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Foreign Relations



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SOCIETY FOR HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

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MEETINGS: The annual meeting of the Society is held in August. The Society also meets with the American Historical Association in December, and with the Organization of American Historians in April.

PRIZES: The Society administers three awards a year, all of them in honor of the late Stuart L. Bernath and all of them financed through the generosity of his parents, Dr. and Mrs. Gerald J. Bernath of Laguna Hills, California. The details of each of these awards are given under the appropriate headings of each issue of the Newsletter.

PUBLICATIONS: The Society sponsors two printed works of a quarterly nature, the Newsletter, and Diplomatic History, a journal; a Membership Roster and List of Current Research Projects is published occasionally.

**MICROCOMPUTERS AND PROGRAMS
FOR DIPLOMATIC (AND OTHER) HISTORIANS**

by

Kinley Brauer (University of Minnesota)

Over the past few years, the use of microcomputers for scholarly research and writing has increased tremendously. Initially, computers were attractive only to those who understood computer languages such as Basic, Fortran, Cobol, or Pascal and who were interested in such things as roll-call analyses, linear regressions, econometrics, and similar mathematical and statistical functions. More traditional historians watched computer whizzes with either envy or scorn, or perhaps a mixture of both, and continued to rely on their note cards, pencils, and typewriters. Within the last few years, however, the lowering cost of microcomputers and the development of new software programs have opened up microcomputer technology to those without special training for use in common non-statistical scholarly tasks.

At the last SHAFR meeting and more recently at the AHA meeting, it became apparent that a number of diplomatic historians have already acquired microcomputers, and a great many more were either on the verge of buying one or more than curious about the practicality of acquiring a microcomputer for their own work. With the availability of literally dozens of models and thousands of software programs, advice on the minimal requirements of a serviceable unit and especially attractive software for a non-quantifying, computer-language-illiterate diplomatic historian might be welcome.

It is important that the microcomputer chosen be one that can use pre-written programs useful for scholarly work and easily learned. Most historians will likely be primarily interested in using a microcomputer for the purpose of recording and manipulating research materials, and creating, editing, and revising manuscripts. For that purpose, it is important that the microcomputer have the capacity to contain a reasonably sufficient quantity of research data and pages of manuscript. Some will also be interested in the ability to tap into various

data banks around the nation and to tie into university computer facilities. And finally, diplomatic historians may also be interested in transporting their machines to research libraries and overseas.

All respectable microcomputers provide outlets for attaching other equipment, such as printers and communication links (modems); all have acceptable television-like screens; all can be updated later on; all are reasonably reliable. Some microcomputers, however, are portable (similar in size, construction, and weight to a portable sewing machine--25-30 lbs.) and can be easily switched to accept foreign electrical currents, while most are bulky and stationary. All have standard typewriter keyboards, but some have numerical keypads and other special keys in addition--and some keyboards are better than others.

It is neither necessary nor desirable to become highly technical in writing about microcomputers, but potential buyers must become familiar with some of the basic jargon, such as bits, random access memory (RAM), disk operating systems (DOS), kilobytes (K), disk drives, and disks. Briefly, bits refer to the power of microcomputers; DOS the running system (akin to an automobile being either gasoline- or diesel-driven); RAM determines the maximum size of the programs that the machine will accept; and kilobytes are the units of disk capacity. Disk drives are self-explanatory. Disks come in two varieties: hard disks which hold thousands of kilobytes (megabytes) and soft or "floppy" disks that hold between 100K and 800K. The smaller capacity are single-sided, single-density disks; the largest are double-sided, quadruple-density. In between are double-sided, double-density disks. A single floppy disk costs \$3-5; a hard disk costs \$2,000-3,500!

Generally, there are two types of microcomputers presently on the market: 8-bit machines and 16-bit machines. Until the arrival of the IBM Personal Computer, the standard, serious microcomputer was an 8-bit machine. The IBM-PC is 16-bit, and a number of IBM-like microcomputers have appeared on its coat-tails. Sixteen-bit microcomputers are considerably more powerful than 8-bit machines, but often in ways that are not crucially important to historians. They

do accept far more complex software programs (the better 8-bit machines have 64K RAM whereas 16-bit machines provide 128K or 256K RAM) and are faster than the 8-bit machines, but their cost is somewhat higher, and as of this writing, most of the software programs available for the 16-bit machines are simply revised editions of the software written for 8-bit machines. There is little question, however, that over time, new software programs, will be written to take full advantage of 16-bit power.

For our purposes, far more important than basic power is disk capacity, and surprisingly, many of the 16-bit machines, including the IBM, have smaller disk capacities than the 8-bit machines. The only microcomputers that ought to be considered are those that provide enough disk capacity for a writer to compose at least 35 pages of double-spaced text on a single disk. Translated into computer jargon, that means that scholars should only consider machines that accept floppy disks that hold about 200K each. (The formula for translating disk capacity to pages is to divide disk kilobyte capacity by six). Better machines use disks with capacities of from 160K to 800K.

An alternative to floppy disk systems is the hard disk (or Winchester disk) system. These disks have a capacity of 5,000 or 10,000K (833 pages and 1,666 pages), and they can be added to most microcomputers. The problem is that they are quite expensive and are not really necessary for scholarly work--they are more suitable for businessmen. Only one manufacturer at present, the Kaypro Corporation, offers microcomputers with one hard disk drive and one floppy disk drive as standard equipment at a reasonable cost. A 5 MB Kaypro costs approximately \$2,300 and a 10 MB costs \$2,800.

The three most popular microcomputers presently used by historians (and listed in ascending order of cost) are the Kaypro, Apple, and IBM-PC. The Kaypro II (which has two floppy disk drives only) runs on the 8-bit CP/M DOS; the Apple has on its own 8-bit DOS (but can also be converted to a CP/M DOS); and the IBM-PC runs on the 16-bit MSDOS. At extra cost, both the Kaypro and the Apples can be altered to run on MSDOS, thus making them "IBM compatible"--or nearly so. Some IBM programs are unique to those machines. CP/M is

the standard DOS for 8-bit machines, and thousands of software programs have been written for it. MSDOS is the standard system for 16-bit machines, and as a consequence of the advertising blitz and success of the IBM, a great deal of future program development will be written for MSDOS machines.

It is difficult to judge which of these machines is preferable. Generally, the Kaypro II and many of the machines similar to it, including the Heath/Zenith, Xerox, Zorba and a host of others, are the best machines for word-processing, and so have an immediate edge. Also the Kaypros and Zorba are portable. The Apple is better for graphics and more flexible for the hobbieist and programmer. The IBM-PC (and its growing legion of clones), accepts color monitors and has more power, but the latter advantage is rapidly disappearing as all the others rush into 16-bit technology. (In addition to their portability, the two considerably less expensive hard-disk Kaypros are or can be converted simply into 16-bit machines, and they as well as the unmodified Kaypro II accept larger capacity disks than the IBM-PC.) Finally, the Kaypro and its cousins come with a number of free software programs; IBM provides no free software with its machines (though dealers sometimes throw them in to make a sale). Software, of course, can be major expense and is a vital concern.

There are a great number of software programs available, and they provide a bewildering set of variables to be considered. Every scholar will, of course, want a word-processing program and other programs that are especially useful in preparing scholarly manuscripts.

Among the extraordinarily large number of word-processing programs, one of the best and most popular (and most expensive) is WordStar, which approximates the word-processing programs used by huge computers and specialized word-processing systems. WordStar allows the writer to type in text as it is done on a normal typewriter. If a typing error is made, the typist can simply back up to correct the mistake. Words can be inserted, deleted, or replaced easily, as can entire lines and paragraphs. Sections of text can be moved to different locations; single words or phrases can be located anywhere in the text and can be replaced with other words or phrases automatically en

masse or each time at the writer's option. The writer can set page length, margins, page numbers and their location at will, and see clearly where the ends of pages are. If pages do not end at a desirable place, they can be adjusted. It is a simple matter to have the microcomputer prepare drafts automatically according to the Chicago Manual of Style or any other style system. In addition, writers can insert superscripts and subscripts, underline, and write in boldface, but these facilities can only be used if supported by a printer. That is, some printers are unable to print half a line up or down or to underline.

Most better word-processing programs also do these tasks, or most of them, and some provide additional features, but in most cases, WordStar does what it does better. The chief problems with WordStar are that it is unreasonably expensive, costs for periodic updates are outrageous, and it is relatively difficult to learn. The last has been vastly over-emphasized, however. A reasonably patient person ought to be able to learn the system well enough to use it fully after a weekend of concentrated effort.

While a good word-processing program is essential for any writer, a highly desirable collateral program is one which checks written material for typing errors and misspellings. There exist a number of spelling programs on the market, and one of the chief differences among them is the size of the dictionary. It is here that disk capacity is particularly important. Any dictionary below 40,000 is inadequate, and a dictionary of that size occupies about 175K.

One of the best spelling programs is Word Plus. This program quickly scans a document and queries the writer whenever it finds a word not in its dictionary. It shows the word in context, provides dictionary help in spelling, and allows words (such as proper nouns and foreign words) to be added to the main dictionary or placed in a supplementary dictionary. Corrections can be made at once and are automatically changed in the document or simply marked for later reference. With this program, an author can be assured that no typos or misspellings will appear, but no system will correct misused words or wrong words that are spelled correctly. Word Plus also provides a number of other aids. One of the more important is a count of word

frequency. One can easily see whether an uncommon word has been used too often. The program also provides a count of the total words in the text.

Certainly, one of the most annoying tasks with which every historian is faced is keeping track of and typing in documentation. A special program created to take care of this task is Footnote and Pair. The Footnote program is easily learned and simple to use. During composition, the author types in a seldom-used symbol, e.g. +, #, or *, or whatever the author wants, at the place where a footnote number will be placed. At the end of the line, sentence, or paragraph, the symbol is repeated and the footnote written. Unlike other similar programs, Footnote has no length restriction, and footnotes may be batched together during the course of composition. All that is required is that the proper sequence be maintained. Citations are written with the word-processing program.

When finished with composition, the author runs the Footnote program. All the symbols are changed to sequential numbers, and the footnotes are pulled out of the text and replaced at the author's choice either at the bottom of each page or in a separate file which can be attached later to the end of the manuscript. Long footnotes will be split and carried over to the footnote section of the next page if desired. Writers can move the notes back and forth, placing them at the bottom for colleagues and at the end for publishers.

After the manuscript is completed, notes can be added or deleted with minimal effort. The note call symbol and note itself are inserted in their proper places without touching any of the other numbers or notes, the Footnote routine is repeated, and all the notes will be re-numbered in order and placed correctly. Footnote is a marvelous system that saves hours of work. It is exactly the sort of thing for which microcomputers were developed and is one of the rare systems especially designed for scholars. There are other footnote systems available, but none as good.

Word-processing and footnoting programs are essential for all scholarly writing; a spelling checker is highly desirable. A third program that is especially desirable is a filing program, of which

there are presently dozens available. Most clearly have been designed for businessmen; are geared to manipulating customer lists, inventories, and similar projects; and are all but useless for academics. Standing out from this group is a program called Superfile, which satisfies just about all the requirements of scholars.

Superfile permits a writer to record research material in the form of notes of up to approximately 10,500 words per note and to index each note according to 250 of 3,000 possible variables on any given single project. The number of discrete research notes that can be placed on a single disk is restricted only by disk capacity, and the limit on the number of disks that can be used in any single search is 255. In other words, in taking notes of note card size--or let us say a maximum of 500 words per note--on disks of 200K capacity, a researcher can use Superfile to index over 63,000 note cards. When the notes are indexed, they can be sorted any number of times according to between 32 and 64 variables arranged according to "Boolean logic;" that is, they can be separated by "and," "or," and "not." Searching through 63,000 notes for references to, for example, "Seward" and "China" or "Japan" and "commerce" but not "Russia," would take about ten minutes. The resulting batch could then be divided into two smaller groups, one relating to China and the other Japan, in perhaps a few seconds. Searching through 10,000 notes would take less than two minutes--the search rate is 100 note-entries per second.

In addition to this sorting facility, Superfile also contains programs that allow scholars to alphabetize lists of one or more lines, such as a simple list of three hundred single-line student names or a bibliography of a 1000 multiline authors and titles of books. Notes can be similarly arranged in chronological order (numerized). Bibliographical entries can also be indexed with the Superfile program, providing easy access and cross-reference. In addition, files can be merged, split, and altered in various ways. And with all files, data can be added at any time.

There is one final software program that can also be of special use to scholars. A program called Documate Plus provides the ability to index an

article, chapter, or book with relative ease. Since most historical studies are not indexed in typescript form, this program will not be used often. But when written material reappears in page proofs, it is simple enough to adjust the pages on a disk written with WordStar to conform to the page proofs. Documate Plus then allows the writer to note all relevant items on a page and also to add concepts. Once a manuscript is gone through, the program will write out the index recording all page references correctly, adding where desired, "see" and "see also." An item appearing more than once on a single page will not be repeated. Documate Plus also automatically makes up tables of contents, but that is such a simple job to do manually, it is unimportant. For most historical writing, Documate Plus is not necessary until the last stage. At that time, it can save tremendous effort and is far less expensive than having a manuscript indexed professionally.

Putting all of this together, anyone investing in a personal computer for scholarly writing would be well advised to acquire a software package consisting of WordStar, The Word Plus, Footnote and Pair, Superfile, and (possibly) Documate Plus. The retail price for this system, if each item was purchased separately at full price, is as follows:

Microcomputer	\$1,600-3,500
WordStar	500
Word Plus	175
Footnote	150
Superfile	200
Documate Plus	200
TOTAL	\$2,875-4,725

Such is not likely to be the actual cost, however. WordStar and Word Plus come with the Kaypro. Programs can be purchased substantially below retail price at discount houses across the country and through the mail. It is also likely that in the near future, software for 16-bit, 256K RAM microcomputers will contain all the features of WordStar, Footnote and Pair, Documate Plus and more in one program at a price lower than the combined cost of the individual programs. (A new 16-bit version of Superfile already out automatically indexes documents, allowing the researcher to add and subtract variables, which is a

great saving in time.)

In addition to the microcomputer and software, there are additional expenses one must expect to meet. Computer purchasers will need a printer (add \$500 to \$1,000), disks (about \$30 per box of 10), and a disk cleaning kit (about \$15 every six months). A modem for telephone communication costs between \$150 and \$700, but these too can be acquired at discount. And then there are a number of miscellaneous items, such as a dust cover to protect the sensitive disk drives, a library case to hold the floppy disks (which rapidly accumulate), a carrying case for portables, and so on. All in all, a solid system (computer, printer, and programs) would like run between \$3,000 and \$3,500.

Committing oneself to a microcomputer is an Angst-filled experience, normally followed by a few days of agonizing frustration. But after that, using a micro is great fun and a source of immense satisfaction. Annoying and time-consuming mechanical chores are dramatically reduced, and all sorts of possibilities open up. For those who have acquired a decent microcomputer, few regret their decision.

**COLD WAR HISTORIOGRAPHY: AN ALTERNATIVE
TO JOHN GADDIS'S POST-REVISIONISM**

by

Jerald A. Combs (San Francisco State University)

In the Summer, 1983 issue of Diplomatic History, John Gaddis has given us a learned and provocative analysis of Cold War post-revisionism.¹ He correctly points out that the tone of the debate between orthodox and revisionist historians has softened and the differences narrowed. Yet I believe that critical distinctions continue to exist, even if they are not so simple and hard-edged as they seemed a decade ago when I categorized the extant schools as Nationalist, Realist, and Radical.² Those distinctions still provide a more useful means of organizing our thoughts about the past and present Cold War than does Gaddis's synthesis.

Lloyd Gardner's response to Gaddis gives a good indication that revisionists are not ready to join Gaddis's post-revisionist consensus. While Gardner

conceded that Lenin's theory of imperialism might be inadequate as a total explanation of American foreign policy, he refused to grant that economics were a mere tool in America's supposedly proper and defensive search for a strategic balance of power.³ Revisionists are even less likely to accept Gaddis's contention that the American empire was one of restraint and that it developed more by invitation from other nations than by America's own assertiveness. Even as Gaddis cited the books of Terry H. Anderson and Robert M. Hathaway to demonstrate that Great Britain urged America to intervene in Europe, he ignored the works of Christopher Thorne, William Robert Louis, and David Reynolds that document a considerable degree of Anglo-American economic and imperial rivalry.⁴ If revisionists will continue to question the concept of empire by invitation as applied to Europe, they certainly will reject it when applied to less developed nations, as exemplified by the recent works of Lawrence Wittner and Blanche Wiesen Cook.⁵

Finally, no revisionists to my knowledge have abandoned their belief that American foreign policy left little room for Stalin's supposedly limited and legitimate security interests in Eastern Europe and therefore bore a major responsibility for the Cold War.⁶ It seems highly unlikely, then, that they will accept the conclusions of Adam Ulam, Vojtech Mastny, and William Taubman that the United States should have been even firmer with Stalin.⁷ I wonder whether even those realists who might be said to belong to Gaddis's post-revisionist consensus will accept it. George Herring, Lisle Rose, Lynn Etheridge Davis, Hugh DeSantis, and even Gaddis himself up until now have agreed with the revisionists that America should have conceded Stalin his security sphere with less fuss. They differed with the revisionists only over the degree to which America's refusal was responsible for the Cold War and the motives behind that refusal.⁸ Ulam, Mastny, and Taubman do not offer much of an alternative to that consensus. The best they speculate American firmness might have gained from Stalin was a few cosmetic concessions to democracy in Eastern Europe, since the vast majority of Eastern Europeans were anti-Soviet, and true democracy would have led to regimes that challenged Stalin's security sphere. Ulam, Mastny, and Taubman hope that cosmetic changes might have permitted Roosevelt and Truman to

sell a more graceful acknowledgment of the Soviet sphere to the American people. Perhaps then Eastern Europe might have attained a more restrained patron/client relationship with the Russians as Finland did. It is at least problematical that all this benefit would have emerged from as little as Ulam, Mastny, and Taubman believe American firmness could have extorted from Stalin.

Such differences between historians of the origins of the Cold War probably will continue and become more defined because they conform to quarrels over present policy. Current issues always raise questions about past events, as historians, journalists, politicians, and the public at large seek precedent, "lessons," and justifications for their present preferences. The search for historical lessons can distort the past, but the quest is inevitable, and conducted with proper caution it can help us organize our thoughts about both past and present Cold War policy. Thus I would suggest that the following categories are both valid and more useful than Gaddis's emphasis on post-revisionist synthesis. Moving from right to left across the political spectrum, those categories are:

I. Right Wing Idealism

Ronald Reagan's promotion of Hoover Institute intellectuals has revived the significance of this view, as has the rise of neo-conservatives like Norman Podhoretz. Yet no recent scholarly work on the origins of the Cold War has accepted the premises of right-wing idealism -- that the communist ideological struggle for world revolution is immutable, that Soviet lust for expansions is insatiable, that it must be opposed wherever and however possible, that therefore negotiations with Russia usually sow confusion in the ranks of the democracies and should be undertaken only to expose Soviet motivation and inspire united opposition, not in the expectation of real agreement.

For the present, right-wing idealists must rely on older studies of the origins of the Cold War by people like William Henry Chamberlin and James Burnham.⁹ But they can gather support from modern works on related issues, such as those of Richard Pipes, Jeane Kirkpatrick, and particularly books on Vietnam by people like Norman Podhoretz, which hold

that the war was a noble cause America wrongly abandoned after refusing to win it.¹⁰ Ronald Reagan will enhance the influence of this view even further if he acts on it rather than on the more pragmatic approach advocated by some of his advisors.

II. The Hard Realists

The realist principles enunciated by men like George Kennan, Walter Lippmann, Hans Morgenthau, Nicholas Spykman, and Reinhold Neibuhr still wield a strong influence on historians, journalists, and politicians. Most historians have taken to heart realist strictures against a foreign policy based on naive idealism. They agree that the United States should pursue its national interest and the balance of power. They continue to inveigh against foolish oscillation between a policy of isolationism designed to insulate America from evil foreign wars and crusading interventionism designed to eliminate foreign evils by making nations over in America's image. But a significant division has emerged between hard and soft realists.

The hard realist outlook on the Cold War was very strong prior to the escalation of the war in Vietnam. Historians like John Spanier, Robert Osgood, Desmond Donnelly, Gaddis Smith, Robert Murphy, Edward J. Rozek, Anne Armstrong, Samuel Flagg Bemis, Louis Halle, Julius Pratt, Robert Ferrell, Thomas Bailey, and Hanson Baldwin argued that Franklin Roosevelt had been too soft on the Russians, that he should not have demanded unconditional surrender from the Germans, that he should have bargained with the second front to get Russian agreement not to occupy Eastern Europe, that he should have followed Winston Churchill's Balkan strategy to meet the Russians further east, and that he conceded too much at Yalta in the utopian pursuit of a cooperative policy through the United Nations. They backed Harry Truman and Dean Acheson against George Kennan in arguing that containment had to be strongly military rather than predominately economic and political. Thus they supported a powerful NATO military force, NSC 68, and the building of the H-bomb as essential ingredients of American security.¹¹

During the 1950's and early 1960's, American diplomatic and military historians raised serious questions about the feasibility of the alternatives

the hard realists had suggested to Roosevelt's World War II policies. This induced many hard realists to join Hans Morgenthau in saying that if such alternatives truly were not feasible, then America should have conceded Stalin his sphere with less fuss in hopes of dampening the inevitable conflict.¹² The Vietnam years saw historians move steadily toward this soft realist position and extend it to the support of George Kennan's later policies as opposed to those of Truman and Acheson.

But the hard realist world view has revived considerably in the past few years. Mastny, Ulam, and Taubman have given a great boost to that interpretation of the origins of the Cold War. Guenter Lewy's America in Vietnam and Henry Kissinger's memoirs have staked out a powerful hard realist position on the later Cold War.¹³ Recent events have produced many strong advocates of hard realism in debates over current policies as well.

The hard realist outlook is almost as distrustful of the Soviets as the right-wing idealist view. But hard realists argue that America's goal should be to limit or change the Soviet Union's external behavior, not its internal policy. They insist that America has to deal with the communists from strength and be willing to take significant risks, including major military action, to prevent communist expansion. They argue that America has to be ready to intervene even in morally ambiguous situations and in areas others might see as unimportant to America's vital interests to stop communist probes and maintain the balance of power. Thus they support an activist policy in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Like Guenter Lewy, they bewail America's defeat in Vietnam and fear that reaction to it will prevent necessary American intervention in other critical episodes. The major lesson they derive from Vietnam is that America must not take the realist strictures against total war for total victory and advocacy of limited war to mean that America should accept only gradualist forms of intervention. But unlike the right-wing idealists, they are prepared to negotiate, make reciprocal concessions, and even accept arms control and detente so long as they clearly redound to their definition of America's national interest. They are hard bargainers rather than rejectionists.

III. The Soft or Restrained Realists

This is the position Gaddis describes as the post-revisionist synthesis. It follows closely the attitudes of George Kennan, Walter Lippmann, and Hans Morgenthau. These restrained realists argue that the United States should have avoided quarrels with Stalin about his security sphere in Eastern Europe and instead drawn a firm line of containment at the edge of that sphere. They differ from the hard realists by claiming that Russia was too weak to invade Western Europe and had no intentions of doing so in any case. Therefore containment should have been more economic and political than military, and American policy should ultimately have aimed for disengagement in Europe. They question the decisions for strong NATO military forces, the defense build-up programmed by NSC 68, and the development of the H-bomb. They also argue that containment should have been limited to the industrial democracies that were vital to American interests, and that containment of Soviet expansion in the Third World should have been left to the indigenous forces of nationalism. This led them to early opposition against the Vietnam War. By posing a moderate rationale for opposition to Vietnam escalation, they increased the influence of their world-view dramatically among historians. It is now the dominant historiographical school and would include in addition to Gaddis himself, George Herring, Lisle Rose, Lynn Etheridge Davis, Alonzo Hamby, and such older Cold War historians as Herbert Feis, William Hardy McNeill, John Snell, and Louis Halle in his later incarnation.¹⁴

III. Liberal Moralists

This view is more influential among journalists and politicians than historians. It tends toward exposes rather than deep analyses, and therefore it condemns the results more than the premises of American diplomacy. Liberal moralists assume that America means well and so they treat the episodes they cover as relatively discrete incidents and as the blunders of a well-intentioned nation rather than inevitable aspects of necessary, malign, or mistaken system. By exposing discrete evils they hope they can bring America to repent and correct them. As journalists, they write more of contemporary events than the early Cold War, but in reaching back for the historical roots of their topics they tend to lionize the old liberals who they believe were more

accommodating to the Russians and Third World revolutionary movements -- Franklin Roosevelt, Henry Wallace, Adlai Stevenson. This liberal moralist category would include such works as Frances Fitzgerald's Fire in the Lake, former Senator J. William Fulbright's later works, David Halberstam's The Best and the Brightest, Tad Szulc's The Illusion of Peace, William Shawcross's Sideshow, Peter Wyden's Bay of Pigs, and Seymour Hersh's The Price of Power.¹⁵

IV. The Moderate Revisionists

John Gaddis tends to lump historians like Daniel Yergin, Stephen Ambrose, Richard Barnet, and Lawrence Wittner with himself and his fellow soft realists as post-revisionists. But there is a significant difference between them. Moderate revisionists overtly reject the realists' perspective on balance-of-power politics, with Yergin portraying Gaddis's hero, George Kennan, as the formulator of confrontationist Riga axioms.¹⁶ Moderate revisionists favor the accomodating policies of Franklin Roosevelt. Soft realists either criticize Roosevelt for naive and excessive accommodation or reinterpret Roosevelt to show how he actually was realistic and skeptical about Soviet intentions. Moderate revisionists tend to denounce the shortcomings of American society. They emphasize American racism, McCarthyism, and economic inequality, and they argue that American expansionism was more responsible than the Soviets for the Cold War and present crises. Soft realists, as Gaddis has pointed out, tend to emphasize the way foreign peoples have invited American expansion, argue that such expansion was far more restrained than it might have been, and do not dwell so heavily on America's domestic faults.¹⁷ Moderate revisionists tend to back Third World revolutions. Soft realists tend to back away from them.¹⁸

B. Radical Revisionists

Although the influence of radical revisionist polemics like those of Gabriel Kolko have faded in the United States since American withdrawal from Vietnam, radical revisionism remains alive and well not only in the historical treatments of America by many of the nation's adversaries abroad, but also in the ever softer tones of the Wisconsin school. William Appleman Williams, Walter LaFeber, Lloyd Gardner, and Thomas McCormick still must be seen as radical revisionists because they view the American capitalist

economy and its inevitable search for markets as the primary motive behind America's expansionist foreign policy. They are not so eclectic in assigning motives as the moderate revisionists. They find no intervals of more benign and less expansionist policy in America history as the moderate revisionists do in FDR's administration. The implication of their work is still that the United States must drastically revise its internal structure to end the need for continuous expansion and the wars it brings.¹⁹ Even if the softened approach of the Wisconsin school fails to stimulate new studies of the origins of the Cold War, the continuing advocacy of the radical revisionist view from abroad should do so.

Whatever emphasis historians choose to place on current Cold War historiography, consensus or conflict, it will all be temporary anyway. Another generational shock like Munich or Vietnam, if we survive it, will inspire new categories and interpretations of the recent archival discoveries.

FOOTNOTES

¹John Lewis Gaddis, "The Emerging Post-Revisionist Synthesis on the Origins of the Cold War," Diplomatic History (Summer, 1983), pp. 171-190.

²Jerald A. Combs, ed., Nationalist, Realist, and Radical: Three Views of American Diplomacy (New York, 1972).

³Lloyd C. Gardner, response to Gaddis, Diplomatic History (Summer, 1983), pp. 191-193.

⁴Christopher Thorne, Allies of a Kind: The United States, Britain, and the War Against Japan, 1941-1945 (London, 1978); William Roger Louis, Imperialism at Bay, 1941-1945: The United States and the Decolonization of the British Empire (Oxford, 1978); David Reynolds, "Competitive Cooperation: Anglo-American Relations in World War Two," Historical Journal, 23 (March 1980): 233-245.

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⁸George C. Herring, Aid to Russia, 1941-1946: Strategy, Diplomacy and the Origins of the Cold War (New York, 1973); Lisle A. Rose, After Yalta (New York, 1973); Lynn Etheridge Davis, The Cold War Begins: Soviet-American Conflict over Eastern Europe (Princeton, 1974); High DeSantis, The Diplomacy of Silence: The American Foreign Service, the Soviet Union, and the Cold War, 1933-1947 (Chicago, 1980); John Lewis Gaddis, The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947 (New York, 1972).

⁹William Henry Chamberlin, America's Second Crusade (Chicago, 1950); James Burnham, The Struggle for the World (New York, 1947).

¹⁰Richard Pipes, U.S.-Soviet Relations in the Era of Detente: A Tragedy of Errors (Boulder, Colorado, 1981); Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, Dictatorships and Double Standards: Rationalism and Reason in Politics (New York, 1982); Norman Podhoretz, Why We Were in Vietnam (New York, 1982).

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¹⁵Frances FitzGerald, Fire in the Lake: The Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam (Boston, 1972); J. William Fulbright, The Crippled Giant: American Foreign Policy and Its Domestic Consequences (New York, 1972); David Halberstam, The Best and the Brightest (New York, 1972); Tad Szulc, The Illusion of Peace: Foreign Policy in the Nixon Years (New York, 1978); William Shawcross, Sideshow (New York, 1979); Peter Wyden, Bay of Pigs (New York, 1980); and Seymour Hersh, ed., The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House (New York, 1983).

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¹⁸See e.g. on Guatemala, Blanche Wiesen Cook, The Declassified Eisenhower (revisionist); Richard H. Immerman, The CIA in Guatemala: The Foreign Policy of Intervention (Austin Texas, 1982) (soft realist); and Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala (New York, 1982) (liberal moralist).

¹⁹Gabriel Kolko, The Politics of War: The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1942-1945 (New York, 1968); Joyce and Gabriel Kolko, The Limits of Power: The World and United States Foreign Policy (New York, 1972); Walter LaFeber, America, Russia, and the Cold War; Bruce Kuklick, American Policy and the Division of Germany: The Clash with Russia over Reparations (Ithaca, 1972); Lloyd C. Gardner, Architects of Illusion: Men and Ideas in American Foreign Policy, 1941-1949 (Chicago, 1970); Lloyd C. Gardner, Walter f. LaFeber, and Thomas J. McCormick, Creation of the American Empire: United States Diplomatic History (Chicago, 1973).

**RESEARCHING AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS ABROAD:
THE AUSTRALIAN ARCHIVES Part II**

by

Dr. Peter J. Beck (Kingston Polytechnic, England)

In the December 1982 Newsletter, Roger Dingman's article on the Canberra archives provided a clear and informative account of three archival collections of relevance to historians of American foreign relations of the post-1940 period. As such he indicated the potential value of oft-ignored archives for a range of topics of interest to SHAFR members, while also providing a limited amount of advice on practical matters to future users. Writing as another 'fortunate' visitor to the Canberra Archives (with the generous help of the Nuffield Foundation), I can only second his article, subject to the need to comment on certain points either glossed over or ignored therein.

Most systems of indexing for official documents appear easy once mastered, but the scheme utilized for the Australian Archives does tend to prove more difficult to follow than many others, especially if a researcher is studying a long time period or a topic involving several departments. As a result, the finding aids offered by the Archive itself, and particularly the helpful and indispensable source analyses drafted by the Archive staff, save researchers both time and effort, and this is important in view of the distances travelled by most users (even Australian) to consult the files. In turn, my source analysis served as the basis for a continuing and valuable link with one of the archive

staff, Chris Taylor, whose interest in tracking down relevant files rendered my visit some 50% more productive than it might have been otherwise. Most archive staff in all countries are helpful, but in my view the personal element is even more important for the most effective use of the Australian Archives, and it is a cause for regret to see such readers' services threatened by spending cuts.

Dingman is correct in stressing the need for action by the researcher before leaving for Australia, such as in terms of applying for a reader's ticket as well as a topic source analysis. The receipt of the latter will enable suitable files to be identified in order to ensure not only that they have been transferred to the Archives from the Department of Foreign Affairs but also (a point omitted by Dingman) that they have been cleared for use. I arrived to find that a high proportion of my files were at the Mitchell Archive building but had not been cleared -- this applied to files for the 1920s as well as for the 1940s -- and hence some delay occurred in the production of files. And, for those on a relatively brief visit, such a delay can be disastrous. Fortunately, the diligence of the Archive's staff ensured that I departed from Canberra having seen most of the necessary files, although Chris Taylor was still finding suitable files on my last day (these could not be used until they had been cleared). As a result, several weeks' research is still required in my case, partly because of some of the practical difficulties of using the Archives -- and without Chris Taylor and his colleagues, even longer would be required -- and partly because I was surprised at the bulk of material in Canberra. In spite of being a regular user of the British Public Record Office since 1968, the Australian Archives contributed an additional perspective to my research, both reinforcing and contrasting with London (and Washington) source material, and in certain instances the Canberra archives yielded material closed in London under the extended closure rule. Although the increasing contacts between Australian and the USA during and after the 1940s served as the focus for Dingman's article, researcher will secure material on a range of other subjects, and especially varying insights into the Anglo-American relationship or into the role of Japan in Australian perceptions of the Pacific world.

Dingman fails to mention the fact that the Australian Archives, like most other archive services throughout the world, are faced with severe fiscal problems, and these, in conjunction with the apparent emphasis placed by the Archive's directing authorities upon serving government departments (and the consequent low priority assigned to serving the needs of the researcher or the general public), have resulted, and are still resulting, in the imposition of various constraints upon the research facilities available, while also qualifying the ability of reading room staff to help individual researchers. The fiscal problem has been reflected in the shortage of counter staff and the inevitable delays (up to half a day, during my visit) in the receipt of orders, in the difficulty of providing source analyses, in the slow service provided for Xeroxing orders (microfilming is unavailable) and in the gradual scaling down of opening hours to include midday closing (an irritating feature in such a remote location) and the threat to evening opening (I understand that this has now been suspended). It is a pity that the quality of service provided by a friendly and well-qualified staff should be qualified in such a manner, and during my visit most users echoed my complaints. However, my subsequent letter to the Minister in charge of the Archive Service received a negative response, although this does not diminish the need for the Australian authorities to pay more attention -- and to devote a higher fiscal priority -- to the needs of researchers, whether they be from Australia or overseas. In fact, it seems paradoxical that, at a time when the Australian government is actively promoting the cause of Australian studies in Britain (such as by the new Australian Studies Centre at London University) and in the USA and when there is within Australia an escalating interest in the country's past (the Australiana section of any Sydney or Canberra bookshop establishes this point), the major Australian research source, the Australian Archives at Mitchell, should be in the process of becoming less accessible.

Some might say that geographical accessibility is another problem, for the modern archive building at Mitchell is located in the middle of nowhere, and seemingly in an uncompleted industrial estate. Hence, facilities for food and drink were lacking, although sandwiches and drinks could be ordered for midday

delivery when I was there. The local bus service (no. 184) was quick and cheap, even if at most times of the day it terminated at the Racecourse/ Showground, that is, before the Archives. However, upon request most drivers will take passengers to the Archive stop (and to the flies found around it -- one of the main hazards for the researcher loose in Australia!).

By contrast, the surrounding of the National Library of Australia are extremely attractive, and on a sunny day the views across Lake Burley Griffin may delay the researcher's return to the numerous collections of papers located there, as indicated by Dingman. The National Library is situated in proximity to the various government buildings, thereby facilitating contact with ministers or officials on matters arising from one's research. Oral evidence can be derived also from former officials and diplomats, many of whom (at least for my topic) seem to retire in and around Canberra.

Accommodation is not mentioned by Dingman, in spite of the fact that this can be quite expensive in Canberra, thereby adding to the research costs. As a result, it is worth considering the use of the residential facilities of the Australian National University, which is located fairly centrally (e.g. for the buses) and offers reasonably priced accommodation either in University House or in one of the component colleges (e.g. Ursula or John College). Obviously, term time may prove a difficult time to find vacancies, but the Australian summer period (circa November-January) is a good time, even if the vacation renders it difficult to make contact with Australian academics.

Of course, Australia is a large country, and the historian of American foreign relations will need also to look beyond Canberra, such as to Sydney and Adelaide, where Flinders University houses the Evatt collection of papers (the Library is open from 9-5 on Mondays to Friday, but advance permission is needed to use the papers).

Australia, an under-estimated country in respect to research material, does in fact yield a range of valuable insights into varying aspects of American foreign relations, and the main lesson is the importance of advance preparation in order to provide

the appropriate foundation for on-the-spot research.

In his article Dingman indicated a series of archive categories of likely value to SHAFR members, although his range was rather narrow and omitted the pre-1940 period. The following series are also worthy of mention. Visitors are advised also to consult the series of published documents on Australian foreign policy for information not only on record categories but also on the manner in which foreign policy was formulated.

Australian Archives-Mitchell, (Cnr. Sandford Street and Flemington Road) Mitchell, ACT 2911)

CA.12 Prime Minister's Department 1911-71

- CRS.A2 Correspondence Files, single no. series, 1904-20
CRS.A458 Correspondence Files, multiple no. series 1923-34
CRS.A461 Correspondence Files, multiple no. series 1934-50
CRS.A462 Correspondence Files, multiple no. series 1951-56
CRS.A463 Correspondence Files,
annual single no. series 1956-
CRS.A2694 Cabinet Minutes and Submissions 1932-9
CRS.A2697 Cabinet Minutes and Submissions 1939-41
CRS.A1975 Files of Australian Counsellor
in Washington 1937-48

CA.18 Department of External Affairs 1921-70

- CRS.A981 Correspondence Files, alphabetical series 1925-42
Sections include Defence, Great Britain,
Japan and the USA
CRS.A989 Correspondence Files, multiple no. series, 1943-44
CRS.A.1066 Correspondence Files, multiple no. series, 1945
CRS.A.1067 Correspondence Files, multiple no. series, 1946
CRS.A.1068 Correspondence Files, multiple no. series, 1947
CRS.A.1838 Correspondence Files, multiple no. series, 1948-
(Note: CRS. means Commonwealth Record Series.)

National Library of Australia (Canberra, ACT.2600)

- MS.423 Sir Frederic Eggleston Papers
MS.1009 Sir John Latham Papers
MS.1538 W.M. Hughes Papers (eg. MS.15381/10 covers
his 1924 visit to the USA)
MS.2629 Sir Keith Officer Papers (eg. Box 1 covers
correspondence to 1939, Box 2 for
the period 1939-51)

MORE STATE DEPARTMENT RECORDS ON MICROFILM

By

Milton O. Gustafson (National Archives)

Readers of this newsletter may recall my article in the December 1981 issue that listed recent microfilm publications of the Diplomatic Branch, National Archives and Records Service, of interest to SHAFR members. Not included in that list, but promised for a future issue, were publications of Decimal File records, 1910-44.

Fulfilling that promise has been long-delayed, but here it is. We had to wait for computer technology (GSA finally gave us a microcomputer, but it took a long time to learn how to use it) to enable us to take the publications filmed since 1974 and sort them by country, file number, and time period. Publications of Decimal File records filmed before 1974 are listed on pages 61-83 of the 1974 **Catalog of National Archives Microfilm Publications**.

The Decimal File was the subject filing system used for the central files of the State Department (Record Group 59) after 1910. Diplomatic and consular despatches, instructions, notes, memorandums, and other correspondence were assigned a decimal file number according to a pre-determined file classification scheme (see M600, Manual for Classification of Correspondence, Department of State, 1 roll). For example, each country was assigned a number, and relations between countries is class 7; thus, documents on relations between the United States and Australia are in file 711.47. Internal affairs is class 8; documents on internal affairs of Australia are in file 847. The National Archives microfilm publications include all of the documents in the Decimal File that begin with the specific file number for the time period indicated.

Also available from the National Archives are 120 microfilm publications of the Decimal File for the 1910-29 period, and hundreds of other microfilm publications of State Department records dated 1789-1949. A new catalog of State Department records on microfilm, to be published later this year, will list all of these publications. The current cost of each roll of microfilm is \$17.

Additional information can be obtained by writing to the Legislative and Diplomatic Branch, National Archives, Washington, DC 20408.

Microfilm Publications of the Decimal File Completed Since 1974

Afghanistan

Internal Affairs (890H), 1930-44, M1219, rolls 1-7.

Albania

Internal Affairs (875), 1910-44, M1211, rolls 1-16.

Argentina

Internal Affairs (835), 1930-39, M1230, rolls 1-32.

Armenia

Relations With Other States (760J), 1910-29, T1193, rolls 1-2.

Internal Affairs (860J), 1910-29, T1192, rolls 1-8.

Australia

Relations With the U.S. (711.47), 1910-44, T1191, roll 1.

Internal Affairs (847), 1910-44, T1190, rolls 1-36.

Austria

Internal Affairs (863), 1930-44, M1209, rolls 1-32.

Balkan States

Relations With Other States (767-771)

1930-39, T1245, rolls 1-11.

1940-44, T1246, rolls 1-3.

Internal Affairs (870), 1940-44, M1220, roll 1.

Baltic States

Internal Affairs (860N), 1910-44, M1185, rolls 1-8.

Bulgaria

Internal Affairs (874), 1910-44, M1207, rolls 1-18.

China

Relations With the Soviet Union (761.93)

1930-39, T1247, rolls 6-10.

1940-44, T1248, roll 3.

Relations With Japan (793.94), 1930-44, M976, rolls 1-96.

Colombia

Internal Affairs (821), 1910-29, M1294, rolls 1-45.

Czechoslovakia

Relations With Germany (760F.62), 1930-39, T1243, rolls 24-31.

Internal Affairs (860F), 1910-44, M1218, rolls 1-32.

Dominican Republic

Internal Affairs (839)

1930-39, M1272, rolls 1-36.

1940-44, M1277, rolls 1-20.

Eastern Europe

Political Relations With Other States (760)

1930-39, T1243, rolls 1-46.

1940-44, T1244, rolls 1-5.

Egypt

Internal Affairs (883), 1930-39, T1251, rolls 1-23.

Estonia

Internal Affairs (860I), 1910-44, M1170, rolls 1-23.

Finland

Relations With the U.S. (711.60D), 1910-44, T1185, rolls 1-2.

Relations With Other States (760D), 1910-44, T1186, rolls 1-8.

Relations With the Soviet Union (760D.61), 1910-44, T1186, rolls 3-8.

Internal Affairs (860D), 1910-44, T1184, rolls 1-31.

Germany

Relations With the U.S. (711.62), 1930-39, T1253, rolls 1-2.

Relations With Poland (760C.62), 1930-39, T1243, rolls 9-15.

Relations With Czechoslovakia (760F.62), 1930-39, T1243, rolls 24-31.

Relations With the Soviet Union (761.62)

1930-39, T1247, rolls 2-4.

1940-44, T1248, rolls 1-2.

Great Britain

Relations With the U.S. (711.41), 1930-39, T1252, rolls 1-6.

Greece

Relations With Turkey (767.68)
1930-39, T1245, rolls 1-4.
1940-44, T1246, roll 1.

Internal Affairs (868), 1930-39, M1179, rolls 1-16.

Guatemala

Internal Affairs (814), 1930-44, M1280, rolls 1-22.

Haiti

Internal Affairs (838), 1930-39, M1246, rolls 1-36.

Hungary

Internal Affairs (864), 1930-44, M1206, rolls 1-17.

Iran

Internal Affairs (891), 1930-39, M1202, rolls 1-24.

Iraq

Internal Affairs (890G), 1930-44, T1180, rolls 1-18.

Ireland

Internal Affairs (841D), 1930-44, M1231, rolls 1-17.

Japan

Relations With the Soviet Union (761.94)
1930-39, T1247, rolls 10-14.
1940-44, T1248, roll 3.

Relations With China (793.94), 1930-44, M976, rolls 1-96.

Jordan

Internal Affairs (890I), 1930-44, T1181, roll 1.

Latvia

Internal Affairs (860P), 1910-44, M1177, rolls 1-19.

Lebanon

Internal Affairs (890E), 1930-44, T1178, rolls 1-5.

Lithuania

Internal Affairs (860M), 1910-44, M1178, rolls 1-22.

Nicaragua

Internal Affairs (817), 1930-44, M1273, rolls 1-53.

Palestine

Internal Affairs (867N), 1930-44, M1037, rolls 1-26.

Poland

- U.S. Claims (360C.11), 1930-44, T461, rolls 1-8.
- Relations With the Soviet Union (760C.61)
 - 1930-39, T1243, rolls 8-9.
 - 1940-44, T1244, rolls 1-3.
- Relations With Germany (760C.62), 1930-39, T1243, rolls 9-15.
- Internal Affairs (860C), 1910-44, M1197, rolls 1-75.

Rumania

- Internal Affairs (871), 1910-44, M1198, rolls 1-44.

Saudi Arabia

- Internal Affairs (890F), 1930-44, T1179, rolls 1-8.

Soviet Union

- U.S. Claims (461.11), 1910-29, T640, rolls 1-8.
- Relations With the U.S. (711.61)
 - 1930-39, T1241, rolls 1-3.
 - 1940-44, T1242, roll 1.
- Relations With Poland (760C.61)
 - 1930-39, T1243, rolls 8-9.
 - 1940-44, T1244, rolls 1-3.
- Relations With Finland (760D.61), 1930-44, T1186,
- Relations With Other States (761) / rolls 3-8.
 - 1930-39, T1247, rolls 1-14.
 - 1940-44, T1248, rolls 1-4.
- Relations With Germany (761.62)
 - 1930-39, T1247, rolls 2-4.
 - 1940-44, T1248, rolls 1-2.
- Relations With China (761.93)
 - 1930-39, T1247, rolls 6-10.
 - 1940-44, T1248, roll 3.
- Relations With Japan (761.94)
 - 1930-39, T1247, rolls 10-14.
 - 1940-44, T1248, roll 3.
- Internal Affairs (861)
 - 1930-39, T1249, rolls 1-75.
 - 1940-44, T1250, rolls 1-34.

Syria

- Internal Affairs (890D), 1930-44, T1177, rolls 1-8.

Turkey

- Relations With the U.S. (711.67), 1930-44, M1223, rolls 1-2.
- Relations With Greece (767.68)
 - 1930-39, T1245, rolls 1-4.
 - 1940-44, T1246, roll 1.

Internal Affairs (867), 1930-44, M1224, rolls 1-36.

Ukraine

Internal Affairs (860E), 1918-49, M1286, rolls 1-6.

World War II

World War II (740), 1939-45, M982, rolls 1-251.

Yugoslavia

Internal Affairs (860H), 1930-44, M1203, rolls 1-28.

**ABSTRACTS OF ARTICLES PUBLISHED,
OR SCHOLARLY PAPERS DELIVERED
BY MEMBERS OF SHAFR**

John Allphin Moore, Jr. (California State Polytechnic University, Pomona), "From Reaction to Multilateral Agreement: The Expansion of America's Open Door Policy to China, 1899-1922," Prologue, Journal of the National Archives, 15 (Spring 1983), 23-36.

This essay is a re-examination of America's China policy during the early twentieth century, reviewing and challenging conventional views.

Robert W. Matson (University of Pittsburgh at Johnstown), "Finlandization, an Ahistorical Analogy," Research Studies 51 (March 1983):1-11. (An earlier version was read as a paper at the Pacific Northwest Diplomatic History Conference, Spokane, 1983).

Some Western journalists and politicians have didactically used Richard Lowenthal's term "Finlandization" as a criticism of U.S.-Soviet detente and, in so doing, have constructed a theory that misrepresents Finnish foreign policy since 1945. This article describes two interpretations of Finland's post-war history: The Finnish approach known as the Paasikivi-Kekkonen Line and the critique presented by Walter Laqueur, William F. Buckley and other journalists.

The article seeks to restore complexity to Finland's identity in international affairs. Finland is shown to be not a servile tool of Soviet interests, but the author of an authentic *modus vivendi* between a democratic state and the U.S.S.R. The Finns have combined a commitment to independence and self-

determination and an understanding of natural Soviet interests. A careful review of what Finland has done may be useful to the leaders of other Western nations, the article suggests, if they do not see Finland as a universally applicable model of either subservience or coexistence. The sources used are American and Finnish periodical literature, archival records, and contemporary literature.

John J. Sbrega (Tidewater Community College), "Anglo-American Relations and Selection of Mountbatten as Supreme Allied Commander, South East Asia," Military Affairs 46 (October 1982): 139-45.

At the First Quebec Conference in August 1943, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill appointed Lord Mountbatten as Supreme Allied Commander of the newly created South East Asia Command. The widespread approval that greeted the appointment erased an unpleasant episode in Anglo-American relations. The search for a commander had occasioned ill-feeling, which temporarily disrupted Anglo-American strategic planning and threatened to bring about a marked shift in the Allied conduct of the war against Japan.

The British insisted that the new command be organized on the "MacArthur Model" (i.e., the allied commander reporting to his own service chiefs) and that Air Marshal Sir Sholto Douglas be the commander. The Americans were equally insistent on the "Eisenhower Model" (i.e., the allied commander reporting to the Combined Chiefs of Staff) and virtually any British commander except Douglas. Apparently Douglas had been extremely critical of the American armed forces at some social gatherings, and at least on one occasion his remarks almost led to a physical encounter.

It was only after some turmoil, which included Churchill's threat to establish a separate British command and the consideration of nine candidates (Douglas, Somerville, Cunningham, Tedder, Leese, Coningham, Wilson, Giffard, and Pownall), that the matter was finally resolved with the selection of Mountbatten.

Professor Sbrega's article which is abstracted above won a Moncado Prize from the American Military Institute.--editor.

Charles M. Dobbs (Metropolitan State College, Denver), "The Pacific Pact of 1949: the pact that

never was," paper read at the Northern Great Plains History Conference, September 1983.

In spring/summer 1949, the idea of a Pacific pact emerged. Likened to the North Atlantic treaty just ratified, the pact became a microcosm of crosscurrents affecting the region.

The proposed pact evoked strong feelings. Its major proponents, Chiang, Rhee, and Quirino, sought to secure continued US aid they otherwise would be denied; their pact was anti-Chinese communist. The U.S. government feared unwanted entanglements as it reviewed Asian policy. Great Britain opposed any arrangement that might make the Commonwealth unnecessary. Area nations viewed Japan as the major threat or did not wish to confront Mao, while Soviet and Chinese officials made clear they believed America had instructed its puppet regimes to organize an anticommunist pact in Eastern and Southeastern Asia.

Curiously, in the spate of new studies on US-East Asian diplomacy in the period, few have considered the pact controversy.

Thomas J. Noer (Carthage College, Kenosha, Wisconsin). "Truman, Eisenhower, and South Africa: the 'Middle Road' and Apartheid," The Journal of Ethnic Studies, 11 (1983), 75-104.

Based on materials in the Truman and Eisenhower libraries, the article analyzes American policy towards the white minority government of South Africa from the victory of the Nationalist Party in 1948 to the end of the Eisenhower administration. It contends that both Truman and Eisenhower adopted a "middle road" between acceptance of white supremacy and active support of the black majority. Specific economic and strategic interests often clashed with sincere but abstract commitments to racial equality and human rights. Although it has been modified in response to the American civil rights movement, the policy established in the period 1948-1961 still prevails today.

Sally J. Marks (Rhode Island College), "Menage a Trois: The Negotiations for an Anglo-French-Belgian Alliance in 1922," The International History Review, IV: 2 (November, 1982), 524-552.

A study of the failure of the negotiations toward an alliance within the broader context of Entente diplomacy during the period after the First World War.

---"Black Watch on the Rhine: A Study in Propaganda, Prejudice and Prurience," European Studies Review, 13 (July, 1983), 297-334.

An investigation of the facts and the myths concerning French use of indigenous troops in the Rhineland occupation after World War I, of the ensuing propaganda campaign in Europe and America, and of the worldwide reaction thereto.

---"Lloyd George and the Versailles Treaty."

Paper read at the annual meeting of the North American Conference on British Studies, Washington, October 1983. A study of David Lloyd George's shifting attitudes during the Paris Peace Conference, his subsequent efforts to undo much of the Versailles Treaty, and of the reasons therefore.

Michael A. Barnhart (SUNY-Stony Brook) presented the paper "Before the Day of Infamy: Roosevelt's Policy Toward Japan," in October at the Hudson Valley History Conference, Bard College.

Another look at Roosevelt's Japan policy locates it between the earliest interpretations criticizing its "24-hour basis" and recent studies stressing the underlying consistency in the President's conception of American diplomacy before Pearl Harbor. That policy instead is viewed as coherently conceived but inconsistently carried out. Roosevelt firmly believed in using economic pressure and a display of naval force to restrain Japan. But his administration's timing in implementing new increments of pressure, sometimes due to domestic political factors, sometimes the competing needs of the American rearmament effort, sometimes Japanese initiatives in East Asia, neither deterred Japan from striking southward nor hindered Japan's buildup of war material reserves to enable that strike to succeed.

David F. Schmitz (Rutgers) presented "Roosevelt and Fascist Italy, 1933-1940," October 22, 1983, at the Second History Conference of Hudson Valley Colleges and Universities.

This paper traced American-Italian relations from 1933-1940 to demonstrate that American appeasement was based upon finding an economic solution for Europe's political problems, and that the US sought an accommodation with Italy, first in conjunction with efforts to appease Nazi Germany and, second, as part of an effort to contain Hitler. The Roosevelt

Administration's policy towards Fascist Italy was used as a case study of American relations with Fascism in Europe and to provide insights into why the US sought appeasement.

US-Italian relations were good when Roosevelt became President. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia brought only a temporary halt to these cordial relations with Rome. The war, however, did force Roosevelt to focus more of his attention on Europe and re-examine policy towards Europe and the fascist nations.

Under the leadership of the White House, the US, from 1936-38, increased its efforts for appeasement. Italy was at the center of Roosevelt's thinking on how to successfully appease Nazi Germany without harming American interests. Mussolini was considered to be the one leader who could influence Hitler and moderate his demands. Most formulas developed or proposed by FDR had US economic aid and a US supported world conference to consider Germany's economic problems at the core.

When efforts at appeasement failed to prevent war, Roosevelt worked toward containing the conflict and insuring an Allied victory. Again Italy was a central nation in his plans and the President made numerous efforts to keep Mussolini from joining Hitler in the war.

Richard A. Harrison (Pomona College) presented "FDR and Liddell-Hart: Presidential Proposals for Military Action of 'Limited Liability' in the 1930s," on October 22, 1983, at the Second Annual History Conference of Hudson Valley Colleges and Universities, Bard College.

Although he is best known as the advocate of mechanizing the British Army in the 1930s, Basil H. Liddell-Hart also championed the adaptation of the traditional British military doctrines of indirect approach and limited liability to the requirements of collective security, calling for firm responses to aggression in order to prevent a major conflict. Throughout the thirties, Franklin D. Roosevelt, relying on personal and secret diplomacy, tried to create an Anglo-American partnership that could stifle threats to peace before they brought full-scale war. Among Roosevelt's many specific or speculative suggestions for action were several that were based upon the use of military or naval force along lines of indirect approach, limiting the liability of the

"peace loving states" while constraining aggressors.

The impressive coincidence of Roosevelt's and Liddell-Hart's ideas reflected the similarity of the lessons each man had learned from the Great War. Leaders of the British government had learned somewhat different lessons, however. It was in large part because they did not agree that London had a greater duty to take risks--even risks as limited as the ones that Roosevelt and Liddell-Hart proposed--for peace in Europe than did the United States that they consistently rejected FDR's offers of support. Until war was virtually unavoidable in Europe, the president's ideas, like those of Liddell-Hart, fell largely on deaf ears in Whitehall.

G. Macharia Munene (Ohio University) presented "Truman and the Colonial Question, 1945-1948," on December 8, 1983, at the 26th Annual African Studies Association Convention, Boston, Massachusetts.

Between 1945 and 1948 the United States lost its reputation as an anti-imperialist nation. The colonized peoples had expected it to uphold President Franklin D. Roosevelt's wartime rhetoric on the need to eliminate colonialism. Instead, European pressure, a change in government personnel, and a growing anti-Russianism blunted American anti-colonialism. The Cold War made Washington a prisoner of imperialist demands with regard to empires. In order to placate colonial powers, in an effort to undermine Soviet and communist influence in Europe, the United States sacrificed its political, moral, and economic anti-colonial principles. Anti-imperialists accused Washington of collusion with colonialism and linked this collusion to racism within the country. In fact, racism in the American South undermined the United States' desire to be seen as a just society or, according to President Truman, "a symbol of hope for all men, and a rock of security in a troubled world." It was to uplift the nation's image that Truman instituted civil rights programs which he hoped would provide "practical evidence that we have been able to put our own house in order." To counter perceived Soviet propaganda advantages among the non-Europeans, the president started a highly publicized but unsuccessful technical aid project--the Point IV Program. Washington's preoccupation with communism, at the expense of colonialism, remained irrelevant to nationalists who wanted to terminate empires.

Glenn A. May (University of Oregon), "Why the United States Won the Philippine-American War, 1899-1902," Pacific Historical Review 52, No. 4 (Nov. 1983): 353-77.

Over the years, a number of explanations of the U.S. victory in the Philippine-American War have surfaced. Most accounts attribute the result to the overwhelming military superiority of the U.S. forces. A few others point to the detrimental impact of elite collaboration on the Filipino war effort, and still another emphasizes the efficacy of American "pacification" programs. This article takes issues with all the existing accounts, offers a number of alternative explanations, and in the process, attempts to show how the fundamental differences between the turn-of-the-century war in the Philippines and the more recent one in Vietnam help to explain the radically different outcomes of those two conflicts. Simply stated, the American victory in the Philippines was due to a combination of the following: major strategic and tactical blunders by Emilio Aguinaldo and his chief lieutenants; the lukewarm attitude of lower-class Filipinos toward the war effort; ethnic tensions among Filipinos; the failure of Filipinos to secure outside support; the ability of American commanders to operate with few restraints; the existence of a good deal of popular support for the war within the United States; and various geographical and historical "givens." Implicitly, this article suggests that the key to explaining the outcome of the Philippine-American War is an understanding of the nature of turn-of-the-century Philippine society.

James F. Baker (Central State University, Oklahoma), "Invasion Flashback," Newsweek (November 21, 1983): 32-33.

This essay analyses Woodrow Wilson's policy toward the Mexican Revolution that resulted in the American invasion of Vera Cruz in 1914. When the fighting ended 200 Mexicans, mostly innocent bystanders caught in the cross fire between American and Mexican soldiers, had died. This tragedy was the inevitable result of Wilson's attempt to overthrow the government of Victoriano Huerta and "liberate" the Mexican people from despotism. The article poses the question--is Ronald Reagan and Central America a replay of Wilson and Vera Cruz? One hopes not, but the nature of Reagan's interventionist policies seems

to indicate we are indeed going through one of those awful examples of deja vu.

Roger R. Trask (Historical Office, Office of the Secretary of Defense), "Spruille Braden versus George Messersmith: World War II, the Cold War, and Argentine Policy, 1945-1947," Journal of Interamerican and World Affairs, 26 (February, 1984): 69-95.

During World War II, the United States officially shunned the Argentine government because of its pro-fascist policies. After Argentina declared war on Germany and accepted anti-fascist commitments embodied in the Chapultepec agreements of February 1945, the United States recognized the Argentine government and appointed Spruille Braden as ambassador. Braden openly criticized Col. Juan Peron, the dominant figure in the Argentine government, while he was in Buenos Aires, and later as Assistant Secretary of State for American Republic Affairs unsuccessfully tried to prevent his election as president of Argentina. The Truman administration pursuing an ambiguous policy in 1946 and 1947, allowed Braden to continue his efforts to isolate and weaken Peron, while in Buenos Aires U.S. Ambassador George Messersmith tried to improve relations and urged the State Department to completely normalize ties with Argentina. In the midst of this policy dispute, Braden and Messersmith engaged in a vindictive personal battle which ended in June 1947 when President Truman pressured both of them to resign. While Braden prevailed through 1946, the context of U.S.-Argentine relations was that of World War II. By mid-1947, even though Messersmith lost his post, the Truman administration had adopted his arguments and normalized relations with Argentina. The context was now that of the Cold War; the central concern of Washington was the international threat of communism, and Argentina's cooperation was needed.

**Minutes of the SHAFR Council Meeting
Los Angeles, California - April 4, 1984**

Warren I. Cohen Presiding

In attendance were Council members - Charles DeBenedetti, Geoffrey Smith, Roger Trask, Marvin Zahniser, and Ralph E. Weber, William J. Brinker, Daniel Helmstadter, William H. Becker. Special guests in attendance were Dr. and Mrs. Gerald Bernath, and

Professor Ralph J. Roske (a special friend of Dr. and Mrs. Bernath and former professor of Stuart Bernath).

Mr. Cohen opened the meeting by introducing Dr. and Mrs. Bernath and in his introduction expressed appreciation for the many ways they have supported SHAFR.

It was announced that Michael Hunt's book, The Making of a Special Relationship: The U.S. and China to 1914, has won the Bernath Book Prize for 1983. Also announced was that Michael Schaller will be the Bernath Prize Lecturer at the OAH meetings in Spring of 1985.

Discussion then followed concerning the terms of eligibility for the Bernath Article Prize. The Article Prize Committee this year had very few articles nominated, the central problem being that there now seem to be few diplomatic historians of age 35 and under who are publishing articles of prize quality. As a result, there will be no Bernath Article Prize for 1983. After considerable discussion about various ways to define the terms of eligibility, it was decided that the terms be stated as follows:

The prize competition is open to any article on any topic in American foreign relations that is published during _____. The author must be under 45 years of age, or within 10 years after receiving the Ph.D. at the time of the article's publication. Previous winners of the Stuart L. Bernath Book Award are excluded.

Dr. and Mrs. Bernath asked, in addition, that if two articles of prize quality are nominated for 1984 that two prizes be given. Their request was supported by Mr. Cohen and agreed to by common consent.

Mr. Smith asked if consideration had been given to the trend of one person winning two separate Bernath Prizes, and whether this situation was a desirable one for SHAFR. Discussion followed but no conclusion was reached. Some opinion was expressed that the Prizes must always be awarded to the best qualified individuals irrespective of earlier awards.

Mr. Becker, Program Chair for SHAFR, reported that the

Summer Meeting to be held at George Washington University, is now well advanced in its planning. The meeting will be held jointly with the members of the American Military Institute (AMI) and the Conference on Peace Research in History (CPRH). Discussion then followed on whether we should automatically meet with these groups in succeeding summer meetings since their interests and focus are somewhat different than SHAFR's. A third historical organization has raised the possibility of meeting jointly with SHAFR, AMI, and CPRH, which gave added point to the discussion. It was agreed that this matter should be considered again at the Council meeting in August.

Mr. Becker announced that SHAFR will sponsor a session at the forthcoming AHA meetings in Chicago. The session will feature a roundtable discussion on the future of American diplomatic history. Also mentioned by Mr. Becker were the plans for the annual SHAFR meeting in August of 1985. There is strong possibility that SHAFR will hold its meetings jointly with the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association at the Huntington Library.

Mr. Weber reported for the Membership Committee. Membership in SHAFR is now 949, up about 85 members over this time last year. The membership breaks down into the following categories:

- 112 foreign members
- 141 students
- 44 life
- 66 retired or unemployed
- 586 regular

Considerable discussion then ensued about the most promising ways to build membership further. Mr. Weber, Mr. Brinker, and Mr. Zahniser indicated that they will study the matter and report back to Council on actions they have taken.

Mr. Zahniser, reporting as Secretary-Treasurer, indicated that the new dues have given the organization a needed working margin. He also expressed to Council appreciation for the splendid work that Mr. Kuehl is doing as Chairman of the Finance and Endowments Committee.

A report was received from the Ad Hoc Committee on SHAFR By-Laws revisions, Mr. Pletcher Chairman. Since Council had not had adequate time to study the Committee's several proposals, the Report was laid on the table. The Report will be considered at the August meeting of Council.

Council indicated approval to join the Bureau of the Commission of History of International Relations, directed by Professor Brunello Vigizzi of the University of Milan. The annual membership fee is \$20.00. The Bureau has repeatedly expressed interest in the work of SHAFR and believes that cooperation can be advantageous in such matters as planning conferences and gaining access to government documents for research purposes.

Mr. Zahniser asked Council if some consideration should be given to SHAFR taking out liability insurance. After some discussion Mr. Zahniser was directed to ask the executive officers of the OAH and AHA concerning their policies on liability insurance, and to report back to Council in August.

There being no further business the Council adjourned at 9:30 p.m.

Marvin R. Zahniser
Secretary to Council

ANNOUNCEMENTS

COMPUTERIZE YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS

For the past year the Newsletter has used computers to assist in preparing camera-ready copy for the publishers. Typists have entered the manuscripts and other copy onto the University VAX for downloading onto a microcomputer for spelling checking, editing and formatting into its final form. Micros are proliferating on college campuses now, and it is possible that future contributors might be able to save the editors time by submitting their contributions on microcomputer disks. You might also save yourselves some time through use of the advanced editing techniques available on today's computers.

We are restricted to disks formatted under the CP/M operating system, but can read both 8" and 5-1/4" disks, either CP/M-80 or CP/M-86. The IBM 3740 Single Sided Single Density format is a universal standard and most micros using 8" disks can read and write in the single density format. We can read Morrow and Godbout 8" double density, but for other formats please convert to single density. There is no standard for 5-1/4" disks, but we can read the following Single Sided formats:

Kaypro *	Heath w/Magnolia (DD)
Osborne I (SD or DD)	Superbrain (JR)
Zenith Z-90 (48 tpi DD)	Superbrain (40 trk SS)
Xerox 820 (SD)	TI Professional (DD)
Xerox 820-II (DD)	Cromemco CDOS (SD or DD) *
TRS-80 I (Omikron CP/M)	Cromemco w/Intl Term CP/M *
TRS-80 Mod III (MM CP/M)	DEC VT180 (DD)
IBM-PC (CP/M-86 DD) *	Actrix (DD) *
Morrow MD2	LOBO MAX-80 (DD)
NEC PC-8001	// * = Also Double Sided

Double Sided formats:

TeleVideo	Hewlett Packard HP-125
Otrona Attache	IMS 5000
Epson QX-10	Sanyo
Morrow MD3	Zenith Z-100 (DD)
NEC PC-8801A	Datavue
Superbrain (QD)	Toshiba T100
MAGIC Computer	

If you prefer to pre-format your text, use a 54 column line and 12 characters to the inch. If you are not pre-formatting, please do not hyphenate at the end of a line as the word may appear in the middle of a line when formatted. Also, please do not indent blocks of material, we can do it easier here.

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Joe Siracusa, the new editor of the Australian Journal of Politics and History and co-editor of World Review would like to encourage SHAFR members to submit some of their work for publication consideration in either or both of these journals. The subjects need not necessarily deal with the south-west Pacific or the Pacific Basin, but Joe says, "this is useful of course." Essays of approximately 6,000 to 8,000 words, including footnotes, dealing with politics, international relations, foreign relations and essays generally of an historical character are desired.

Address your correspondence to: Prof. Siracusa,
Department of History, University of Queensland, St.
Lucia, 4067 Queensland, Australia.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES STUTT GART

The AHA Committee on International Historical Activities urges American historians to consider attending the Stuttgart Congress August 25-September 1, 1985.

PUBLICATION POSSIBILITIES

Manuscripts are being solicited for inclusion in the second edition of the Holocaust Studies Annual to be published by the Penkevill Publishing Company. The theme of this year's volume will be "Religion, the Churches and the Holocaust." Original scholarly studies in history, theology, sociology or related disciplines will be considered.

For additional information, please contact the editor:

Professor Jack R. Fischel
History Department
Millersville University
Millersville, PA 17551

NEW FBI HISTORIAN

FBI Director William H. Webster has appointed Dr. SUSAN R. FALB as Historian of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. She is the first person to occupy that position.

Dr. Falb will provide assistance to those seeking historical or archival information about the FBI. She can be contacted at: Room 7883, J. Edgar Hoover Building, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D.C. 20535 (telephone 202-324-5385).

GEORGE D. AIKEN LECTURE SERIES

The University of Vermont's George D. Aiken Lecture Series will be sponsoring a 3-day conference from March 27-29, 1985, on the topic of NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. The series

invites proposals for individual papers or complete sessions on any aspect of nuclear weapons and American foreign policy from World War II planning and the beginnings of nuclear deterrence strategy through the present debate. For additional details and submission of proposals, contact: Prof. Mark Stoler, Department of History, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont, 05405, telephone 802-656-3180, by August 1, 1984.

CALL FOR PAPERS

In 1985 the Southern Historical Association will meet November 13-16 at the Shamrock-Hilton Hotel in Houston, Texas. The Program Committee is now seeking prospective participants for the conference and is encouraging submission of proposals for papers or sessions. Complete sessions have the best chance for acceptance. Please send a brief prospectus for each non-American presentation by October 15, 1984 to:

Professor Donald McKale
Department of History
Clemson University
Clemson, S.C. 29631

CALL FOR PAPERS

The Oral History Association will hold its annual meeting October 31-November 2, 1985, in Pensacola, Florida. The Program Committee invites proposals for individual papers, panel discussions, media presentations, and workshop sessions. Please send proposals by December 1, 1984, to Hugh Ahmann, 243 Harvard Drive, Montgomery, AL 36109. Telephone: (205) 293-2785.

SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE VOLUME 13, part 1

The failed Bay of Pigs invasion and Vice President Lyndon Johnson's first visit to Southeast Asia are among the subjects of executive session hearings that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee recently released in volume 13, part 1, of its "Historical Series."

Release of this volume had been long delayed due to increasing difficulties over declassification and reclassification of Executive Branch material.

Eventually the volume appeared on April 17, the twenty-third anniversary of the Bay of Pigs invasion.

Copies of this volume, and past volumes in the series still in stock, are available at no charge to those who write to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, D.C. 20510, or call (202) 224-4615.

**STATE DEPARTMENT FILING MANUAL (1950-63)
NOW AVAILABLE ON MICROFILM**

The Legislative and Diplomatic Branch of the National Archives has published the Records Codification Manual for the State Department's central decimal file for the period 1950-63 on one roll of 35 mm. microfilm (National Archives Microfilm Publication M1275). This manual replaced the version used from 1910 through 1949 (available as National Archives Microfilm Publication M600, one roll).

Information on changes in filing systems can be found in David Langbart "Changes in State Department Filing Manuals, 1948-1950," in the June 1982 issue of the SHAFR Newsletter.

The microfilm includes a breakdown of the ten classes of records, reflecting the changes that took effect January 1, 1950; an alphabetical listing of U.S. Government agencies and departments other than the Department of State with the applicable file number; country numbers arranged numerically and alphabetically, and an index. This filing manual serves as a guide to the central decimal files dated 1950-1954 now being opened for research at the National Archives. The publication can also assist researchers in placing Freedom of Information requests with the Department of State for files dated 1955-1963.

Copies of M1275 or M600 may be ordered by sending a check or money order payable to the National Archives Trust Fund (NEPS), to the Cashier, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, DC 20408. The current cost of microfilm publications is \$17 per roll.

PUBLICATIONS

Montague Kern, Patricia W. Levering, and Ralph B. Levering (Earlham). The Kennedy Crisis: The Press, the Presidency, and Foreign Policy. University of North Carolina Press. \$29.

Norman A. Graebner (Virginia) Empire on the Pacific: A Study in American Continental Expansion. ABC-CLIO. 1983. Reprint of the 1955 edition with an updated bibliographical essay. \$25.

William C. Widenor (Illinois) Henry Cabot Lodge and the Search for an American Foreign Policy. University of California Press. 1983. Paperback reprint. \$8.95.

Goran Rystad (Lund) Prisoners of the Past? The Munich Syndrome and Makers of American Foreign Policy in the Cold War Era. Lund, Sweden: CWK Gleerup. 1982. Paper.

Robert J. McMahon (Florida) Colonialism and the Cold War: The United States and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence, 1945-1949. 1984. Cornell University Press. \$24.50. ISBN 0-8014-1388-5.

Manfred Jonas (Union) The United States and Germany: A Diplomatic History. 1984. Cornell University Press. \$29.50. ISBN 0-8014-1634-5.

Robert A. Divine (Texas), et al., America: Past and Present. 1984. Scott, Foresman. Price not set. ISBN 0-673-15420-3.

John King Fairbank (Harvard) The United States and China. 4th ed. 1983. Harvard University Press. \$20.00. ISBN 0-674-92437-1. (\$7.95 paper ISBN 0-674-92438-X)

_____. ed. The Cambridge History of China: Vol. 12 Republican China, 1912-1949, Pt. 1. 1983. Cambridge University Press. \$99.50. ISBN 0-521-23541-3.

William H. Becker (George Washington) and Samuel F. Wells, Jr. (Wilson Center) Economics and World Power: An Assessment of American Diplomacy Since 1789. 1984. Columbia University Press. \$35.00. ISBN 0-231-04370-8. (\$10.00 paper ISBN 0-231-04371-6)

The texts below, formerly from John Wiley, are now available from Alfred A. Knopf.

Warren I. Cohen (Michigan State) America's Response to China: An Interpretive History of Sino-American Relations. 2nd edition. 1980. \$7.95.

Robert A. Divine (Texas) The Reluctant Belligerent: American Entry into World War II. 2nd edition. 1979. \$7.95.

_____ Since 1945: Politics and Foreign Policy in Recent American History. 2nd edition. 1979. \$9.95.

John Lewis Gaddis (Ohio U) Russia, The Soviet Union, and The United States: An Interpretive History. 1978. \$12.50.

Norman A. Graebner (Virginia) The Age of Global Power: The United State Since 1939. 1979. \$10.95.

George C. Herring (Kentucky) America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1975. 1979. \$10.50.

Walter LaFeber (Cornell) America, Russia, and the Cold War. 4th edition. 1980. \$10.50.

_____ and Richard Polenberg The American Century: A History of the United States Since the 1890's. 2nd edition. 1979. \$19.95.

H. Wayne Morgan (Texas) America's Road to Empire: The War with Spain and Overseas Expansion. 1965. \$6.95.

Daniel M. Smith (Colorado) The Great Departure: The United States and World War I, 1914-1920. 1965. \$6.95.

Gaddis Smith (Yale) American Diplomacy During the Second World War, 1941-1945. 1965. \$7.95.

CALENDAR

August 1 Deadline, materials for the
September Newsletter.

- August 2-4 The 10th annual conference of SHAFR will be held at George Washington University, Washington, D.C. 20052
- October 31-November 3 The 50th annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association will be held in Louisville. The Galt House will be the headquarters hotel.
- November 1 Deadline, materials for the December Newsletter
- November 1-15 Annual elections for officers of SHAFR.
- December 1 Deadline, nominations for the 1985 Bernath Memorial lectureship.
- December 27-30 The 99th annual meeting of the AHA will be held in Chicago. The headquarters hotel is yet to be announced. (The deadline for proposals has passed.)
- January 1, 1985 Membership fees in all categories are due, payable at the national office of SHAFR.
- January 15 Deadline, nominations for the 1984 Bernath article award.
- February 1 Deadline, materials for the March Newsletter.
- February 1 Deadline, nominations for the 1984 Bernath book award.
- April 4-7 The 78th annual meeting of the OAH will be held in Minneapolis with the headquarters at the Hyatt Regency and Holiday Inn Hotels.
- May 1 Deadline, materials for the June Newsletter

**THE STUART L. BERNATH MEMORIAL PRIZE FOR THE BEST
SCHOLARLY ARTICLE IN U.S. DIPLOMATIC HISTORY**

The Stuart L. Bernath Memorial Award for scholarly articles in American foreign affairs was set up in 1976 through the kindness of the young Bernath's parents, Dr. and Mrs. Gerald J. Bernath, Laguna Hills, California, and it is administered through selected personnel of SHAFR. The objective of the award is to identify and to reward outstanding research and writing by the younger scholars in the area of U.S. diplomatic relations.

CONDITIONS OF THE AWARD

Eligibility: Prize competition is open to the author of any article upon any topic in American Foreign Relations that is published during 1984. The author must be under forty-five (45) years of age, or within within ten (10) years after receiving the Ph.D. at the time of the article's publication. Previous winners of the S.L. Bernath book award are excluded.

Procedures: Articles shall be submitted by the author or by any member of SHAFR. Five (5) copies of each article (preferably reprints) should be sent to the chairman of the Stuart L. Bernath Article Prize Committee by January 15, 1985. The Chairman of the Committee for 1984 is Michael Hogan, Department of History, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio 45056.

Amount of Award: \$300.00. If two (2) or more authors are considered winners, the prize will be shared. The name of the successful writer(s) will be announced, along with the name of the victor in the Bernath book prize competition, during the luncheon for members of SHAFR, to be held at the annual OAH Convention, meeting in 1985, at Minneapolis.

AWARD WINNERS

1977	John C.A. Stagg (U of Auckland, N.Z.)
1978	Michael H. Hunt (Yale)
1979	Brian L. Villa (U of Ottawa, Canada)
1980	James I. Matray (New Mexico State U) David A. Rosenberg (U of Chicago)
1981	Douglas Little (Clark U)
1982	Fred Pollock (Cedar Knolls, N.J.)
1983	Chester Pach (Texas Tech)

**THE STUART L. BERNATH MEMORIAL LECTURE
IN AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY**

The Stuart L. Bernath Memorial Lectureship was established in 1976 through the generosity of Dr. and Mrs. Gerald J. Bernath, Laguna Hills, California, in honor of their late son, and is administered by a special committee of SHAFR. The Bernath Lecture is the feature at the official luncheon of the Society, held during the OAH convention in April of each year.

Description and Eligibility: The lecture should be comparable in style and scope to the yearly SHAFR presidential address, delivered at the annual meeting with the AHA, but is restricted to younger scholars with excellent reputations for teaching and research. Each lecturer is expected to concern himself/herself not specifically with his/her own research interests, but with broad issues of importance to students of American foreign relations. The award winner must be under forty-one (41) years of age.

Procedures: The Bernath lectureship Committee is now soliciting nominations for the 1986 award from members of the Society, agents, publishers, or members of any established history, political science, or journalism organization. Nominations, in the form of a short letter and curriculum vitae, if available, should reach the Committee no later than December 1, 1984. The Chairman of the Committee, and the person to whom nominations should be sent, is Stephen A. Schuker, Department of History, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts 02254.

Honorarium: \$500.00 with publication of the lecture assured in *Diplomatic History*.

AWARD WINNERS

1977	Joan Hoff Wilson (Fellow, Radcliffe Institute)
1978	David S. Patterson (Colgate)
1979	Marilyn B. Young (Michigan)
1980	John L. Gaddis (Ohio U)
1981	Burton Spivak (Bates College)
1982	Charles DeBenedetti (Toledo)
1983	Melvyn P. Leffler (Vanderbilt)
1984	Michael J. Hogan (Miami)
1985	Michael Schaller (Arizona)

THE STUART L. BERNATH MEMORIAL BOOK COMPETITION

The Stuart L. Bernath memorial Book Competition was initiated in 1972 by Dr. and Mrs. Gerald J. Bernath, Laguna Hills, California, in memory of their late son. Administered by SHAFR, the purpose of the competition and the award is to recognize and encourage distinguished research and writing of a lengthy nature by young scholars in the field of U.S. diplomacy.

CONDITIONS OF THE AWARD

Eligibility: The prize competition is open to any book on any aspect of American foreign relations that is published during 1984. It must be the author's first or second book. Authors are not required to be members of SHAFR, nor do they have to be professional academicians.

Procedures: Books may be nominated by the author, the publisher, or by any member of SHAFR. Five (5) copies of each book must be submitted with the nomination. The books should be sent to: Melvyn P. Leffler, Department of History, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee 37235. The works must be received no later than February 1, 1985.

Amount of Award: \$1,000.00. If two (2) or more writers are deemed winners, the amount will be shared. The award will be announced at the luncheon for members of SHAFR, at the annual meeting of the OAH.

Previous Winners

1972 Joan Hoff Wilson (Sacramento)
Kenneth E. Shewmaker (Dartmouth)

1973 John L. Gaddis (Ohio U)

1974 Michael H. Hunt (Yale)

1975 Frank D. McCann, Jr. (New Hampshire)
Stephen E. Pelz (U of Massachusetts-Amherst)

1976 Martin J. Sherwin (Princeton)

1977 Roger V. Dingman (Southern California)

1978 James R. Leutze (North Carolina)

1979 Phillip J. Baram (Program Manager, Boston)

1980 Michael Schaller (U of Arizona)

1981 Bruce R. Kuniholm (Duke)
Hugh DeSantis (Department of State)

1982 David Reynolds (Cambridge U)

1983 Richard Immerman (U of Hawaii)



RESEARCH PROJECTS

The following list of research projects was prepared by Nancy Bernkopf Tucker and covers the period 1980-1984. It has been divided into the following categories: General (including multi-national and regional research), American-Chinese, American-Japanese, American-Korean, and the researcher(s), institutional affiliation, discipline, topic (indicated by T), expected date of completion (D), source(s) of funding (F) and, where available, the title and date of any books or articles published since 1980 (CW).

GENERAL

Braisted, William R., The University of Texas at Austin, History (T) The United States Navy in the Pacific, 1922-1941 -- continuation of earlier volumes on 1897-1922 period; (F) NEH Summer Grant, 1983.

Breslin, Thomas A., Florida International University, History (T) Development of an alternative critique of foreign policy based on a paradigm of pleasure derived in part from East Asian tradition rather than pain-based analysis from the Anglo-American tradition; (D) 1992.

Buckley, Thomas, University of Tulsa, History (T) Study of American foreign relations 1940-1952 including considerable material on East Asia; (D) 1984-88; (F) University of Tulsa endowed chair.

Buhite, Russell D., University of Oklahoma, Diplomatic History (T) Study of the Yalta Conference dealing in part with American-East Asian relations; (D) 1985; (CW) Soviet-American Relations in Asia, 1945-1954, 1981; (F) University of Oklahoma Office of Research Administration.

Burns, Roy Gene, University of Missouri-St.

Louis, Diplomatic History (T) American-Asian relations survey from colonial period to present; (F) UMSL Office of Research.

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Herring, George, University of Kentucky, History (T) Legacy of the First Indochina War; (D) 1984.

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Petillo, Carol Morris, Boston College, History (T) Examination of evolving United States Policy toward and influence on the development of Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia 1957-1968; (D) 1987-88; (F) NEH; Lyndon Baines Johnson Foundation; Boston College; (CW) Douglas MacArthur: The Philippine Years, 1981; (F) Center of Military History; Eleanor Roosevelt Institute; Philippine Library Grant; Rutgers University Graduate Grant.

Porter, Gareth, City College of New York, Political Science (T) The relationship between pre-Cold War U.S. official views of Indochina and Cold War era policy toward Indochina with emphasis on American views of the legitimacy of Western control over Asian and African peoples and the dangers of extremist nationalism; (d) 1984; (CW) "The Decline of U.S. Diplomacy in Southeast Asia," SAIS REVIEW, 1981.

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STUDENT BONERS

From Guy R. Swanson (University of Alabama)

Question: Germany's annexation of what two French provinces are part of the chain of events that led to World War I? Answer: Allison and Lisane

In an essay about the Versailles Peace Conference a student referred to German reparations as "magnanimous costs."

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