The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training Foreign Affairs Oral History Project

C. GRAY BREAM

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INTERVIEW

[Note: This interview was not edited by Mr. Bream.]

Q: Today is March 13, 1995, this is an interview with C. Gray Bream, being done on behalf of the Association for Diplomatic Studies. I am Charles Stuart Kennedy. Welcome to our program. Can you tell me where and when you were born and something about your family?

BREAM: I was born in Elvin, Indiana, November 3, 1914. My father was a Lutheran minister and the family moved gradually west to Middlebury, Indiana and then to Mt. Pulaski, Illinois and to Lincoln, Nebraska. And finally to Casper, Wyoming, which I still claim as my home.

Q: Can you tell me about being a preacher's kid? Tell me about your youth, where you went to school and what the place was like where you went to school.

BREAM: Well I started school in Mt. Pulaski, Illinois. It's a little town where Lincoln once practiced law. They still have in the center of the town the old courthouse and small museum with memorabilia from Lincoln's time.

Q: They used to do the circuit and I guess that was one of the places on his circuit.

BREAM: Yes. That was on his circuit. From there we went to Lincoln, Nebraska and I went to school through the seventh grade there. Then we went to Casper, Wyoming, where I went through high school. I spent fifteen months after high school working in a grocery store as a delivery boy and cashier. From there I went to college in Fremont, Nebraska, at a place called Midland College. It's now Midland Lutheran, they amalgamated with Lutheran College some years ago.

Q: Now were talking about the 1920's when you started college. Was there much in the way of International Affairs at that time, either in high school or in college?

BREAM: When I was in college I belonged to the student YMCA [Young Men's Christian Association] and YWCA [Young Women's Christian Association] and they had a convention in Rocky Mountain National Park in Colorado. There was a speaker there

by the name of Ben Charington who was a professor at the University of Denver. I think he was a professor of international politics, I'm not sure what his title was, but he spoke to us about international politics. I think that I was a junior in college and I didn't have any idea of what I wanted to do, but I must admit that I got a certain inspiration from Dr. Charington. That, combined with some books that I was reading, lead me to decide that I was interested in international politics.

Q: What sort of books were you reading? Do you remember any of the titles?

BREAM: Let me see, who was the chap that wrote a series on Latin America and Europe?

Q: John Gunther.

BREAM: That's right.

Q: Inside Latin America and Inside Europe.

BREAM: There were two others that I cannot remember the names of, I'm sorry to say.

Q: When did you graduate from college?

BREAM: 1936. Pretty much at loose ends, I went to work for the summer in the oil fields out in Wyoming. At the last minute I got a call to come and teach school in the little town of DeWitt, Nebraska, in the southeastern part of the state. They needed a coach for their debate team and I had been active in that in college, so they hired me for a year. As soon as the year was over, I went back to the oil fields for the summer and then I had enough money to go on to the University of Chicago.

Q: Well, this is Robert Hutchinson's heyday, wasn't it?

BREAM: Strictly speaking, I think it was a little past his hay day, but never mind; he was still there.

Q: The University of Chicago had a tremendous reputation as being on the cutting edge, didn't it?

BREAM: It had a system that I find, even after all of these years, to be none better. In the undergraduate program the students spent the first two years taking survey courses in the four fields of humanities, physical science, natural sciences, and literature and philosophy. For the last two years, students specialized in whatever interested them. I went there as a graduate student, so I didn't participate in this except as proctor for the examinations from time to time.

Q: This was the grade books too, wasn't it?

BREAM: That was part of the undergraduate study, that was sort of an elective. Adler

was there at the time and he was the one that promoted the idea of the grade book.

Q: What were you taking at the graduate level?

BREAM: At that time they had an interdepartmental committee on International Relations. It was not a department, it was an interdepartmental committee. The head of it at the time was Quincy Wright whose field was international law and we took courses in international law, geography, economics, diplomatic history and we were supposed to take a language. My subject specialty was international law and my area specialty was Latin America.

Q: Why Latin America?

BREAM: Which I never set foot in afterward. [laughter]

Q: I'm trying to catch the spirit of the times. How long were you there, two years 1936 to 1938?

BREAM: 1936 to 1940, four years. No I'm sorry, it was 1937 to 1941.

Q: Was this getting you towards a Ph.D.?

BREAM: Well I took an MA along the line and ended up with a Ph.D.

Q: What was the attitude at the University of Chicago, obviously it must have changed or progressed or done something during this time because all hell was beginning to break out in Europe and also in the Far East. Can you characterize how the students and you were thinking about the world at that time?

BREAM: There was a good deal of concern. Oddly enough as I recall the story, they took a vote of the faculty, (this was about the time of the Battle of Britain in 1940) regarding their attitude toward the war in Europe. Should we participate or not? The faculty split pretty much along the lines of the humanities on one side and the natural sciences on the other. The natural sciences were the "gung ho" types, oddly enough. [laughter] Of course, Hutchins himself was, I wouldn't say an isolationist exactly, but, as I recall, his attitude was, we had too much to clean up in the United States and we shouldn't worry about what was going on in Europe.

Q: Yes. Of course this was the Midwest, too, which was more isolationist, not necessarily using it in a derogatory term, but basically isolationist than maybe the eastern or western seaboards were.

BREAM: When I was enrolled at Midland College in Nebraska, I did a study as my senior thesis of the local newspapers following World War I, and you could definitely tell that there was a strong German element in the area and opposition to U.S. participation.

Q: So you received your Ph.D. when?

BREAM: In the summer of 1941.

Q: What happened then? By that time we'd had a draft and things were really heating up.

BREAM: Yes, well in the autumn of 1940 several of my colleagues at the University of Chicago had taken the Foreign Service exam, although I wasn't particularly interested, I thought, if these guys took it, then I would try it myself. Several of them had taken it and failed. So I took it and to my great amazement I passed the written examination. Then that winter I went to Washington for the oral examination and I passed that. In the spring I got a letter from Washington telling me to report to Casablanca. No word how to get there, just this beautiful triple spaced letter, saying report to Casablanca. [laughter] I was about two-thirds of the way through my dissertation. So, I got on a train and went to Washington and talked to the head of personnel. He said that I could stay and finish my dissertation and they'd make another assignment. Which I did and eventually I was assigned to Halifax, Nova Scotia. Thereby missing the greatest opportunity of my career.

Q: Oh, yes. Casablanca at that time was under the French and you would have been one of a half a dozen "stars" who ran around and reported on things. [laughter] You came into the Foreign Service when?

BREAM: In September of 1941.

Q: Was there any training as you came in?

BREAM: No. I went to Washington and I got on a train and went to Halifax and that was it. I got some shots for yellow fever and that sort of thing.

Q: Yellow fever, very handy in Halifax. When were you in Halifax?

BREAM: From September 1941 until the summer of 1942.

Q: What was Halifax like at that particular time?

BREAM: The city was very much at war. It was a staging point for shipping overseas. The ships would gather there and then convoys would go out across the North Atlantic, and then they would come back. Part of my job was to look after American merchant seamen who were signing on there and signing off there. Some of them would sign on in New York, get to Halifax, and then decided they didn't want to go any further and sign off. I recall in particular one group that signed off on the return trip from the eastern Atlantic. They had been torpedoed. There were four of them and one of the four men had been torpedoed three times. Among the four, they had one foot left. They had been in open boats in the North Sea. There wasn't much of that because, while most of the merchant shipping came in there, the merchant marines rarely got off of their ship. They went straight overseas.

Q: Was there a consulate general there?

BREAM: Yes, a consulate general. We had a pretty good visa business. There was also a representative of the Immigration and Naturalization Department whose job was to preclear people coming from Europe for the most part, and I guess once he did that, that was enough to get them on their way to the States.

Q: Were you getting any training? Was it more or less, "This is the manual and this is how you do it?"

BREAM: No training. In those days the Foreign Affairs Manual was probably only a quarter of an inch thick. [laughter] The consul general, who had started out as what they then called non-career, a vice consul, also a so-called non-career, and two consular officers who had been in the Foreign Service for quite a few years. Both the consul general and one consular officer I think, retired from there. The Counselor Officer was transferred, that would have been his last post.

Q: So you were really the young kid on the block, weren't you?

BREAM: Yes. Incidently, just among us girls, the non-career vice consul, who was a man in his fifties I guess, I think resented the fact that this young kid, (and I wasn't the only one, there was a whole series of them) would come in and technically out rank him. But that was the system.

Q: Yes, that was the system. In the summer of 1942 you left?

BREAM: The summer of 1942 I got a telegram saying report to Godthab Greenland. Nothing about how to get there, just a signed transfer to Godthab [in southeast] Greenland. I went to Washington to see what could be done and it was then incidently that I had gotten the yellow fever shots. I had forgotten them when I went to Halifax. A very painful experience, I was sicker than a dog for a day after that. All I got were instructions to go to an airbase in Maine, I went up there by train, and there I was told that I could take a plane up to Goosebay and Labrador and from there another plane would go up to Greenland and from there I would somehow or another find my way up to Godthab.

Q: Godthab is quite north isn't it? Where is Godthab?

BREAM: Not that far north. It was about a third of the way up the [eastern] coast. Do you want all of this story about Greenland?

Q: Yes, yes I do. I try to get back to that era.

BREAM: Well, there I was, I knew nothing. I hitchhiked a ride from that base in Maine. I'll never forget, I walked into the Operations Office and I had some kind of papers to

indicate my assignment and that the military was supposed to look after me I guess. The chap sitting across from me looked at me for a little while and said "Excuse me." He left the room and he was gone for about 10 minutes and he came back and he said "There's some question about that ring that your wearing." I had a Indian ring with a Indian swastika on the side of it and he wanted an explanation of why I was wearing a ring with a swastika on it. [laughter] I explained it to his satisfaction. We flew to Gander and from there to South Base and from there I caught a Coast Guard ice breaker that was going up the [southwest] coast and delivered me to Godthab. At the time the war broke out, or rather at the time that Denmark was occupied, I should say...

Q: That would have been in the spring of 1940.

BREAM: Yes. Greenland was cutoff, the colony of Greenland was very tightly administered from Denmark. They had two districts. There was North Greenland and there was South Greenland and each one had an official designated as Governor. I should add that all of the supplies for Greenland - sugar, flour, everything came from Denmark and everything produced there, which didn't amount to much besides dried codfish, went back to Denmark. With the war, that was cut off. The supervision of Denmark passed to the Danish ambassador in Washington and they set up a purchasing agency in New York. They brought the Governor of North Greenland down to supervise that operation and then made the Governor of South Greenland the head of the whole operation in Greenland. He was stationed in Godthab.

Our interest in Greenland was of two kinds: one, I don't recall or never really knew all of the details of this, was the idea that we should establish air bases there so that if England fell the remnants of its air force could be evacuated by way of Greenland, New Finland or Iceland to the United States. As it turned out, England didn't fall. As a matter of fact, the bases weren't completed in time to enable it to be of any help. The bases were maintained there and then the idea became that we could ferry planes from the U.S. to England. That was tried without much success. In fact, I knew of two flights that went through there, P-38s which had no guidance systems, they were being shepherded by a larger plane, a C-54 I think, they got separated in a storm and a number of the planes were lost, so they gave up on that operation.

Furthermore, in a place called Avigaat [in southeast] Greenland, there was a cryolite mine. Cryolite was a very odd sort of mineral which was found in only a couple of other places in the world. One place, I think, was in Arizona. At the time it was used as a flux in the refining of aluminum, and was also used for the enamel on kitchen pots and oddly enough as an insecticide. But the main use was for refining aluminum. This was critical because we were just developing aluminum production and we needed that cryolite for the flux in the refining of the aluminum. Later they developed a synthetic substitute. During the war, cryolite was critical. There was even concern that the Germans might try to take this over. If not for their own use, at least to cut off [supplies to] the U.S. So we maintained an artillery establishment at Avigait, manned by about 500 men. We had a base at South Base, in North Base, and another base on the east coast on Greenland at Angmagssalik, which was primarily a weather station. The consulate in Greenland

functioned as a liaison between the local administration and the military. That was about all we did

Q: How did you find the local establishment there?

BREAM: Godthab itself had a population of several hundred, probably 45 or 50 Danes. They had a little hospital there with a Danish doctor and several Danish nurses, a Danish church with a pastor and his wife, a Danish school teacher, and then the Mayor of the town and a manager of the store which handled the supplies of the Greenlanders and so forth. The rest of the population were called Greenlanders. Most of them had some mixture of Scotch and Danish from 300 years before. We didn't call them Eskimos there. They were Greenlanders. At the time I arrived, we had a consul, a vice consul whom I replaced [he had already departed], and then a clerk. There were the three of us there. The consul was replaced a few months later by another man.

Q: How long were you there?

BREAM: I was there for a total of two years. A little over two years, but while I was there, I went on home leave. I got back to Casper, Wyoming, and I had an appendectomy. Then I hitchhiked my way back to Greenland, but I spent three months getting to my post. I think I set a record en route to post. When I got from Washington to the South Base in Greenland, but from there it was another story. This was in the winter time. I got as far as Avigait which was where the cryolite mine was and I was there for six weeks and finally an ice breaker came through and took me up to a little emergency landing field which had been established 50 miles south of Godthab, and from there I was picked up by a local motor boat which took me to Godthab. I been three months en route from Washington to Godthab. [laughter] Needless to say, I wasn't really needed.

Q: It doesn't sound like there was much going on. Don't I recall a story about a German meteorologist there?

BREAM: We had one flap. A German meteorologist was floating around East Greenland, moving around by dog sled apparently, and we were called upon in connection with the local administration in Greenland to arrange for somebody to go over and look for this character. As I recall, they never found him but it was quite a flap for awhile. We also had another occasion when a flying boat, PBY, a Catalina, I guess they were, was flying down the coast to Greenland in foggy weather and they flew right into the edge of the icecap and stuck there. The plane was undamaged. They were just stuck, propeller's going around and they weren't going anywhere. [laughter] We were called upon again by the local administration to get a dog team to come down from the north and bring these guys off of the icecap. It turned out that before the dog team could get there, they figured out where they were. It was just a few miles from Avigait and they walked out on their own power. [laughter]

Q: It must have been a little bit difficult to keep up one's spirit and everything else, by sitting out there.

BREAM: I was able to read <u>War and Peace</u> among other things. [laughter] I tried to maintain correspondence with friends in the United States. The turnaround was normally about three months. Because during the winter there was no contact by ship, the PBYs could come in, and did every few weeks, and they would take out our mail from reports to the Department such as they were. It was pretty isolated.

Q: Did you eventually get a reprieve in 1944, or what happened?

BREAM: I got a telegram one day instructing me to report to Stockholm, Sweden, again no instructions on how to get there, just go to Stockholm. I managed to hitchhike a ride down to the main base, then to Iceland and from there to Ireland and from there to London and from London up to Scotland and from there in due course a bomber took me over to Stockholm.

Q: How did we get to Stockholm in those times? Did they fly you up and above Germany?

BREAM: We flew up the coast of Norway and then across Norway and back down to Stockholm. My wife, whom I later met and married, followed the same route, but she went on a British mosquito.

Q: That's a plywood two engine plane, very fast.

BREAM: There were two pilots on it and she was the only passenger and she tells a hair raising story as they got to where they could see the lights of Sweden, the engines "konked" out and they managed to float down to a landing somewhere outside of Goteborg. I went over in a B-24 bomber with the wife of a Russian ambassador and her child

Q: When were you in Stockholm?

BREAM: I was there from the autumn of 1944 until the day after the German surrender and then I went to Copenhagen.

Q: That would be May of 1945. Was it an embassy or a mission or legation at that time in Stockholm?

BREAM: A legation. Another man and I went down to open the legation. As I said, it was the day after...

Q: Well, let's talk about Stockholm first. Stockholm was open during the war.

BREAM: Stockholm was one of the major listening ports, Stockholm and Lisbon.

Q: What were you doing in Stockholm?

BREAM: I started out in charge of the code room, as the junior boy on the block. There

was quite a rare collection of officers there, very unique. After some months in the code room, I became the liaison with the Danish underground which was operating out of Stockholm to Copenhagen. I was reporting their activities back to Washington. The idea was, as I later discovered, to send me to Stockholm because I had been in Greenland. Washington had anticipated we would have problems with the Danish government regarding Greenland after the war. So they wanted somebody in Copenhagen who knew something about Greenland in the event that they were having some discussions with the Danes. It's a sort of logical sequence.

Q: It's almost too logical.

BREAM: I found that the Danish underground people I had been dealing with in Stockholm were out of the picture politically. They were replaced by local politicians whom I got to know. I found the newspaper guys particularly useful. My superior in the embassy there was still socializing with the old underground types and he thought that they knew the score, but by this time they were out of the picture. The same thing happened in Dacca, the guy in Karachi who had been my predecessor had associated with the British. The British were still pretty much in touch, but by the time I got there, they were out of touch. You needed to know the local people.

[Break in tape]

Q: Was it a matter of concern at the time you were there, about this anomaly of East Pakistan sitting way off by itself?

BREAM: It was strictly an anomaly, no doubt about it. The East Pakistani's were an entirely different breed of cat - different language, different appearance, all they shared was the religion. It was causing some tension, East Pakistan felt it was being neglected by West Pakistan, which in a sense it was. It was ripe for the break-up which in my judgement was bound to come sooner or later.

Q: Was India perceived as any particular threat to East Pakistan at that time?

BREAM: Yes. A vague sort of threat. An outsider could never figure out why they would want it anyway. [laughter] Of course, that goes for a lot of places around the world. There were still a lot of Hindus in East Pakistan, and a lot of Muslims in India. East Pakistan and West Pakistan were all the same ethnic stock, Bengalis. The only division was this matter of the religion.

Q: When you left there in 1954, where did you go? BREAM: Amsterdam.

Q: When were you in Amsterdam?

BREAM: 1954 to 1956.

Q: This is sort of back in your old "playground." What were you doing in Amsterdam?

BREAM: Nothing. I was an economic officer at the consulate general. The embassy was only 40 miles away and they had a big economic section, so what the hell. [laughter]

Q: What does one do when one does nothing?

BREAM: I had a very interesting experience there. There was a GATT conference in Geneva, Switzerland, for three months and I was detailed there to the Scandinavian section of the GATT Conference.

Q: But it wasn't a very fruitful period for you?

BREAM: No it wasn't. Strike that, don't include that.

Q: Well, we'll see how this goes. But I think it's fair to say that it's always been a peculiar thing when you've got the Hague and Amsterdam sitting on top of each other and there is obviously reasons for Amsterdam having a very active consular post.

BREAM: Already then - this is a serious question, you had the Hague, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, in a country not much bigger than Fairfax County. They had excellent transportation, you'd get on a train and in 15 minutes you'd be in Amsterdam and be in the Hague. But Amsterdam was [historically] one of the first Foreign Service posts, and it came up constantly, after I left there, that we should maintain Amsterdam because otherwise it would injure the pride of the Dutch if we closed it.

Q: Well, after this very active time in Amsterdam in 1956, where did you go?

BREAM: Bad Godesberg, Germany, a residential area for the diplomatic community stationed at embassies in Bonn. The independent town of Bad Godesberg was absorbed by Bonn in 1969.

Q: So when were you in Bad Godesberg?

BREAM: 1956 to 1959, the end of 1959.

Q: What were you doing there?

BREAM: I was again on the economic section, but for a good part of the time I was involved in a rather odd operation. There was a program designed to maintain the spark of German identity in East Germany, and the U.S. government appropriated a sum of money to maintain contacts. To bring people on visits from East Germany to West Germany, to circulate propaganda and so on and so forth. A special projects operation which the embassy carried on through the ministry of German Affairs. I ended up in charge of that operation for a while.

Q: That's sort of an odd thing.

BREAM: Extremely odd, yes.

Q: Can you think of some of the things that you were involved in while doing that?

BREAM: Mostly what we were doing was simply rubber stamping what the Minister of German Affairs wanted to do and passing along money.

Q: So it was really more letting them do the work?

BREAM: There was a well known character at the head of all of this, back in Washington by the name of Eleanor Dulles. This was her baby.

Q: This is John Foster Dulles' sister who sort of styled herself as the expert on Berlin and on East German affairs.

BREAM: That's right.

Q: What was the attitude towards Eleanor Dulles, among the officers like yourself?

BREAM: A certain bemused respect shall we say. [laughter]

Q: Did she know her trade as far as Germany went?

BREAM: She knew her business on both ends, in Germany and in Washington. Which was very important for the operation.

Q: Who was the ambassador while you were there?

BREAM: A charming gentleman, David Bruce.

Q: Did you get any feel for him and his work?

BREAM: I thought he was excellent. I didn't have very much contact with him, but what little contact I did have, I respected him more than I had most, I'd say.

Q: Particularly after, now that Germany is united but even before, it was found that West Germany was really permeated with East German intelligence agents and it sounds like your operation would be a natural for the East Germans to use.

BREAM: I'm sure they did, but we just didn't try to think about it.

Q: The idea was to try and maintain traffic back and forth and you win some and you lose some but you're keeping the lines open, was that it?

BREAM: I had some peripheral interest there. At one time I was concerned about the matter of maintaining connection with West Berlin. I did do some economic reporting.

Q: Were you getting a feel for the German miracle, the Verchos Lunder and all that? How did you find Germany during this time?

BREAM: I must admit, although I was no economist, I found it pretty impressive. Not so much from the economic standpoint as from a political standpoint.

Q: You left Bonn in 1959.

BREAM: I came back to the Bureau of Intelligence and Research [INR], which is a contradiction in terms. [laughter]

Q: How long were you there?

BREAM: Five long years.

Q: *Until you retired?*

BREAM: No, I was sent to Geneva with the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency [ACDA].

Q: Let's talk about the time that you were in INR. What was your responsibility?

BREAM: I was the Deputy Director of the Bureau of Northern European Affairs. We were concerned very much with the European unification and with such things as estimates of atomic bomb so on and so forth. I spent a fair amount of time with the so called National Intelligence Estimates [NIE] and we would fight with the CIA.

Q: This is the World Encyclopedia, we had articles on everything in the world, didn't we?

BREAM: Well, not exactly. NIE were interagency reports in which we would estimate a situation. The one I was exercised with for a long period of time was this matter of European unification. The Kennedy administration came in with the view that Europe was unifying and should unify.

Q: This is George Ball. This is really his thing.

BREAM: I had many run-ins with him. Anyway, one of the prevailing images of the time was what was called the dumbbell theory, the United States should be one bell and Europe the other bell. We spent some months on a long exercise trying to estimate the possibilities for European unification. Defining what unification would amount to and what the prospects were and what shape it would take and so forth. We ultimately came down with a very dim view of the prospects for unification, which sent Ball through the roof. What we said was that what the U.S. did wasn't going to have any effect on what

was going to happen anyway, as far as I could see. [laughter]

Q: George Ball was as strong proponent of European unification as one could possibly imagine. Did you have the feeling that the INR role was much of anything during that time?

BREAM: I'll tell you a little story. At that time there was a weekly publication that was distributed around the world. The end result of our month-long study which produced a stack of papers finally came down to a summary of six or eight pages which I drafted. This summary was picked up and put in that weekly and, as I said, it painted a not exactly gloomy prospect, but nothing in the immediate future was likely to come of all this. When Schaetzel, who was Ball's assistant, got wind of this, they sat up all night tearing those last pages out of the summary before it was distributed. They didn't want this kind of thing to get around to the Foreign Service. [laughter]

Q: So much for your studies. In 1964 you went to Geneva?

BREAM: I went to Geneva in 1965.

Q: You were there from 1965 to when?

BREAM: I was there from June 1965 to December 1968.

Q: What were you doing?

BREAM: The Arms Control Disarmament Agency was engaged in something called the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Conference. It's still going on today, but now there are 25 nations, I haven't tried to follow what's going on. They kept a permanent representative there even when the conference was not in session, and his function was to keep the office open and to run the operation to manage it when the conference was in session. And that is what I was supposed to be doing.

Q: What was your view during these five years of the disarmament process?

BREAM: One of the reason's that I never amounted to much of anything is because I took a dim view of a lot of what was going on at the time and this was certainly a case in point. [laughter] If you'll pardon my saying so. The idea of the conference at that point was to limit or prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We were trying to get the five powers which had nuclear weapons to promise not to spread them, give them, or sell them or in anyway disseminate them to other countries and to get the other countries to agree not to develop or accept them. In other words, we were trying to get five countries to not do what they wouldn't do anyway and to get the other countries to not do what they would do if they felt it was necessary to do so. There it was in a nut shell.

Q: Did you find that in this type of thing the United States and the Soviets were pretty much in harmony?

BREAM: This was the nub of the whole problem. What the Soviet's were anxious to do was to get the German signature on the line renouncing nuclear weapons. That was their whole objective. For that purpose they were willing to go along with us. But the problem was wording the treaty in such a way that the Germans didn't feel confined but that the Russians felt that they were confined.

Q: Did you see any discernable progress or developments during this time?

BREAM: Well, we finally came up with a treaty about the time that I left. I must confess that having shaken the dust of the State Department from my feet that I kind of washed it out of my mind, too.

Q: I think this is for many of us, it's been a great experience and you see a lot of interesting places and interesting people but when it's over, it's over. During this disarmament talk, how about the French? The French always seemed to be going in a different direction than anyone else. Did you have that feeling or not?

BREAM: Well, the French were willing to go along, of course, because they had nuclear weapons. They didn't play much of a part in this thing. The ones that really gave us a problem were the Indians. They had an ambassador who was a pretty nasty piece of work and he kept making speeches that needled us. They were demanding that we renounce nuclear weapons and refusing to be tied down themselves. Of course, we weren't going to tie ourselves down. The conference itself was an odd sort of thing. There were formal meetings in which people gave formal speeches and that was the conference. [laughter] The main negotiations were between us and the Russians over the wording of this thing.

Q: Did you get involved in that?

BREAM: The head of the negotiations was a man who had been the head of the Marshall Plan, his name slips my mind at the moment. He had as his principal deputies, well, there were three: one of whom was a Foreign Service officer and the other two were not, although they were employed by the State Department. They did most of the carrying of the ball and talking to the Russians while ole' what's his name made all of the speeches.

Q: When was this? When did you leave there?

BREAM: I left there at the end of 1968.

Q: *Did you retire then?*

BREAM: Yes, I retired then. And to my great good fortune, a former colleague of mine who had previously retired was employed at Loyola University of Chicago. He steered me out there and I ended up as a professor at Loyola University for the next 11 years.

Q: With your Chicago Ph.D.

BREAM: Not the same University.

Q: On no, I understand. What were you teaching?

BREAM: International Politics and American Government, European Government.

Q: How did you find the students?

BREAM: The students there were very largely second and third generation immigrant.

Q: This was a Catholic school?

BREAM: It was Jesuit school, but by the time I got there the Jesuits were beginning to fade. Most of the students were from Chicago and, as I said, most were second and third generation immigrants. They were serious students, I never had any disciplinary problems or anything like that. Some of them were very good and some of them should have still been in high school. This I enjoyed particularly. This has nothing to do with the Foreign Service, but the department there had about from 18 to 21 instructors and professors and so forth, and up until the very last part of it there's almost no back biting, back stabbing competition which seems characteristic of so many universities' faculties. Since then a basic split developed between the traditionalists like myself and the number crunchers and the behaviorists who were gradually taking over and I guess they control the department now. [laughter]

Q: Well, I'd like to thank you very much.

End of interview