

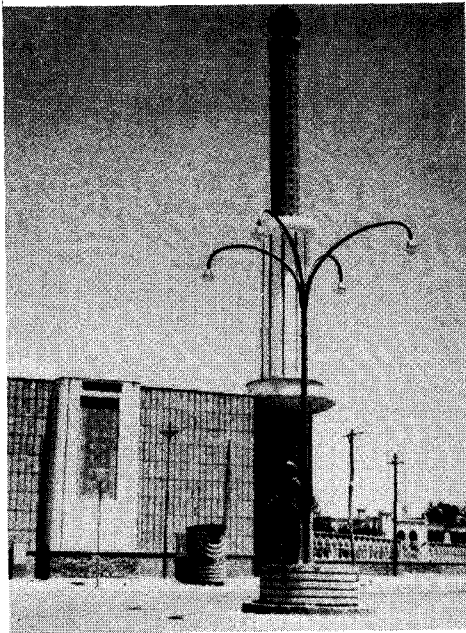
INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

WWU - 22
BORDER NEUTRALITY

International Club,
Kabul, Afghanistan
June 24, 1959

Mr. Walter S. Rogers.
Institute of Current World Affairs.
366 Madison Ave., New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rogers:



AFGHANISTAN, 1959: Modern mosque, Russian paved roads, West German street lamps, uniformed traffic cop. And then, just off the main thoroughfares of Kabul, dirt street, donkey carriers, the bazaar and the tenements.

Here I am as close to Heaven as most capital cities get (6000 feet), surrounded by the snow-streaked mountain walls of the Hindu Kush on the horizon and kept in my place by the high, uncommunicative walls of each house and garden in this suspicious and shy and highly orthodox Mohammedan community. Even the women are surrounded by walls here. They are called "chardri" or "purdah" and the only femininity I can spot in these walking circus tents is when the winds blow at their ankles a bit and then you can see whether you've got thick cotton and flats or nylon and French heels.

Afghanistan's neutrality differs considerably from the neutrality of the countries I have visited up until now. For one thing, this Texas-sized mountain shelf is no fly-by-night, post-World War II neutral. Afghanistan has been neutral for centuries. It had to be, what with such neighbors as Russia on the North, British Kashmir and a dot of China to the East, British India (now Pakistan) to the South and the Persian Empire (now Iran) to the West. If Afghanistan wasn't serving as the crossroads for traders, it was serving as the waypoint

for invaders -- just charging through. And interestingly enough, Afghanistan is the first neutral country I've visited which is not an ex-colony of one of the Big Powers. That is because Russia and Britain decided it was to their best interests to treat it as a buffer state. They even made a formal agreement to this effect at the turn of the Century with Russia busying herself in the Northern half, Britain in the Southern and an absurd nose of land being carved out of the map and given to Afghanistan so that its Eastern border would project just far enough to prevent Russia from ever touching India.

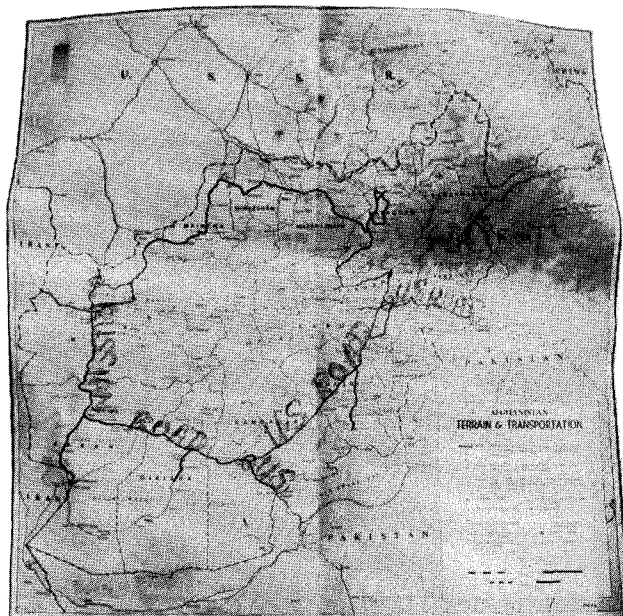
Afghanistan's total border with Russia measures 1500 miles today and she claims neutrality despite this prolonged intimacy. Her proximity to Russia is so impressive that even the American officials here, skeptical as they might be over how truly neutral the country is, still concede that "neutrality is the very best we can hope for."

Afghanistan says she is a sincere neutral, one which studiously maintains a non-committed position. And she explains that she is neutral for the most practical of all reasons: survival. Supposing she did join the West, one Afghan hypothesized, "before any help and assistance got to us we would be lost."

Despite Afghan protests of being strictly in the middle, there is no question that all her military aid is coming from one side: the Soviet Union. And all her educational and governmental guidance from another side: the West, principally the U.S. Do these two influences offset each other and leave Afghanistan free to pursue an independent course? The Americans think not. The Afghans think so. Both are aware that the highly orthodox practice of Mohammedanism and the strict adherence to monarchy here are highly incompatible with communism.

Let's look at the ledger:

In late 1955, following the Afghanistan expedition of Bulganin and Khrushchev, Afghanistan was granted \$100 million in Russian credit, payable at 2 per cent over 30 years. It has now been just about all allocated. Early in 1956, Russia decided to provide \$25 million worth of military assistance in the form of personnel, tanks, guns, trucks, even amphibious landing vehicles -- although the biggest body of water in Afghanistan is the King's swimming pool. Then the economic aid began to take form: The "Silo", a bakery complex here in Kabul which ironically feeds on American wheat; gasoline supply dumps, municipal buses and the gift which even this footsore wayfarer would snatch at, the asphaltting of all the main streets of dusty, rocky, muddy Kabul. Russian technicians are now completing a very large airstrip at Bagram, 35 miles North of here, have just nosed out the Germans for a contract to pave Kabul airstrip itself and, reportedly, have been building smaller military airstrips in various sections of the country, as well as paving some of the roads which



THE BATTLE OF THE PAVEMENTS

lead to the China border in the East. Then, just a few weeks ago, came the coup de grace. Russia announced that she would pave a huge highway leading from Kushka, on the Russian side of the border, down through Herat to Kandahar, just 80 miles North of the Pakistan border. One American declared: "They call all these things economic but every Goddam one of them is strategic as Hell, even the string of bakeries." The new road, you see, will mean making an expressway out of one of the two traditional invasion routes to India (the other: through Iran and along the Pakistan coast). It has been estimated to cost \$80 million and take four years to build. Yet Russia is apparently breaking all precedent in her worldwide assistance programs by making this road a grant, not a loan. Ironically, its terminus at Kandahar will connect with a short road the U.S. intends to pave to the Pakistan border itself, where it will connect with a rail head. In addition to this Russian aid, Red China this year decided to provide Afghanistan with 5000 tons of wheat. And Czechoslovakia has been supplying ground weapons.

Now what about the West which, in Afghanistan, means the U.S.? Well, militarily, we've been frozen out. Afghanistan originally approached us for a treaty after we began arming Pakistan. But the State Department decided it could never get Congress to go along with a border guarantee for such an isolated hotbed. Then, I have been told here, Pakistan got the U.S. to sponsor (although not actually join) a Baghdad Pact which noticeably excluded Afghanistan. Now Afghanistan has not only shown no interest in U.S. military assistance but is so accustomed to Russian equipment that one expert said, "We'd have to start by building them a parts factory." The U.S. is now completing a very large airstrip outside Kandahar, however, and this conceivably could have military use for whoever's jet bomber got there first. But to get gasoline to Kandahar, it has to be first trucked 80 miles from the Pakistan border. And Pakistan has felt sufficiently miffed at Afghanistan in the past to shut that border up tight for a six-month stretch. Moreover, while the U.S. is now paving a road from Kabul across the Khyber Pass to Peshawar and is beginning an \$18 million + , three-year job from Kabul to Kandahar in the South, as well as the 80-mile section from Kandahar to the Pakistan border, all this roadwork may just make driving easier for future Russian maneuvers. One official came right out and admitted to me that there is a big question of how much the U.S. wants to invest here in case it all gets snatched up by you know who.

U.S. aid to Afghanistan since the end of World War II totals around \$140 million, with 37 per cent of that in grants. The earliest aid, a total of \$40 million in Export-Import Bank loans, went toward developing Afghanistan's pet project and major investment, the Helmand River Valley. There are now some 500 miles of canals but the project has been a fizzle. Afghanistan claims she had bad advice from the American firm she hired, Morrison & Knudson, particularly regarding soil conditions. But M&K had nothing to do with keeping away the Afghan nomads who simply have refused to break historical roaming habits to settle down in any lush valley. In addition to building the big airstrip at Kandahar, the U.S. is also putting up three subsidiary airstrips. And Ariana, the Afghan airline, is owned 49 per cent by Pan American and is being pushed along by American technicians. The U.S. once had an agricultural assistance program in Afghanistan but it was dropped. Now there are plans to resume it next year. But the main efforts of U.S. assistance today are in education, and Afghanistan is more than receptive to this. Of the 57 foreign teachers in Afghanistan's Kabul University, 40 are American. And the U.S. is now putting up five new campus buildings at a cost of \$4 million. The U.S. Operations Mission here is financing various educational advisory teams, as well as a Public Administration Clearing House team from Chicago which is advising the Afghan Government

in such sensitive fields as taxation, budgeting, accounting, even the organization of the police department for internal security.

Now with all this gift bringing from East and West, how does Afghanistan maintain her neutrality? I'll let the Afghans explain it.

I had a talk with Sardar (Prince) Mohammad Naim, younger brother of the Prime Minister, cousin of the King, ex Ambassador to Washington and now Foreign Minister and the man who many say is the second most powerful figure in Afghanistan. The King, it seems, runs a close third. The Prince is very tall, powerful in appearance and also would have impressed me as being suave -- had I not spotted a bit of lunch on his elegant, Western-tailored dacron striped suit. Interviewing him was sort of like sitting in a steno pool. I was taking notes, of course, but so was an assistant in the Foreign Ministry, as well as one of the chiefs of the Press Department. I later learned that the Prince's interviews are rare and that when they are granted, transcripts are made and his statements kept for the record and for bottle-feeding to the local press. I was asked to submit my questions in advance, was all set to balk, then decided this is Afghanistan, not Washington. Anyway, when His Highness received me in the Prime Minister's Palace (since he is also Deputy Prime Minister he shares the same brotherly office roof), he was most gracious, pulled out a copy of my questions (as did my fellow stenos) and went to it.



NAIM: "It is not an immoral thing."

"Neutrality is misunderstood," the Prince began right off. "It has been called 'immoral.' We think it is moral. It's not our fault if our policy has been misunderstood because what characterizes our policy is that it is open. No dark corners. If there is any misunderstanding it hasn't got its source in Afghanistan. If it has any source it's the friction that created the concept that neutrality is 'immoral.' (The Prince couldn't have been more pointed, even though he never once mentioned Mr. Dulles by name, nor the comments on the immorality of neutralism made by the late Secretary and somewhat modified by President Eisenhower in 1956. See WWU-8.) If a country tries to go toward progress, I think that's a just aspiration. If a country seeks aid, I think it is not a wrong thing. It is not an 'immoral' thing. We are a small country. We can't adjust every stage of our development to world politics. We build a road and for others it becomes a strategic road. For us it is necessary for our economy, our transportation. Our needs are very big and we can't expect other countries, even very friendly, to fulfill all our wishes. What proportion of our proposals our friends deem reasonable, the result is welcome in this country, quite welcome. One thing that characterizes our neutrality is its age. We have had neutrality when India did not exist as a country. It's a traditional thing, not a creation. The U.S. should understand the problem of the differences of the people of the world."

Does Afghanistan find any inconsistency in her neutral position by receiving military assistance from the East only? "Under the pressure

of the needs of the region, we tried to find a reasonable supplier to supply us with the security we need. These days there are so many strings tied with armed assistance that we didn't want it. India buys where it can and it doesn't compromise her. So why should it compromise our neutrality by buying arms from where we can?"

What about the Russian advisers who come to your country along with the Russian arms? "It's not advisers we have. It's technicians who show our officers. They only come for six months or one year. Then, after finishing, they go. They have nothing to do with our Army."

The Indians had told me they needed to arm to counter the American arms we are supplying Pakistan, specifically in regard to the Kashmir dispute. Here in Afghanistan, the Prince used the same explanation. Only this time the fear is that American arms to Pakistan are creating an imbalance over the Pashtunistan dispute. The Pashtus are a group of wandering tribes who meander back and forth between Southern Afghanistan and India's old Northwest Frontier Province, which now belongs to Pakistan. The people are nomads and they land they roam has no known value. Afghanistan never mentioned the problem when India and Pakistan were still under Britain. But once the borders of Pakistan were defined, it suddenly became her major foreign problem. Afghanistan was the only country to vote against Pakistan's entry to the UN in 1947. Things got so bad at the end of 1956 a mob tore down the flag at the Pakistan Embassy in Kabul and damaged the Embassy itself -- presumably with the connivance of the Afghan Government. Pakistan then reciprocated in kind with the Afghan Consulate in Peshawar, closed the border for six months and with it Afghanistan's shipping outlet through Karachi and forced the country to do all its trading North and overland -- through Russia. The Afghan Army mobilized. The U.S. tried to bring about a solution of the problem and for a while it seemed hopeful. There were exchange visits between Prime Ministers and between the Afghan King and the Pakistan President. But with last Fall's takeover in Pakistan by Gen. Ayub Khan, himself a Pashtun, the reconciliation collapsed. The General has shown no interest in amicability. And the Afghans, while screaming vociferously, have shown no interest in being specific in their complaint. Here in Afghanistan I keep receiving hints that if only America would help. I naturally asked the Foreign Minister what he had in mind. He immediately grew defensive: "The press says Afghanistan is an expansionist country: it wants to profit. There is not any 'Irridentism' involved. We don't want the territory for ourselves. We want the Pashtuns to be able to decide for themselves. We would like our American friends to understand that it's not an idea for the profit or expansion of Afghanistan."

Then why shouldn't this matter be brought before the UN? With this the Prince washed out his whole plea: "No. There is no doubt in our minds that this is worth a UN debate. But we see so many problems pending years and years now that for the moment we don't see any point to it." This seemed a bit incredible, the Foreign Minister of Afghanistan feeling his country's major foreign difficulty had too low a priority for it to be even introduced before the world community. Some say the real reason for the Pashtunistan cry is as a sort of nationalistic rallying point, and also as an excuse for the King to maintain a national security force and with it his own security.

When I asked the Prince how his country replies to Pakistan charges that Afghanistan conducts an "opportunistic neutrality," in order to avail herself of foreign assistance from both blocs, he replied brusquely: "I don't attach any importance to what charges Pakistan is making against Afghanistan."

President Mohammad Asghar of Kabul University, Afghanistan's only institution of higher learning (400 students), made no secret of where his sympathies lie: Pro-West. Asking discretion, he then declared: "Officially and superficially, we are neutral in our view. But actually, we are not neutral at all. Almost all our professors are hired directly from the West. We've had only two Russian teachers. One, in internal medicine, was hired a year ago and now has left. The other, in physics, was brought here through UNESCO. This is our gesture toward neutrality. You should convince the skeptics in the West as to where the Afghan peoples' heart lies. Although we have given permission to the Soviet Union for airports, silos, bakeries and roads, we have given the minds of our children and our youth to the United States. It is the Americans who are shaping our minds. In my judgment, education is the more important because in the final analysis it's the people who make the decisions and they will make their decisions on the basis of their understanding and their moral and spiritual values."



ASGHAR

Pushing this objective, Asghar has seen to it that Columbia University's Teachers College has an Institute of Education at Kabul University (under ICA contract) aimed at finding the best system of future education for Afghanistan. There also are engineering and agricultural teams from the University of Wyoming, and an engineering-economic-agricultural team from the University of Illinois which Asghar personally selected during a U.S. visit last Fall. He wants their advice on improving university standards. Now Asghar is working on some sort of sistership arrangement with a Western college, similar to the old Yale-in-China and Harvard-Yenching setups. And he told me that the Rockefeller Foundation had volunteered to help him in the field of medical research. That answered the question in my mind as the day's mail was put on his desk during my interview and my upside-down snooping detected an envelope with the Rockefeller return address.



"the minds of our youth"

What does the Soviet Union say to all this? "So far they haven't complained. If they offer us something, we will consider it. Of course, we always have the reason that our faculty is complete. And with a Western faculty, it might cause some conflict. And we do not teach Russian in our schools and so there is the language barrier. (The one Russian physics teacher teaches in English.)"

Asghar, who is 43, is a graduate of both the University of Illinois and Columbia University's Teachers College. (Obviously this has some connection with both institutions being represented in Afghanistan today.) But he says, "I like to think that I got my real education in Afghanistan after I returned from the U.S., as a teacher and as a superintendant of schools." He has been Kabul University's president for four years now and declares: "I've come to the conclusion that, comparatively speaking, the change of attitude of people is more important than the airports and the roads (of the Russians). The important role for education is to inculcate people in making their own decisions. The social

and economic development of Afghanistan is our main problem at the moment. Our greatest stumbling block is the long history of Afghanistan's preoccupation with national independence and national defense. It did not give us any opportunity to develop our own life."

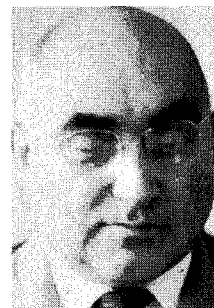
Asghar gave me some of the reasons why he thinks his country is truly neutral:

"Supposing we committed ourselves in a partnership with the West. Before any help and assistance got to us we would be lost. On the other hand, if we associated ourselves with the East, there is always the danger that our independence and our integrity would be lost. And there can be no partnership where there is such a divergence of opinion. They believe in the negation of God. We believe in the existence of God. We brought Islam to India. They are against monarchy. We are for a monarchy and our King is called the "shadow" of God. Some believe that if once they see the King they will not be burned in Hell. They believe in dictatorship. We do not. They believe in collectivism. Here everyone is for himself. As a result of our mountainous isolation, Afghans are very individualistic."

But then Asghar expressed his country's quandary: "After your Revolution, you were left to your own resources. You took things step by step. You made mistakes. But nobody interfered with your mistakes. You had your oceans. Today, Afghanistan cannot close its borders to the outside world. Even if we did so physically, there are also radio waves and they are pouring in foreign ideology, every day and every night -- now even in our own language. We cannot afford to spend our money on armament, except the bare necessities we need to safeguard ourselves. And we cannot afford to enter international politics because we have to spend all our energies in our development. Also, very importantly, is our proximity to the Soviet Union. We cannot forget that."

And then Asghar made it plain that he also cannot forget the Pashtu problem. "You Americans put yourselves in the place of the Afghans. What would you have done? We have a quarrel with Pakistan. Pashtunistan was an integral part of Afghanistan. The Durand Line which the British drew is so arbitrary that it has separated families from each other. Afghanistan has no territorial ambitions. All it asks is that the people of Pashtunistan be given the right of self determination. If they want to join Pakistan, all right. If they want to be independent, all right, give them their independence. But the West has done very little to solve this problem. (Parenthetically, Afghanistan's drawing a map extending the disputed Pashtu area to the suburbs of Karachi hasn't helped either.) Pakistan cut off our travel route and threatened the independence of our economy. So Afghanistan had to equip its Army with modern arms. Afghanistan went to the West but nobody would help us. They didn't want to aggravate Pakistan. We had to buy arms from Russia through Czechoslovakia. But that does not mean that Afghanistan has become communist, or will ever."

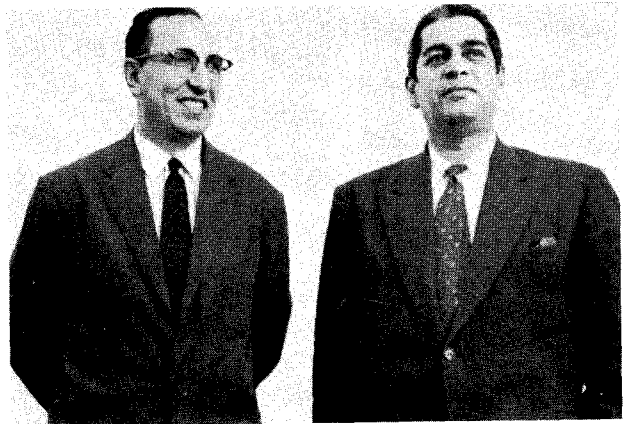
Dr. Anas, Deputy Minister of Education, says flatly: "Our educational system is completely scientific and non political and so far we have seen no political influence in education. No Russian -- nobody -- objects. And nobody has a right to object. We use the UNESCO system and have foreign technicians come here first and work with a counterpart for one or two years. Then he (the counterpart) goes abroad and comes back and again works with the foreign technician. The foreign teacher has two to three pupils and it takes only four years to train our counterpart, rather than the six years or so it would take if we just sent him



ANAS

abroad without preparation." Under questioning, Anas admitted that a little Russian was being taught now, but just for training 25 people as interpreters. He made no mention of the reports I had heard from Americans that some 400 students are about to go to Russia for schooling. The Education Ministry official said that education is now compulsory -- where facilities are available -- for the male members of Afghanistan's 12 million population. Currently, some 200,000 students are enrolled in Government schools. Others are in private schools, such as the Muslim ones which are run by every mosque.

Afghanistan's two top economists, Abdul Hay Aziz, Deputy Minister (under the Prime Minister) for all planning and development, and A. Shalizi, ex Deputy Chief of the Press Department and just recently appointed Deputy Minister for planning, are both Western-educated and oriented. Shalizi actually attended three U.S. universities: Wisconsin, Illinois and Columbia. Aziz had a recent postgraduate course of five years or so in the local jail -- for being too independent in his thinking. I gather that both men resent any financial divergence to the military. They declared: "There was



THE PLANNERS: Shalizi (left), Aziz

some stability after all here, but who broke that stability? The U.S. is arming to the teeth Pakistan and Iran, our nextdoor neighbors. We have been forced to borrow to arm ourselves. What is to be the use of it? Who forced it? We applied to several sources and only one source, the Russians, was ready. And there are some countries underwriting other countries to the extent of doing everything -- even taking over their foreign policy and giving them new aspirations. You want an example? Pakistan."

Shalizi continued: "Neutrality for Afghanistan is a question of self interest. Our first principle is not to accept any sort of aid which would imply any sort of strings. People tell us that if we receive too much aid from one source we will become less independent. It may be so. But what we are trying to get is the kind of assistance which will enable us to remain really independent. We have to create everything here. We have to start from scratch."

At this point, Aziz interrupted: "Excuse me, Mr. Shalizi, there is not even a scratch." Aziz continued: "Apparently the only thing they are interested in in Washington is whether you are a military ally or not. We have to take all the help we can get. I think there is much more flexibility with the Russians, much more real understanding than the other countries. Maybe that is a factor which goes to increase that assistance. That makes, you see, for greater friendship. But we are sure that will not affect in any way our neutrality." I should explain that these sharp words came only after I did my best to provoke these aimable gentlemen. They actually had begun our conversation on a theme which ran more like this:

"Historically, we are like Sweden and Switzerland. There was a small clash between the Russians and Afghanistan in the 1880's. But this was the only instance and it was small. The implications are clear when you compare that to the long and bloody wars we had on the other side. In 1914,

when India had no Army and was seething against the British, our Government at the time faithfully kept its word and remained neutral. (This despite the added appeal from Turkey's Sultan, then the Caliph of all Islam, to join in with him and the Germans.) After the war, Soviet Russia was the first to recognize our Independence, in 1919. (The Afghan King, among other commitments, had a gentleman's agreement to consult India's British Viceroy regarding foreign affairs.) The U.S. recognized us around 1924, and sent its first foreign mission here in 1942. In World War II, both Russia and Britain, our two neighbors, complained that the German, Japanese and Italian diplomats here could work potential sabotage through India and demanded that we surrender them. We first insisted that these people be given safe conduct back to their own countries under Afghan escort. Then we closed the embassies as requested."

Aziz and Shalizi said that while Afghanistan originally preferred foreign assistance in loans, rather than grants, her debt has piled up to some \$213.3 million and so, for the past two years, all further borrowing has been forbidden. Now "the sheer facts of economic life" compel Afghanistan to accept outright grants. Apparently Aziz and Shalizi weren't too fond of loans anyway: "Applying for a loan requires so many statistics. How do you expect this for a country which is spending all its time and energy just to keep its head above the water?"

I had another talk alone with Shalizi a bit later and he further aired the things about the U.S. which apparently are gnawing at him: "Your Mr. (Henry A.) Byroade is the first real Ambassador we've had from the U.S. The others were just sent here as their last post so that they could have the rank before retirement. When Angus Ward was your Ambassador, an Afghan official asked him if he was going to learn Pashtu. He said, 'Certainly not. It's too unimportant.' Then he rubbed it in even further by saying, 'I might look into Persian, however.' And the director of your USIS office here has the attitude of an Englishman 100 years ago. A while back he phoned me and said, 'I'm TELLING you, Mr. Shalizi, you will do as I say.' I laughed. He said, 'This is not a laughing matter.' I said, 'You forget just one thing. This is my country.' If that man had come to my house and poured kerozene on all the furniture and burned the house down, it would not have been as bad." Shalizi said a previous USIS director had invited the Afghan officials to his home just before the December, 1955 visit of Bulganin and Khrushchev. He then proceeded to show them a film about Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania entitled, "Don't Let This Happen to You!"

"Did he think we didn't know?" Shalizi said. "We were right here. It was a colossal affront."

S.Q. Rishtya, president of the Royal Afghan Press Department, also expounded on the neutrality theme, only he termed Afghanistan's policy one of "Neutrality and Free Judgment." Said Rishtya: "The U.S. is very worried. It warned us that playing with the Big Powers was suicidal. But just after the Bulganin and Khrushchev visit, the Americans saw there was no change. And last year, when your Ambassador invited our Prime Minister to Washington he accepted, without consulting the King or anybody. There are some ups and downs. When our Prime Minister is going to Moscow, Americans are cold for sometime. Then they learn it is only a question of asphaltting a road. One road can be asphalted by the Russians; the other by the Americans. Every country, when there is a



RISHTYA

move from Russia to help Afghanistan, says it is wrong. But Mr. Khrushchev knows very well the only condition to accept help from him: Not to move from our established stand. Our American friends are very concerned about our ability to maintain this neutrality. The best interests of Afghanistan are to be friendly with Russia. Afghanistan depends economically a great part to Russia. Alignment is not safe. Five years ago, Pakistan closed the border over the Pashtunistan problem and no one helped us, including the U.S. We had our trade route from Russia and we are thankful. Everybody can be thankful. We got one lesson: Our frontiers with the West cannot be guaranteed so much as the Russian one. We are sincere in this. We have a 2500-kilometer frontier with Russia, but for 41 years there has not been a single incident with Russia. There has not been active propaganda of communism. No one is trying to overthrow the Government (hardly; Afghanistan permits no political parties of any shade). Why spoil this?"



THE AFGHANS: "Mr. Khrushchev knows very well..."

Then Rishtya decided to claim the icing too: "We can't accept the argument of communism which is against our religion, against our social life, an old tradition of King for 5000 years. It is not compatible with the communist customs. In Afghanistan we are the most fanatic Muslims, the basis of Islam, quite contrary to the ideology of communism. Islam respects private ownership. We've had the first experience of looking at communism because we are so close. Nowadays, they have factories and so on. But 20 years ago there was the Terror and hundreds of thousands of refugees poured into Afghanistan, and they are now the shopkeepers across the street."

Well, I've belabored Rishtya's arguments and those of the other Afghan officials -- even at the cost of repetition -- because I wanted you to see how really two-minded these people are. One veteran American here put it this way: "I think the top men are sincere in their own personal belief that they are being neutral and that they sincerely are trying to improve Afghanistan as best they can. They need aid and know the risk. But they think they have that risk beat."

You try balancing the scales of neutrality. Do you think all-out military commitment to one bloc counterbalances all-out educational commitment to the other bloc? I finesse any conclusion.

But I do have a conclusion on something else. In boarding the Ariana plane to leave here for Teheran I found I was on an historic flight. The first three women in Afghanistan to receive the Prime Minister's permission

to lift their veils and become airline stewardesses have just come aboard, enroute to Beirut for their training. They popped out of the circus tents the moment they got abreast of the plane. They've got the French heels and they've got very pretty faces. Were I a native of Kabul, I'd be inclined to shout: "Where have you been all these years!"

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Warren W. Unna", with a long horizontal line extending to the right.

Warren W. Unna