed arrangements. She wrote about

www.pbk.org

such friends as Georgie Hyde-Lees, who was later to marry W. B. Yeats, and about Yeats himself, "the Eagle." Her letters are affectionate and whimsical, and she seems not to have abandoned her belief, reached after her first meeting with Ezra, then aged 24, that "He has found the Centre—TRUTH." His let ters usually ask for something: Go to the British Museum and copy for me 50 pages of medieval Italian. But we learn much about his work in progress and about the literary scene in London before World War I. The editing of Pound and Litz comes near perfection.

# **Sherwood Anderson: Selected Letters.** Ed. by Charles E. Modlin. Tennessee Univ., 1984. \$24.95.

"I think the arts-practised-are a sort of cure for the disease called living," wrote Sherwood Anderson. "To me writing is no road to fame, wealth, or ... power. ... I began to write because writing was curative for me." "Living becomes a disease when you remain immature mentally and emotionally after the years when your body comes to physical maturity." At first Anderson was vilified as "nasty minded" because, like D. H. Lawrence, he stood for "the bringing back into prose art of the sensual," which "is the very heart of everything." The charge was unfounded, for he was simply an innocent from the Middle West, and he remained one all his life. He celebrated life and freedom and impulse. He could not accept responsibility; so he walked away from a factory he owned and he broke away from three of his four wives. When he was subsidized by various Maecenases, he chafed under a sense that he was expected to produce, and he feared the temptation to do sloppy work. When a teacher of narrative writing asked him for advice, he responded, "If you could only teach love of craft for its own sake-brushing out of the minds of the students . . . the idea of success, of putting it over. . . . I hardly know what I can teach except anti-success." His letters are worth reading.

Austin and Mabel: The Amherst Affair & Love Letters of Austin Dickinson and Mabel Loomis Tood. Polly Longsworth. Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1984. \$24.95.

**Emily Dickinson: A Descriptive Bibliography.** Joel Myerson. Pittsburgh Univ., 1984. \$35.

Almost everything that touches the life of Emily Dickinson is of interest, even the long and sordid adulterous affair of her brother Austin, a man so important in Amherst that, as his paramour wrote him, "nobody in the town could be born or married or buried, or make an investment, or buy a house-lot, or a cemetery lot, or sell a newspaper, or build a house, or choose a profession, without you close at hand." That paramour, Mrs. Todd, a sensual young faculty wife, exactly half Austin's age, with an incredibly acquiescent husband (who liked some leeway in the pursuit of his own amorous experiments), also observed. in remarkable understatement, "I cannot express...my intensifying hatred of con-ventionality." So the affair flourished for 13 years, until Austin died, giving the lie to the myth that small New England towns in the 19th century were serene enclaves of genteel, if somewhat weathered, Puritanism. How did they get away with it? Because Amherst disliked Austin's wife Sue more than they disapproved his infidelity, and because his two

romantically minded sisters, Emily and Lavinia, provided the wicked pair with a safe trysting place: the dining room of the Dickinson homestead, across the street from Austin's house. Emily's connivance in the affair can hardly be called admirable, but as Mabel's laughter said, "Emily always respected real emotion."

Myerson's bibliography does exactly what it should do: it tells us what, where, and when. We cannot ask for more. It is an indispensable book for the serious student.

### ANNA J. SCHWARTZ

Sources of International Comparative Advantage: Theory and Evidence. Edward E. Leamer. MIT, 1984. \$45.

Modeling Japanese-American Trade: A Study of Asymmetric Interdependence. Peter A. Petri. Harvard, 1984. \$20.

Students of international trade, even if they are unequipped to absorb the mathematical statement of the theory underlying each of these studies, will find much of interest in both books. Leamer's focus is the pattern of trade and resource endowment of 59 countries, while Petri's is the bilateral trade of Japan and the United States.

Leamer's basic objective is to test the validity of the Heckscher-Ohlin theorem, a central proposition of international theory. He provides graphs of the composition of 10 trade categories and the relative abundance of 11 different resources in both 1958 and 1975. He then statistically analyzes the relation between the trade aggregates and the resources, stressing that no real test of the Heckscher-Ohlin theory is possible in the absence of a fully articulated alternative. He concludes hat the structure of international trade is indeed explained by countries' natural resources, work forces, and savings rates. If the findings are not surprising, the book nevertheless is noteworthy for its information about the international economy and for the author's scrupulous attention to the problems of matching theory and empirically testable mathematical model, of econometric practice in estimation procedures, and of data construction.

Because trade is the result of production and consumption decisions by each country, in the first half of his study Petri develops general equilibrium pure trade (no financial sector) submodels of the Japanese and U.S. economies, with solutions for 1960, 1970, and 1980. The trade properties of the models are shaped by estimation of market share functions allocated to domestic and foreign producers in 20 sectors. Simulation experiments in the second half of the study suggest that a more open Japanese economy would not narrow the imbalance in U.S.-Japanese trade, which is basically the result of the commodity structure of Japan's trade—imports that are necessities and price-inelastic, and manufactured goods exports that are competitive and price-elastic with respect to U.S. products. If substitutable Japanese exports to the United States diminished, Japan would not readily find new markets for them; hence this trade is more important to Japan than to the United States. It is interesting to learn the quantitative estimates of effects of policy actions that a specific model contributes to policy debate, even if one knows that the particular theoretical structure of the model will determine policy implications.

International Monetary Economics. Jürg Niehans. John Hopkins, 1984. \$37.50. Multinational Excursions. Charles P. Kindleberger. MIT, 1984. \$22.50.

In these two books, international monetary theory and applied economics of international business put financial factors in the foreground. Niehans provides a systematic analysis of the relationship, in the absence of international capital flows, among money, prices, and exchange rates, whether fixed or floating; the influence of income, the market prices of capital goods relative to their replacement costs, interest rates, and exchange rates on capital flows; the determinants of international debt and lending; the significance of forward exchange and Eurocurrency markets; and the overshooting of exchange rates in adjusting to changes in monetary policies in open economies. The explanations of the theory are lucid, so readers for whom the technical analysis in graphs and mathematics may be difficult can still profit from the book. In a departure from standard theory, Niehans downplays interest rates as determinants of capital flows, emphasizing instead the role of investment opportunities. As in an earlier book on the theory of money in a closed economy, Niehans suggests guidelines for the long, intermediate, and short run that a central bank in an economy with a highly developed financial system should follow, this time under floating exchange rates. The goals are stabilizing prices, minimizing output and employment fluctuations, and preventing liquidity crises in the banking system.

Kindleberger's book contains 20 papers written since 1969 dealing mainly with multinational corporations. Kindleberger is sympathetic to the view that international business is best understood by applying the theory of industrial organization rather than that of international trade or capital movements. Emphasizing offensive and defensive motives for overseas investment, Kindleberger differentiates behavior on the part of a national firm with foreign operations, a multinational corporation that assumes a national identity wherever it operates, and an international corporation that identifies itself with no nation. He advocates the formation of a General Agreement, similar to GATT, to regulate international corporations.

#### **RONALD GEBALLE**

Inner Exile: Recollections of a Life with Werner Heisenberg. Elisabeth Heisenberg. Trans. by S. Cappellari and C. Morris. Birkhäuser, 1984. \$14.95.

Between 1922 and 1927, Heisenberg was one of the principal young inventors of the new quantum mechanics; the "Uncertainty Principle" is by no means the only one of his deep, creative ideas. He was a gentle, broadly gifted person who held an abiding belief in the validity of German culture and was welcome in the circle around Niels Bohr. The coming of the Nazis caused him internal conflict and a tragic turn to life, as it drove out the colleagues he valued most. For him, it was important to remain in Germany and preserve what he could of German physics; his decision cost him the respect and trust of those who fled. The tragedy is epitomized in the story of his misfired conversation with Bohr during a risky journey to Copenhagen. Mrs. Heisenberg tells her version of these tortured years in a subdued way. An introduction by Weisskopf, in the spirit of reconciliation, reminds us that even people who are not direct victims of oppression can suffer.

The Periodic Table. Primo Levi. Trans. by Raymond Rosenthal. Schocken, 1984. \$16.95.

Many scientists have an unfulfilled desire to find a compelling way to tell the public their feelings about their calling and the kinds of lives they lead; Levi has found a satisfying and graceful one. Each of the 21 elements naming his brief chapters has marked an episode of his life growing from but reaching beyond the laboratory. Each shows how the materials of the scientist, substances and equations, assume qualities and engender responses akin to those we commonly associate with the effects of their peculiar materials on artists, musicians, and writers.

In the Presence of the Creator: Isaac Newton and His Times. Gale E. Christianson. Free Press, 1984. \$27.50.

Even to most of us who teach or make everyday use of the physics that rests on his construction, Newton is as flat a figure as, say, Washington. According to the common perception, Newton hated the time-consuming, usually unpleasant, consequences of publication; he quarreled bitterly over priorities; following his unparalleled scientific accomplishment, his powers waned and he dabbled in alchemy; in his dotage he managed the British Mint while the adulation of the world sustained him to the end of a long life. The fully rounded figure still eludes historians; too much has been lost from the record. But in this readily accessible reconstruction of the outsize life of one of the greatest intellects yet to have lived, Christianson provides a valuable perspective.

**Risk Watch.** John Urquhart and Klaus Heilmann. Facts On File, 1984. \$16.95.

We do poorly at evaluating the risks of living; "victim-oriented" reporting distorts the public perception. Smoking claims more lives in a week than AIDS has in three years; no one yet has died from an accident attributable to radiation in 25 years of commercial nuclear power plants. We erect bureaucratic barriers that sometimes serve to protect a few while depriving the many of help: the five-year delay in approval of the use of beta-blockers to inhibit heart attacks cost 100,000 lives-far more than the most severe medicationinduced disaster on record. This book offers a calm approach to a vexing social problem and suggests a quantitative safety scale to put risk into perspective; it could help us to achieve greater rationality in public discourse.

Numbers and Infinity. An Historical Account of Mathematical Concepts. Ernst Sondheimer and Alan Rogerson. Cambridge Univ., 1981. \$19.95; paper, \$8.95.

Mathematical Fallacies and Paradoxes. Bryan H. Bunch. Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1982. \$16.95.

Puzzling over mathematical paradoxes and inconsistencies and apparent failures of logical thought has been a pastime for two millenia, and has brought rich reward by deepening our understanding and broadening the range of useful mathematical objects. Here are two slim, clear, and simple presentations of some of the most fruitful puzzlings, complementary in style, aimed toward the curious reader with little mathematical preparation.



### Key-bearing Traveler's Reflections

(continued from page 1)

of similar astigmatism during my early academic years. In fact, I once had a colleague who described the American continent as having an eastward tilt with "such talent as there *is* out there inexorably sliding in our direction." He was, of course, never correct. I hope that his ghost has learned some demography.

My second conclusion is that Phi Beta Kappa breeds a lively crew. The members to whom I have listened at chapter meetings have been quite as stimulating as any people I encountered, say, last year when I spent a term at Oxford.

A third comment I suspect applies to all of us who are fortunate enough to be in the Scholar program: The hospitality with which we are greeted is extraordinary, almost overwhelming. From the moment a plane lands until we are shoveled aboard at the end of our visit, we are programmed admirably and hosted in splendid style.

My quarters have been varied but have never been dull. In one elegant bedroom, I found bound volumes of *Harper's* magazine from 1851 to 1857, as well as the complete essays of Paul Elmer More. Although borrowers' cards indicated that the set of More had been in the college library, they also showed that no one had ever taken out even one of the volumes. (I tried a few essays and understood why.) In another state, a guest-room copy of *Paris Match* was gloriously dogeared.

### Impressions of Students

A fourth point concerns students, both in class and outside. My impressions, to be sure, are not original, although they might raise Education Secretary William Bennett's eyebrows. We have heard for quite a while about the serious gener-

ation of the 1980s. We know that today's students are clean-cut and often polite, as opposed to their dirty, surly predecessors. We know that they are thinking about what will happen after they get their degrees and that they exhibit a certain interest in earning a living. What is not so generally reported is that their interest in future employment does not preclude idealism or concern with values. In fact, the students I have met on my travels tend to be far more concerned with these matters than with the state of the economy as it will affect them on graduation. I may be exaggerating, but I seem also to hear fewer students who feel that every sentence needs to be peppered with the words "you know," and I have detected a novel ability to use "like" and "as" correctly.

In short, although admittedly a visitor sees students on their best behavior and although I have been told by colleagues that reading term papers is still less exhilarating than it might be, I have nonetheless been impressed by the generally high level of undergraduate discourse in respect both to substance and to form.

Next, a word about the tempo of campus visits: they *do* work you, and they should. A campus visit would, for me, be incomplete unless I had a chance to go into as many classes as possible, to meet with as many students as are interested, and, of course, to provide a ritual public lecture. But to pack all this (plus pleasant social events) into a two-day program gives one little room for quiet contemplation. I happen to like it that way, but perhaps not everyone would agree.

Finally, travel being what it is, the Visiting Scholar must prepare for the unexpected: for the commuter plane with a fuselage so small that one cannot stand up; for the impact that a totally unpredicted event may have on a visit (for example, the death of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi came during one visit, inevitably and properly turning the discussion in directions not anticipated); for weather that may interrupt the best-laid plans; for flawed public address systems; and even for classes in which, as a guest lecturer, one is asked to talk on a topic quite different from the one that had been requested.

### Advice to Future Scholars

One cautionary note to future Scholars: Before you embark on any visit you would be wise to find out the major issues in the state or region, political, social, or cultural. Even being forearmed-knowing the voting record of the state's senators or being aware of a new facility that has been described, say, in Time or Architectural Digest—does not wholly prepare you. For example, how was I to know the fervor with which the opening of the moose season in Maine would be discussed in early October? Or precisely what to say to an alumna who was convinced that, as a self-identified "telepath," she was in touch with Erasmus? Now, as a neo-Texan, I am preparing myself for a future trip by studying the football record of a rival campus, but having looked at it, I am not sure what it would be tactful to say. Forearmament is wise, but insufficient.

In the end, the ultimate beneficiaries of the Visiting Scholar program are the Scholars themselves. Whatever wisdom and quixotic observations we bring to each college or university, we almost certainly take away more than we import. Thus I pack my bags again in a mood of cheerful anticipation.

Elspeth Rostow is Stiles Professor in American Studies and Professor of Government at the University of Texas at Austin. She wrote this article in February, when she was between trips as a Visiting Scholar.

Nonprofit Org.

U.S. POSTAGE

PAID

PERMIT No. 5353

Riverdale, MD

🖷 Ghe I	KOV RO	portor
	10 110	pur ler

volume 50 • number four • summer 1985

Editor: Priscilla S. Taylor

Consulting Editor: Kenneth M. Greene

The Key Reporter is published quarterly by the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa at the Garamond/Pridemark Press, Baltimore, Maryland. Send all change-of-address notices to The Key Reporter, Phi Beta Kappa Editorial and Executive Offices, 1811 Q Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20009. No responsibility is assumed for views expressed in articles published.

Single copies  $50\phi$ , 10 or more copies  $25\phi$  each.

Copyright © 1985 by the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa. All rights reserved.

ISSN: 0023-0804

THE KEY REPORTER PHI BETA KAPPA 1811 Q Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20009

Address Correction Requested Return Postage Guaranteed

www.pbk.org