

# The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations



## NEWSLETTER

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# *The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations*

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*Founded in 1967*

*Chartered in 1972*

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**MEETINGS:** The annual meeting of the Society is held in the summer. The Society also meets with the AHA in January.

**PRIZES:** The Society administers four awards that honor the late Stuart L. Bernath and two honoring the late Myrna L. Bernath; these are financed through the generosity of the late Dr. Gerald J. Bernath. Awards also honor Laura and Norman Graebner, the late W. Stull Holt, the late Warren Kuehl, the late Armin Rappaport, Robert Ferrell, Lawrence Gelfand, and Arthur Link. Details of each of these awards are to be found in the June and December *Newsletters*.

**PUBLICATIONS:** The Society sponsors a quarterly *Newsletter*; *Diplomatic History*, a journal; and the occasional *Membership Roster and List of Current Research Projects*.



## NOTE WITH ACCOMPANYING LETTERS

by

Vincent Davis

PATTERSON SCHOOL OF DIPLOMACY

### MEMO FOR MY FILES -- Feb. 20, 1998

**RE:** Attached copies of two letters from ADM R. A. Spruance, USN (Ret)

In researching my doctoral dissertation at Princeton during 1959-61, one main question I tried to answer was the following: **When, how and why did senior American officials--particularly the top military brass--decide that the USSR would be our adversary rather than ally in the post-WWII era?...given that the USSR was at least our nominal ally during the war.**

My conclusions on this key point were included in the two books evolving from my dissertation that were published by the University of North Carolina Press in 1966-67. In brief, only Secretary Forrestal--as early as 1944--developed a clear early image of the USSR as our dominant new threat. Everybody else, including almost all our admirals and generals, were slow and reluctant to think of the USSR as our dominant new enemy...for a complex mix of reasons.

One of the most valuable sets of insights that I received on this issue were contained in two reply letters written to me by retired Admiral R.J. Spruance in May-June 1960. Copies of these two letters are attached here...and these may be **the most valuable historical documents in my possession.**

Spruance was one of the greatest fighting admirals in World War II in the Pacific, a quiet thoughtful man much beloved by all who served with him. By the time he sent me these two handwritten letters, however, he had also served as president of the Naval War College during 1946-48, and had lived in retirement for 12 years. He was 74 years old as of 1960.

Spruance honestly admitted (top of page 2, letter of 12 May 1960) that he had no special premonition that the USSR would be our dominant new enemy after World War II. On the contrary, he saw the USA and USSR as "have" nations located halfway around the world from each other--therefore, no need to be hostile with each other. The halfway-around-the-world point was geographically correct, but Spruance's view of the USSR as a "have" country failed to recognize the fundamental and widespread economic backwardness of the Soviet Union. He was also wrong in thinking that the USA and USSR had a history of friendly relations with each other. He candidly conceded these gaps in his knowledge--and similar gaps existed in the thinking of almost all senior American officials except for Forrestal--when Spruance pointed out the great shifts in his thinking after the reading and studies he undertook while reorganizing the Naval War College for the postwar era. All this underscores the invaluable role of the war colleges in topping up the stock of critical knowledge held by senior officers on the verge of becoming our top flag officers.

As a final point of interest in February 1998, while the USA pondered going to war against Saddam Hussein's Iraq, Spruance insisted on continuing to make the old distinction in international law between combatants and non-combatants. He resisted accepting what we now call "weapons of mass destruction" (WMD). In this he also maintained the ancient American tendency to say we harbor no ill will against



citizens-at-large while holding reservations only about a few wayward governments. We always presume citizens to be innocent victims after they have allowed themselves to fall under vicious dictators, never thinking that in some broad sense citizens may get the governments they deserve. Somehow a sense of individual accountability and responsibility gets lost.

\* \* \* \* \*

P.O. Box 192  
Pebble Beach, Calif.  
15 April 1960

Dear Mr. Davis:

Since receiving your letter of April 4th I have been pondering over your problem and wondering in what way I might be able to help you with it.

When I relieved Admiral Pye as President of the Naval War College on 2 March 1946, I found the course was still working on a somewhat rehashed Orange war — Orange insofar as geography and strategy were concerned. I felt that we needed a new opponent to center our strategic thinking on. The Soviet Union seemed the logical, and about the only, candidate. I prevailed upon Commodore P.L. Carroll to come to the Staff and undertake the big job of making up our strategic Operations Problems. I have always thought that he did a splendid job for the College. These Problems made the students study and think about the strategic areas in which the action was to take place.

When I arrived in Newport in March 1946, I had little or no conception of how I would fight a war with the U.S.S.R., if I had the job to do. When I retired on 1 July 1948, I had

very definite ideas on the subject. I was very definitely impressed with the strategic importance of the Persian Gulf area, both because of its geographical position and its petroleum resources. I thought that history showed that a military invasion of Russia itself would be a tremendous undertaking, which would probably serve to unite the Russian people behind their government and would eventually result in failure. I thought that our propaganda would be of great importance and that we ought always to act as if the Russian people were our friends and only their Communist overlords our enemies. When we had to fight the USSR on land, we should endeavor to do so where our lines of communications were, in effect, shorter than theirs. Victories should be exploited by our propaganda to impress the people of the U.S.S.R. that they were being defeated and to make them lose confidence in their government. No "unconditional surrender" business.

I may say that during World War II I was old fashioned enough to be opposed to unlimited destruction of the civilian population and of non-military targets, and I wanted to confine our attacks to military targets. Even with these, the civilian population suffered enough to make them lose what appetite they might have had for the war.

I am still opposed to the idea of war being conducted by mass destruction of civilian targets by long range missiles armed with nuclear warheads. I recognize that, if our enemy has them, we must be prepared to counter an attack and probably to retaliate in kind. I hope that the responsible governments of the world will be successful in their negotiations to prevent such a situation from ever coming to pass.

In the twelve years since I retired we have had great changes in weapons, and hence our tactics must also be changing. These changes, however, do not affect our need for a navy to control those parts of the sea which we and our



friends must be able to use. The tools that can best do the job may change but the job remains.

I am sorry not to be of more assistance with the work that you have undertaken. If you have any specific points which come up as you proceed that I might be able to shed any light on, please do not hesitate to ask me about them. I would be very glad to sit down and talk at length with you, if we should ever be in the same locality. Travel in these days of air transportation is much faster than it used to be, but no less expensive.

Sincerely yours,

Raymond A. Spruance

P.O. Box 192  
Pebble Beach, CA  
12 May 1960

Dear Mr. Davis:

I received your letter of the 6th the day before yesterday, and am endeavouring to answer the points you have brought up in it. (If I do not answer a letter shortly after I have received it, it is apt to get mislaid, and then forgotten for so long that I am ashamed to do anything about it. I may say that I have no filing system, a very poor memory, and I dislike paper work.)

First, I shall take up the question of the use of the Soviet Union as the adversary in our courses at the Naval College. The strategic operations problems, which were the backbones of our work, required an opponent. In early 1946 there was no Power other than the U.S.S.R. which we could realistically and logically use, since WWII had eliminated so many other countries. The U.S.S.R. gave us a tremendous scope for strategical and geographic study.

I can claim no particular foresight at this time (1946) of our constantly worsening relations with the U.S.S.R. In fact, I remember a conversation I had in Pearl Harbor in December 1945 with the Soviet Consul General from San Francisco. He was in Honolulu delivering some lectures, and he came over to Pearl Harbor to call on me as Cinepac. In the course of our talk, he asked me what I thought about the future relations of our two countries. I replied that I thought they should be good, since we were both "have" countries, well separated and with a history of friendly relations between us in the past. In about 1947 the War College library was able to buy two copies of Stalin's "Problems of Leninism," translated and published in Moscow. I read slowly through the book, and was greatly enlightened about Communist ideology, aims and methods. My conclusion was none of the current high priests



of that new religion was to be trusted. I believes that we should draw a sharp line between the Russian people and their Communist overlords, that we should do nothing to [alienate?] the friendship of the mass of the people. In this connection, I doubt if unrestricted bombing of non-military objectives in Russia would be a good way in which to cultivate civilian friendship. What we must work for is the overthrow of the Communist dictatorship and the liberation of the mass of the population. If this can be brought about by peaceful evolution from within, that will be fine.

I have never had any doubt about the continuing need for our Navy. I do not believe that a war between two great Powers, such as the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., can be settled by long range artillery fire, which, in essence, is what we are devoting most of our resources to. The proponents of "massive retaliation" believe that we can inflict so much damage by our guided nuclear missiles that our opponent will give up.

The Naval War College exists to train officers in the art of naval warfare, but not to make our national war plans. As an example of this, I can point to Admiral Turner. We were together at Newport from 1935 to 1938, studying and thinking about naval warfare. In 1940 Admiral Turner was ordered to Opnav as head of War Plans. He has a brilliant mind and is an indefatigable worker; and he did a fine job there in Washington, as he did later fighting out in the Pacific. I have seen other officers, also with War College training, that I did not have as high an opinion of.

One thing I accomplished when I went back to Newport in 1946 was to have officers being ordered to a course at the War College specially selected. Before that we used to waste time on a fair number that no one wanted and who, you were reasonable sure, would not make the grade at the next selection. Now, officers ordered to a course at our senior service educational institutions are picked by selection boards,

at least, that was procedure when I retired. The four institutions that senior naval officers go to are the Naval War College, N.W.C., Armed Forces Staff College and the Industrial College. Given the proper material to train and the proper courses to make them think, I believe our system is sound, and we can make our war plans to fit our current needs. We should avoid being dogmatic, however.

I hope you can make out my writing.

Sincerely yours,  
Raymond A. Spruance

## SECRET TALKS HER DISH

[This description of the “only woman” at Wake Island is a true cultural artifact of the 1950s. Although Miss Anderson, in one of her “beautiful suits” shared Truman’s view of MacArthur’s old dirty hat, she assured the public that the General had “the situation well in hand.”<sup>1</sup> The reporter, Sarah McClendon, later became President Eisenhower’s Sam Donaldson.

- Anna Nelson

<sup>1</sup>Harry S. Truman Library, President’s Secretary’s Files, Box 244, *Kansas City Star*, Sunday, October 22, 1950.]



## SECRETARY TO JESSUP ONLY WOMAN AT WAKE SESSION.

Stenographic Notes of Miss Vernice Anderson Contain Verbatim Report on Truman and MacArthur.

By Sarah McClendon.  
(North American Newspaper Alliance.)

Washington, Oct. 21. — An attractive American career girl whose nimble fingers have taken down in shorthand the minutes of several international conferences possesses the only verbatim copy in existence of what transpired in that historic meeting between President Truman and General Douglas MacArthur on Wake Island.

It was she who wrote out the communique which was issued after the meeting and, initialed by both men, and it was from these same notes that material was taken for the President's speech later in San Francisco. On her accurate shorthand and transcribing may some day depend history.

How does she feel about getting to make this trip on which she was the only woman?

"I'm the luckiest girl in the world," says Miss Vernice Anderson, secretary to Phillip Jessup, ambassador-at-large. "It's wonderful to be secretary to an ambassador-at-large, anyway," she said, "and this is even more thrilling."

### **Constantly On The Go.**

Miss Anderson is of medium height, has blue eyes, olive complexion, auburn hair and a short, modern haircut. She wears beautiful suits for which she never has time to shop. She can never get off from work at the State department to go downtown. Her mother, Mrs. Maude G. Anderson, who is a personal shopper at a large store here, picks out all of her daughter's clothes.

As for clothes, Miss Anderson always has just the proper thing to wear for any climate. As secretary to Ambassador Jessup she has

learned to keep a bag packed. She had 48 hours notice on this last trip, which lasted six days and covered 14,500 miles.

She has been to meetings of the foreign ministers in Paris and London, to meetings of the North Atlantic treaty organization, and to the Bangkok conference.

How does it happen that Dr. Jessup must always take his secretary?

"He never stops work," says Vernice. "He's a veritable demon."

She has learned to type letters of the utmost importance on her portable typewriter — as, for instance, the communique. Frequently she takes dictation when air travel is so rough she can hardly transcribe her notes the next day.

### **Her Secret of Energy.**

How does she keep up the pace with this work demon for a boss?

"Vitamins — I take scads of them."

She was not too willing to talk about the conference, except in a general way.

"I didn't talk to the general privately. None of us did. Nearly the whole time he was with the President."

### **She Meets the General.**

What did Vernice think of General MacArthur?

She had longed to meet him. Once she had stayed in his guest house in Tokyo without getting to meet him. It looked for a time as if this disappointment might be repeated. The Conference was over; President Truman had left the building, and she assumed the general had, too. She was about to depart with her arms full of papers and notebooks, when she ran right into General MacArthur.

"Where did this beautiful woman come from?" asked the general. His pilot and her old friend, Lieut. Col. Tony Story, then introduced them and they chatted for a few minutes. What did he say?

"I'll confess, I was so excited I can't remember a word. He fascinated me. He is the most charming person."

### **Needs New Hat.**

"I think his hat is very handsome, but I did note that it is threadbare. I noted that his trousers are not cut like the ordinary military man's. They have pleats around the middle."



Miss Anderson had her own ideas of why this artifice was used by the general:

"He is beginning to show his age slightly. He has a stoop."

As for whether MacArthur was ill at ease or found this conference distasteful to him she said:

"Oh, I don't think so at all. General MacArthur is always at ease. He has the situation well in hand. He is a very dynamic person."

## TRYING TO REVISIT THE 1953 COUP IN IRAN: THE CIA'S RESPONSE TO A FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT REQUEST

by

Mark J. Gasiorowski

LOUISIANA STATE

In late 1991, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) announced that it was initiating a new era of openness and would soon begin releasing classified material from its archives on some of the most controversial events of the post-World War II era. During the following years it did, indeed, release considerable material, covering topics such as the 1954 overthrow of President Jacobo Arbenz of Guatemala, the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, and the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. A new era of openness seemed to have dawned at the CIA.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See Zachary Karabell and Timothy Naftali, "History Declassified: The Perils and Promise of CIA Documents," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 18, No. 4, Fall 1994, pp. 615-626.

Soon after this announcement, I submitted a request to the CIA under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) for documents bearing on the August 1953 *coup d'état* in Iran, in which Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddeq was overthrown by a team of CIA officers and Iranian military officers and civilians. In September 1993, unnamed CIA officials told the *New York Times* that they would soon release “historically significant files” on the 1953 coup and other notorious CIA covert operations, apparently in response to my FOIA request; one even spoke of “an orgy of openness” at the CIA.<sup>2</sup> However, in May 1997, CIA officials told the *Times* that they had found only approximately one cubic foot of documents related to the coup, and that none of the documents contained much information about the coup itself. They explained that the missing documents had been destroyed in the early 1960s to make room in the CIA’s archives, in what one termed a “culture of destruction.”<sup>3</sup>

In April 1998 — more than *six* years after I submitted my FOIA request — I finally received a reply. The CIA had decided to release parts of only *nine* documents to me, totaling only *twelve* pages of substantive material, some of which was deleted. Of these nine documents, the only one that refers at all to the coup is the translation of a tract distributed by pro-Mosaddeq forces in Tehran in December 1953. The remaining documents, while perhaps of some interest to historians of Iran, shed almost no light at all on the coup

<sup>2</sup>*The New York Times*, September 29, 1993, p. A7.

<sup>3</sup>*The New York Times*, May 29, 1997, p. A19.

itself.<sup>4</sup> While most of the CIA's files on the coup may well have been destroyed, these nine documents are a far cry from the cubic foot of material that ostensibly had been located by 1997.

In a cover letter accompanying the documents released to me, a CIA official stated that additional material related to the coup had been located but remained exempt from declassification on security grounds. A reliable source recently told me that an official CIA history of the coup exists, though it apparently contains little worthwhile information. Since none of the documents released to me are from this official history, it seems clear that the CIA has deliberately chosen not to release any of this official history or any of the remaining documents that it had located by 1997.<sup>5</sup>

I understand and fully accept that the CIA must protect confidential sources and methods and the identities of individuals who have worked for it. However, it is inconceivable to me that every word in the official history (if it exists) and in the other exempted documents pertains to sources, methods, or individuals' identities. While there may be broader policy considerations that have led U.S. officials to decide not to release these documents, these considerations apparently did not exist when CIA officials spoke to the *New*

<sup>4</sup>For an analysis of the contents of these documents, see Mark J. Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup D'Etat Revisited: An Overview of New Documents Released by the CIA," *CIRA Bulletin* (forthcoming).

<sup>5</sup>I have appealed the CIA's decision not to release the official history and the remainder of this material.



*York Times* in September 1993 and May 1997. Moreover, the CIA recently released an “astonishingly frank” account of its role in the 1954 coup in Guatemala,<sup>6</sup> so clearly it is not merely seeking to avoid blame for its role in notorious events. Thus it is hard to fathom why the CIA has been so tight-fisted in this case.

What is clear is that the CIA’s much-touted policy of openness is a fiction, at least when it comes to information on the 1953 coup in Iran. Based on my experience, researchers interested in unlocking some of the CIA’s other ancient secrets should not have high expectations.

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### LETTERS

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To the Editor:

Gar Alperovitz is at it again! For years he has been falsely identifying as “revisionists” those World War II officials who later claimed that using atomic bombs against Japan was unnecessary. Now, in the *Newsletter* (July 1998), he tries to drag Harry S. Truman into his camp. His sources? First, a retired professor’s recollection of a boozy, end-of-cocktail-party conversation he had (date unspecified) with John A. Gronouski, former ambassador to Poland, to the effect that in 1962 Truman had told Gronouski that dropping the bombs “was the greatest mistake that he had made.” Second, a

<sup>6</sup>See *The New York Times*, May 29, 1997, p. A19.

journalist's 1995 statement that in 1950 he had asked Truman whether he had any second thoughts about using the bombs. He recalled that Truman replied: "Hell yes! And I've had a lot of misgivings afterwards."

This gives new meaning to the phrase "flimsy evidence." Gronouski's own written account of his meeting with Truman, a copy of which he sent to Alperovitz, directly contradicts what the professor admits was "just a late night alcoholic story." And Truman's reply to the journalist was not, as Alperovitz has it, a "similar comment." Having "a lot of misgivings" about using the bombs is not at all the same as saying that it "was the greatest mistake that he had made." Alperovitz tries to support his pathetic case by hinting darkly that Margaret Truman *may* have documents that would support the professor's recollection. Well yes, she *may* have documents supporting anything.

Even accepting the notion that Truman later came to regard dropping the bombs as a mistake, the assertion that this makes him a revisionist is arrant nonsense. Revisionists such as Alperovitz do not claim merely that the bombs were unnecessary. They allege that Truman knew by the spring of 1945 that he could have ended the war merely by assuring the Japanese that they could retain their sacred emperor. Even without such an assurance, according to this view, the Japanese would have surrendered well before an invasion became necessary, probably when or soon after the Soviet Union declared war against them in mid-August. Truman refused to issue an assurance or to wait until the Soviets entered the war because he wanted to use the bombs against Japanese cities to demonstrate their terrible destructiveness. He did so not to defeat the already defeated Japanese, but because he wanted to bully the Soviets through "atomic diplomacy." The statements attributed to Truman in

Alperovitz's essay do not even remotely sustain such an interpretation.

Alperovitz has done a similar number on other former officials, some of whom he lists toward the end of his article. Consider two of his favorite examples: General Dwight D. Eisenhower and Admiral William D. Leahy. Eisenhower later published several versions of a meeting he had with Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson in late July 1945, during which he claimed he remonstrated against using the bombs. In 1965 Eisenhower wrote to a friend that Stimson had been "still under the influence of a statement from military sources who figured it would cost 1,000,000 men to invade Japan successfully." Leahy, Truman's chief of staff, in a 1950 memoir branded use of the bombs as unnecessary because the the Japanese were "already defeated" and "ready to surrender." Leahy claimed that Truman had been bamboozled by the army into thinking that a costly invasion would be necessary when actually the navy (with some help from the air force) already had done the job. Thus neither Eisenhower nor Leahy lend any credence whatever to the revisionist view that Truman used the bombs for ulterior purposes. On the contrary, they endorse his claim that he acted as he did to avoid an invasion but contend that he had been misinformed:

Finally, Alperovitz's statement that "with one somewhat 'iffy' exception, virtually every major U.S. military leader involved or close to the top leadership" later indicated that he believed use of the bombs was unnecessary is absurd. Alperovitz fails to identify the "iffy exception" as Army Chief of Staff George C. Marshall. But there was nothing "iffy" about Marshall's later support for using the bomb. Marshall without equivocation told an interviewer that "I think it was quite necessary to drop the bombs in order to shorten the war." He went on to say that "And what they [the Japanese] needed was



shock action, and they got it. I think it was very wise to use it.” (Larry Bland ed., *George C. Marshall Interviews and Reminiscences for Forrest C. Pogue*, George C. Marshall Research Foundation, Lexington, Va., 1991, pp. 424-425). Marshall, virtually all scholars agree, was Truman’s most trusted military adviser, just as he had been Roosevelt’s. His testimony demolishes Alperovitz contention, which is why his name is not mentioned in the essay.

Robert James Maddox  
The Pennsylvania State University

\* \* \* \* \*

July 8, 1998

This letter is a somewhat belated response to three of the points raised in Elizabeth Cobbs’ review essay “Why They Think Like Gringos: The Discourse of U.S.-Latin American Relations” which appeared in *Diplomatic History* in the spring of 1997. While this essay handles the challenging task of reviewing a diverse group of books quite well, it contains three questionable assertions concerning my book, *Revolution and Ideology: The Image of the Mexican Revolution in the United States*. Two of these points are brought to your attention with the understanding that reviews are generally expected to present reliable descriptions of the contents of books under review as distinct from critical judgments about research methods, organization, thesis development, and ideological assumptions.

The first point concerns Professor Cobbs’ comments on my coverage of the Bolivian and Guatemalan revolutions. She writes that my text confuses the U.S. response to conditions in Bolivia and Guatemala (“he lumps the responses to Bolivia

in 1953 with the response to Guatemala in 1954 when they were really quite different"). Page 186 in *Revolution and Ideology* states the following:

The example of negotiations with and accommodation to Mexico's meandering but usually independent policies in nationalization and land reform had no counterpart in the wheeling and dealing in Bolivia. True, the United States did accept the tin mine nationalization (U.S. investors held only a small interest in these properties), but the influx of economic aid, business contracts, diplomatic pressure, and military support gave the United States by 1954 an even greater presence in Bolivia than before the revolution.... In short, the United States threw a heavy blanket of aid, trade, and political pressure on the fires of the Bolivian revolution and within two years snuffed it out.

Although the Eisenhower administration combined the enticements of material support with the restraints of firm diplomacy in Bolivia, it had no comparable reservations in dealing with the leftist governments of Guatemala under Juan Jose Arevalo (1945-1951) and Jacobo Arbenz (1951-1954). Historian Bryce Wood charged Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles with "dismantling the Good Neighbor Policy" and its commitment to nonintervention in their dealings with that Central American nation.

The text continues with a description of the overthrow of the Guatemalan government thereby establishing a clear distinction between U.S. responses to the revolutionary movements in Bolivia and Guatemala. The reader of this review would gain a distorted impression of the actual content of the book's discussion of the U.S. responses in these two cases.

The second point encompasses the U.S. response to the Mexican oil expropriation of 1938 as contrasted with U.S.

policies in the 1950s and 1960s. The review states that “he also fails to consider some of the geopolitical reasons why the United States may have chosen to respond differently to its next door neighbor in 1938 than it did to other Latin American nations later on.” The geopolitical conditions of the oil expropriation are discussed on pages 154-157 including the following paragraph:

Also influencing the U.S. acceptance of Mexico’s defiant actions was the deterioration of the situation in Europe. By 1938 Germany’s clearly aggressive intentions had made Western Hemisphere solidarity increasingly important. Historian Bryce Wood has argued that the Good Neighbor Policy and its dedication to nonintervention had achieved life of its own just as Hitler’s threats to peace in Europe seemed to extend its potential impact across the Atlantic. Whether the Roosevelt administration was motivated by fear of Axis inroads in the Americas or a sincere wish to build on the improved intrahemispheric relations of the past five years, or both, the results were clear: a willingness to treat the Mexican state as a legitimate actor in world affairs and to respect its internal economic and political conditions in a time of serious international crises.

The changes in the Western Hemisphere’s international environment after World War II are discussed in the section entitled “From Good Neighbor to Cold Warrior” on pages 184-188 which include the following passage:

In 1950...diplomatic and military specialists in the administration of Harry Truman were moving to a more aggressive, less neighborly set of foreign policies. Assistant Secretary of State Edward G. Miller used general terms to warn that while nonintervention was a noble doctrine, it was not a binding commitment for the United States; he suggested that some unspecified form of “collective intervention” might



become necessary for the well-being of the hemisphere. Where Miller left much unsaid, the newly formed National Security Council sent to President Truman a report known as NSC 56/2 which recommended military aid to and collaboration with Latin American governments against possible Communist adventurism. Miller's public comments and the secret NSC document indicated that the Truman administration's concern about Communism — greatly exacerbated by the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950 — was beginning to have an impact on its Latin American policies. In the following year it began to send military aid to selected Latin American governments.

These discussions follow the findings of Bryce Wood, Irwin Gellman, Stephen Rabe, Walter LaFeber, Cole Blasier, Piero Gleijeses, Richard Immerman, and Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer. In addition, pages 192 to 196 of *Revolution and Ideology* contain an overview of general U.S. policies toward third world nations (including Asia, the Middle East, and Africa in addition to Latin America) in the 1950s and 1960s. The reader of the review would be left unaware that the text makes clear this contrast between the international situation of 1938 with that of the post-World War II era.

My third and final point involves one of the reviewer's judgments and not a discussion of the book's content. Cobbs seems to assert that the Alliance for Progress contained some influences from the U.S. experience with the Mexican Revolution of 1910 to 1940. While on an abstract level this hypothesis may seem to have some potential validity, on a more practical level, drawing from the conclusions in recent scholarship on the Alliance, this assertion unfortunately takes on the characteristics of what David Hackett Fischer has termed the reductive fallacy. Two recently published syntheses reinforce the conclusion that it is necessary to

stretch and break the bounds of logic to find a causal link between the U.S. response to Mexico's land reform of the 1930s and the Alliance policies of the 1960s. Victor Bulmer-Thomas in his *Economic History of Latin America Since Independence* concludes that "land reform was widely attempted in the 1960s, but for most governments it was a cosmetic exercise designed to ensure compliance with the Alliance for Progress" (Cambridge, 1994, p. 320). Mexico's extensive redistribution of property in the 1930s (pushed by peasant activism and political populism) often took the form of ejidos or communal farms and was quite different from the "cosmetic" programs (directed from above under the Alliance) intended in theory at least to promote private ownership and higher productivity. Furthermore, Peter Smith in his analysis of political change in Latin America of the 1960s points to what he terms "the most striking failure of the Alliance for Progress" by which he means "a rash of military coups throughout the region" (*Talons of the Eagle*, Oxford, 1996, p. 154). These results bear no resemblance to Mexican politics of the 1930s. In both the economic and political arenas, the intentions and impact of the Alliance seem to be so divergent from the Mexican experience that an attempt to locate a legacy of the Mexican Revolution in the Alliance would result in the obvious and fruitless tautology that apples and oranges are different because apples and oranges are different.

In conclusion, I do not want to imply a negative assessment of Professor Cobbs' approach to the study of Latin American-U.S. relations. Her excellent book, *The Rich Neighbor Policy*, revealed an awareness of the importance of corporatism and, in fact, explored that vital issue in impressive depth. She also brought much-needed attention to the positive aspects of U.S. corporate enterprise in Latin America in the early Cold War era. This legacy, often overlooked by experts in the field before the publication of her

study, offers something of a parallel with the generally obscured (but ideologically quite different) legacy of the Mexican Revolution.

John A. Britton  
Francis Marion University

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## OBITUARIES

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### Frederick Aandahl

Frederick Aandahl died on December 25, 1997, at Princeton, New Jersey, following a long illness. He was 78.

He received his B.S. (1941) from Reed College and his M.A. and Ph.D. (1955) from Princeton. He taught one year at Bowdoin College, was an associate editor of the Thomas Jefferson Papers, and served with the American Army of Occupation in Germany. He later was editor of the Foreign Relations Series, deputy director of the Office of the Historian, and was associate director of documents on German foreign policy. He was also a member of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission.

After retiring from the Department of State in 1979 and became an associate editor of the Papers of Woodrow Wilson at Princeton.

A memorial service was held in Princeton University chapel on January 24, 1998.

\* \* \* \* \*

### Richard Harrison



Richard A. Harrison, Dean of the Faculty and Professor of History at Lawrence University, died on December 26, 1997. He is survived by his wife, Jane Serumgard Harrison, and a son, Laurence. Rick earned his bachelor's degree in history from the George Washington University and the Ph.D. in history from Princeton University. Before becoming Dean of the Faculty at Lawrence, Rick was on the faculty at Pomona College for 15 years. Prior to that he taught at Princeton University, Johns Hopkins University, and the U.S. Naval War College, and was director of the National Project on Contemporary History in Washington, D.C. He was a gifted teacher, honored three times with the Wig Award for distinguished teaching while he was at Pomona. An advocate of both history and the liberal arts, Rich encouraged students to intellectual rigor with an unusual combination of enthusiasm and warmth. He cared deeply for his former students, remaining friends with many well past their graduation and joyfully sharing the news when one of them wrote or called to announce a new accomplishment.

A specialist in American foreign policy, particularly diplomatic history in the twentieth century and the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Rick published articles on U.S. diplomacy in the 1930s in the *William and Mary Quarterly*, *Diplomatic History*, *Peace and Change*, the *Canadian Journal of History*, the *International History Review*, and the *Pacific Historical Review*. He also published two biographical dictionaries on Princetonians of the late eighteenth century and contributed several entries to the *Dictionary of American Biography*. He received an Eleanor Roosevelt Institute Fellowship, the Graves Award in the Humanities, an American Philosophical Society Research Grant, and a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship for College Teachers.

As an administrator, Rick brought the same characteristics he brought to teaching: energetic leadership and a commitment to excellence. Never one to let a problem languish, he was at his most brilliant and energized when he was planning a strategy to deal with an issue that he found complex or vexing. His quick wit was always active, but it was especially evident when he was engaged in a debate about something of special interest to him. Rick had strong opinions, which he shared readily; he was never disingenuous. He expected excellence from students, colleagues, and most prominently, himself- indeed, he expected more of himself than he did of anyone else. Rick cared greatly about the people with whom he worked, and when faculty members approached him with personal problems, he attempted to find ways to improve their situations or accommodate their specific needs with intense and genuine compassion. Rick was a remarkable teacher, scholar, friend and mentor, missed deeply by many.

Margaret E. Madden, Acting Dean of the Faculty

\* \* \* \* \*

### **Arthur Link**

Arthur Stanley Link, one of the preeminent historians of our century, died on March 26, 1998, in Advance, North Carolina, at the age of seventy-seven.

Few scholars have made a greater impact on our discipline. To researchers perfecting their craft, his name was synonymous with research on Woodrow Wilson. And little wonder. His meticulous five-volume life of the twenty-eighth president and his sixty-nine volumes of the Wilson papers established a new standard not only in Wilson studies but in

the entire area of documentary editing. He was truly a historian's historian.

Link reached a wider audience as well. Generations of secondary students received their introduction to American history through his *Growth of American Democracy* (1967) and his coauthorship of David Saville Muzzey's classic text, *Our Country's History* (1965). Similarly thousands of undergraduates discovered Twentieth-Century U.S. history through the many editions of *American Epoch* (1st ed., 1955), a volume thorough yet spirited, encyclopedic but witty. Many was the advanced student who first saw the complexities of the Wilson presidency through such works as *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era , 1910-1917* (1954) and *Wilson the Diplomatist* (1957). He stood almost alone in occupying the presidency of three leading professional societies, the American Historical Association (1983-84), the Organization of American Historians (1982-83), and the Southern Historical Association (1968-69) though he was not afraid to be critical of such bodies when he found them acting irresponsibly.

Born on August 8, 1920, in New Market, Virginia, Link was the son of a Lutheran minister. After living in Danville and Mount Pleasant, North Carolina, he enrolled at the University of North Carolina, from which he received his B.A. in 1941 (with highest honors), his M.A. in 1942, and Ph.D. in 1945. His doctoral mentor was Fletcher M. Green, who supervised his dissertation on the South and the Democratic campaign of 1912, although Howard K. Beale also served as a guide. During 1944-45, he studied at Columbia, where Henry Steele Commager exercised a particularly strong influence.

His career was meteoric, first teaching at Princeton (1948-45), then at Northwestern (1949-60), and finally back at Princeton



again (1960-91), where he held several prestigious chairs. For diplomatic historians he made an especially strong mark, for it was due to his energy that our traditional picture of Wilson has been severely modified. He challenged a score of post-World War I revisionists, including C. Hartley Grattan, Charles Callan Tansill, and Henry Elmer Barnes, the latter vaguely conceding that Link's scholarship had forced him to modify his earlier attack. Link showed that Wilson often bucked the advice of his leading advisers, Robert Lansing and Colonel E.M. House, both of whom he found invariably betraying the president. He stressed that the chief executive vigorously sought to mediate a peace, going to war only to protect American shipping and to hasten an end to the conflict. Link writes of Wilson, "His agony was great as he passed through the dark shadow of his own doubt. He saw the dangers of intervention, both to his own people and to the world, with wonderful clarity."

In covering Wilson's role at the Paris Peace Conference, Link emphasized Wilson's accomplishment amid tremendous adversity. The president forced France to back down over permanent occupation of the Rhineland; obtained Japan's promise, which was honored, that China would receive full sovereignty in Shantung; and inaugurated a mandate system that spelled out the eventual doom of Western colonialism. Link praises Wilson for resisting Allied pressure for anti-Bolshevik intervention in Russia. At the same time, he was critical of his subject for surrendering to French demands for a reparations system that lacked a time limit, much less any recognition of Germany's capacity for repayment. In covering the controversy over American ratification of the League of Nations covenant, Link sees Article X as the crucial issue, one recognized as seminal far more by contemporaries (including Henry Cabot Lodge), than by such subsequent historians as

Thomas A. Bailey, who saw the debate as involving mere shadowboxing.

As an influence upon graduate students, Link had few equals. He possessed a command of bibliography that bordered on the exhaustive, be the topic American labor or the nation's religious history. His comments could be pithy and he was not afraid to deflate an awesome reputation. Upon coming across one work he respected by a scholar whom he found, in a sense, a walking potboiler, he commented, "You know, the book is much better than the man." At various times Link had several nominees for "the number one book in the historian's chamber of horrors." Moreover, what graduate student could not but feel deflated when he said, "Mr. -----'s paper starts out quite well, quite well indeed, then falls down, quite a bit I'd say, and in the end it crumbles."

At the same time, most graduate students, especially at Princeton, had nothing but deep gratitude for Link's painstaking direction. In the sixties, as today, many dissertation sponsors in the nation would return chapter drafts to a student months, if not years, after submission. Not so with Link. One received detailed feedback within a week. For Link the dissertation was an exercise in research, not a polished manuscript ready for press. Yet several fine works in diplomatic history emerged from his doctoral supervision, including Daniel R. Beaver's study of Newton D. Baker, Thomas Knock's work on pro-League liberals, and Ralph Levering's examination of U.S. public opinion towards the Soviet Union.

Two things are particularly memorable in looking at Link the man. First as with John F. Kennedy, much of his life was spent in pain, due to a chronic and severe back ailment. For Link, pain was as much prod as curse and his schedule

involved rising at 5:30 a.m., putting in a ten-to-twelve hour workday, and laboring six and a half days a week. Equally noteworthy was a deep religious commitment. In an age where academics increasingly lack a transcendent world view, Link was unabashedly Christian in his philosophy of history, the manifestation taking a strong Augustinian and Calvinist direction. He was an active layman, serving at one point as vice-president of the National Council of Churches, and articulating his faith in a seminal article in *Theology Today*.

He will be sorely missed.

Justus D. Doenecke

SHAFR COUNCIL MINUTES  
COLLEGE PARK, MARYLAND  
ARCHIVES II, ROOM 1020  
JUNE 20, 1998

The meeting commenced at 7:30 a.m., Arnold Offner presiding.

Members present: Arnold Offner, Frank Costigliola, H.W. Brands, David Patterson, Walter LaFeber, Chester Pach, and Mark Gilderhus. Others present: Allan Spetter, Sam Walker, Eileen Scully, Robert Beisner, David Anderson, Mark Stoler, Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, Thomas Schoonover, Keith Nelson, Robert Schulzinger, Kurt Hanson, William Walker, Mary A. Giunta, Richard Wiggers, Malcolm Crystal, Margaret MacMillan, Geoffrey Smith, Christopher Jespersen, and William Brinker

Chester Pach, reporting for the Graebner Award committee, announced Robert Ferrell to be the 1998 winner.

Keith Nelson announced three Holt Dissertation Fellowship recipients: Christopher Endy (UNC), first place winner; Richard



Wiggers (Georgetown), second place; and Xiaodong Wang (UNC), third place.

Robert Beisner introduced Kurt Hanson, who was present, as Assistant Editor of the new SHAFR Guide project. Beisner gave a general progress report including the appointment of an Advisory Board. He noted that the final product would be organized on a chronological basis.

Malcolm Crystal, representing Blackwell Publishers, presented a brief report which included membership efforts and results.

Chester Pach reported on the 1998 conference. He noted that over four hundred people registered for the conference, that the problem of "no shows" continues to trouble conference organizers, and that a few people attended the conference without registering.

Eileen Scully, local arrangements chair for the 1999 Princeton conference, gave a preliminary report. Steven Schwartzberg will serve as program chair. The conference dates will be June 23-26 and the SHAFR web site will contain updated conference information. Discussion followed and suggestions were made concerning the scheduling of events at the conference.

Richard Wiggers distributed a proposal that SHAFR meet at Ryerson Polytechnic University, Toronto, Canada, in 2000. Margaret MacMillan, representing the university, answered Council members' questions. A motion to accept the proposal was made, seconded, and passed unanimously. Geoffrey Smith (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario) will chair the program committee.

Continuing on the theme of SHAFR's annual meetings discussion followed concerning the 2001 site. Various suggestions were entertained and a consensus reached that Council should make a decision concerning the location for '01 at the January AHA meeting in Washington.

Nancy Bernkopf Tucker recommended that Council approve using surplus funds resulting from the Georgetown conference of 1997 to provide travel grants for research in the Washington area. Discussion followed and a motion to charge the Bernath Dissertation Award Committee with the responsibility to award such grants from a "SHAFR Georgetown Fund." Twelve thousand dollars (ten thousand from the Georgetown surplus augmented by two thousand from existing SHAFR funds) will be made available for this purpose. The amounts of the grants are to be determined by the committee. The motion passed unanimously.

Chester Pach reminded Council that by past action the SHAFR presidential address in 1999 will be given at the summer conference thereby creating an opportunity for other arrangements at the AHA. Discussion followed and a consensus reached favoring the inviting of a prominent speaker to address the membership after luncheon.

Robert Schulzinger reported on the Endowment Committee (Schulzinger, Marvin Zahniser, and Ted Wilson). The committee members are in communication with the firm managing SHAFR's endowment funds and are satisfied with the firm's management.

Mary Giunta informed Council that the National History Day prizes for high school students do not include *any* prizes for diplomatic history. A motion was made and seconded that SHAFR subsidize an annual \$500 foreign affairs prize. The motion passed unanimously.

President Offner announced that a Liaison Committee has been formed and will work to insure that the AHA and OAH maintain a SHAFR presence at their respective annual meetings. Martin Sherwin has accepted the chair and the charge to broaden and promote interest in diplomatic history.

Offner, reporting for Emily Rosenberg, presented a request from the Committee on Operations and Structure. The committee recommended that SHAFR should create "some kind of part-time,

paid staff position.” Discussion followed and Council agreed, in principle, with the proposal and directed the Committee on Operations and Structure to continue investigating the issue.

A resolution of thanks to Keith Olson, Sam Walker, and Chester Pach for their extraordinary efforts in providing this most successful College Park meeting was proposed. A motion to this effect was made, seconded, and enthusiastically and unanimously passed.

Respectfully submitted,  
William Brinker

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### **ANNOUNCEMENTS**

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#### **Symposium on Revisionism in the History of U.S. Foreign Relations**

A reminder of the October 23-24, 1998 symposium to celebrate the career of Thomas G. Paterson on the occasion of his retirement from UConn. George Herring and Walter LaFeber will deliver keynote addresses. SHAFR is a sponsor of this symposium.

For information contact: Stephen G. Rabe, Arts & Humanities, JO 31, University of Texas at Dallas, Richardson, TX 75083. Tel: (972) 883-2009; E-mail: [Rabe@UTDallas.edu](mailto:Rabe@UTDallas.edu)

#### **Call for Papers - Military History Society**

The 1999 annual meeting of the Society for Military History will be held April 15-18, 1999, at Penn State University, State College, PA. The conference's theme will be "War in History, Myth, and Memory: An end-of-Millennium Retrospective." Proposals for individual papers and complete sessions on any topic in "old" or "new" military history are equally welcome. Deadline for submission of proposals is 15 October, 1998.



For consideration of an individual paper, submit a brief (1 1/2 page) abstract and a brief vita. For consideration of a complete panel, submit a brief (1-2 page) abstract and a brief vita of each presenter.

Send proposals to Carol Reardon, 1999 SMH conference, Department of History, Penn State University, University Park, PA 16802. Tel: 814-863-2658 (office), 814-865-1367 (History Dept.). E-mail CAR9@psu.edu

### **Call for Papers - WWI**

Armstrong Atlantic State University will host a conference: "The Legacy of World War I and the Paris Peace Conference" in commemoration of the 80th anniversary of the conference. Submit proposals for individual papers or sessions by Nov. 1, 1998. Each proposal should include a brief abstract and a c.v. Contact: Janet D. Stone, History Dept., Armstrong Atlantic State University, 11935 Abercorn Street, Savannah GA 31419-1997; FAX: 912 921 5581; e-mail: janet\_stone@mailgate.armstrong.edu

### **19th Berlin-Prague Seminar**

The Annual Berlin-Prague Seminar organized by Bradley University will be held at the European Academy of Berlin (20 June - 26 June) and the Prague University of Economics (27 June - 3 July). The Seminar is intended to inform college faculty about a wide range of issues facing contemporary Germany and the Czech Republic. For further information contact: Charles Bukowski, Director, Institute of International Studies, Bradley University, Peoria IL 61625.

Tel: 309 677-2450; Fax: 309 677-3256;

E-mail: cjb@bradley.bradley.edu

### **New Address for CWIHP**

Christian Ostermann informs readers of new addresses and contact numbers for the Cold War International History Project, they became effective in August, 1998.

CWIHP

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

One Woodrow Wilson Plaza

1300 Pennsylvania Ave., NW

Washington DC 20523 (for FEDEX: 20004)

FAX: 202 691-4001;

TEL: 202 691-4110

E-mail: COLDWAR1@wwic.si.edu

**From the 1999 SHAFR Program Chair**

We welcome proposals from historians and scholars working in related disciplines dealing with the broadest possible range of topics in international history and foreign policy. Preference will be given to complete panels and roundtables.

Please send proposals — including a one-page abstract for each paper, a current one-page c.v. for each participant, and current mailing and e-mail address for each participant — to the address listed below by 20 November 1998:

Prof. Steven Schwartzberg

1999 SHAFR Program Committee

Yale Center for International and Area Studies

PO Box 208206

New Haven, CT 06520-8206

**Eighteenth Military History Symposium**

The United States Air Force Academy announces its Eighteenth Military History symposium to be held on 21-23 October 1998. The theme of the conference is *Future War: Coalition Operations in Global Strategy*. Warren Kimball (Rutgers) will deliver the Harmon Memorial Lecture. Numerous SHAFR members will participate.

Registration is \$75.00, \$25.00 for the banquet. For more information, visit the web page at: <http://www.usafa.af.mil/dfh> or contact Captain George L. Stamper, DSN 333-3622; TEL:(719) 333-3622; e-mail [stamperg1.dfh@usafa.af.mil](mailto:stamperg1.dfh@usafa.af.mil) or e-mail to: [18mhs.dfh@usafa.af.mil](mailto:18mhs.dfh@usafa.af.mil)

### SHAFR Guide

Robert L. Beisner, Editor of the SHAFR BIBLIOGRAPHY PROJECT, announces that the project to produce a new GUIDE (and, later, Web site supplements) is well underway. All chapter contributing editors have been selected and are beginning their work, as is the Assistant Editor, Kurt Hanson. Publication could occur as early as late in the year 2000. The contributing editors are Jerald Combs, Roger H. Brown, Mary Giunta, James E. Lewis, Jr., David C. Hendrickson, John Belohlavek, William Earl Weeks, Howard Jones, Joyce S. Goldberg, John L. Offner, Joseph A. Fry, Edward Crapol, Nancy Mitchell, Mark T. Gilderhus, Anne L. Foster, Thomas J. Knock, William O. Walker III, James F. Goode, J. Garry Clifford, Justus Doenecke, Mark A. Stoler, Wilson D. Miscamble, Burton I. Kaufman, Chester J. Pach, Robert D. Schulzinger, David L. Anderson, Stephen G. Rabe, Marc Gallicchio, Nicholas B. Cullather, Douglas J. Little, Penny M. Von Eschen, Keith L. Nelson, Richard A. Melanson, and Philip Zelikow.

For information, contact either Bob Beisner at [HuskerinDC@aol.com](mailto:HuskerinDC@aol.com) or Kurt Hanson at [khanson@erols.com](mailto:khanson@erols.com).

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### PUBLICATIONS

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Douglas Brinkley (New Orleans), *The Unfinished Presidency: Jimmy Carter's Journey Beyond the White House*. Viking, 1998. ISBN 067088006X, \$29.95.



Susan A. Brewer (Wisconsin - Stevens Point), *To Win the Peace: British Propaganda in the United States During World War II*. Cornell, 1998. ISBN 0801433673, \$39.95.

Alex Danchev (Keele), *Alchemist of War: The Life of Basil Liddell Hart*. Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1998. ISBN 0-297-81621-7

Robert Ferrell (emeritus - Indiana), *The Dying President: Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1944-1945*. Missouri, 1998. ISBN 0-826212034, \$24.95.

Alexsander Fursenko and Timothy Naftali (Yale), *One Hell of a Gamble: Khrushchev, Castro, and Kennedy, 1958-1964*. W.W. Norton & Company, 1998. ISBN 0393317900, \$14.95.

Lloyd C. Gardner (Rutgers), *Pay Any Price*. Ivan R. Dee, 1998. New in paper. ISBN 1-56663-175-0, \$18.95.

Jack L. Hammersmith (West Virginia), *Spoilsmen in a "Flowery Fairyland"; The Development of the U.S. Legation in Japan 1859-1906*. Kent State, 1998. ISBN 087338590X, \$49.00.

Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman (San Diego), *All You Need is Love: The Peace Corps and the Spirit of the 1960s*. Harvard, 1998, ISBN 0674016351, \$27.95.

Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones (Edinburgh), *The CIA and American Democracy*. Revised with new section on post-Cold War Era. Yale, 1998. ISBN 0-300-07737-8. \$18.00.

Warren F. Kuehl and Lynne K. Dunn (Winthrop U.), *Keeping the Covenant: American Internationalists and the League of Nations, 1920-1939*. Kent State, 1997. ISBN 0873385667, \$49.00.

Geir Lundestad (Nobel Institute), *"Empire" by Integration: The United States and European Integration*. Oxford, 1998. Cloth: ISBN 0-19878212-8, \$85.00; paper: ISBN 0-19878211-X, \$19.95.

Gary B. Ostrower (Alfred), *The United Nations and the United States*. Twayne, 1998. ISBN 0-8057-7937-x, \$29.95.

Michael Schaller (Arizona), Virginia Scharff (New Mexico), and Robert Schulzinger (Colorado), *Coming of Age: America in the Twentieth Century*. Houghton Mifflin, 1998. ISBN 0-395-67309-7.

David Shenin (Trent), *Searching for Authority: Pan Americanism, Diplomacy and Politics in United States-Argentine Relations, 1910-1930*. U Press of the South, 1998. ISBN 1-889431-25-7, \$49.95.

Christopher Simpson (American), *Universities and Empire: Money and Politics in the Social Sciences during the Cold War*. New Press, 1998. ISBN 1565843878, \$27.50.

Joseph M. Siracusa (Queensland), *Into the Dark House: American Diplomacy and the Ideological Origins of the Cold War*. Regina, 1998. Cloth: ISBN 0-041690-81-4, \$36.95; paper: ISBN 0-041690-80-6, \$17.95.

Jonathan M. Soffer (Brooklyn, NY), *General Matthew B. Ridgway: From Progressivism to Reaganism, 1895-1993*. Praeger, 1998. ISBN 0275950743, \$59.95.

Philip West, Steven I. Levine (Hillsborough, NC), and Jackie Hiltz, eds., *America's Wars in Asia: A Cultural Approach to History and Memory*. M.E. Sharpe, 1998. Cloth: ISBN 0765602369, \$66.95; paper: ISBN 0765602377, \$24.95.

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## PERSONALS

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The OAH recently announced that SHAFR's Vice President Walter LaFeber (Cornell) has been awarded the 1998 Ellis W. Hawley Prize for *The Clash: A History of U.S.-Japan Relations*.

Francis M. Carroll (St. John's College, Winnipeg) has been awarded the Bicentennial Fellowship to study the American presence in Ulster over the past two hundred years. Carroll will be spending six months in Belfast, North Ireland.

Alexander S. Cochran (Hatteras, NC) is the 1998-99 Major General C. Horner Chair of Military Theory at Marine Corps University, Quantico, VA. He will do some teaching and will complete a book on the Mediterranean Theater in World War II.

David Shenin (Trent) is the recipient of the 1998 Street Prize from the Middle Atlantic Council for Latin American Studies. The award recognizes the "best article" for 1997 in the journal *Latin American Essays*. Shenin's article, "Environmental Degeneration and Response: Wildlife Destruction in the Americas and Pan American Preservation, 1900-1945" appeared in Vol. 11 (1997): 81-98.

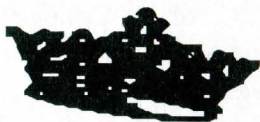
Katherine A.S. Sibley (St. Joseph's) has received the 1997 Phi Alpha Theta Book Award in the "First Book" category for her *Loans and Legitimacy: The Evolution of Soviet-American Relations, 1919-1933*.

Lawrence Wittner (SUNY/Albany) has received a 1998 NEH summer stipend for research on volume III of his trilogy, *The Struggle Against the Bomb*.

Tom Zeiler (Colorado) has received a Fulbright Fellowship to teach in 1999 at the Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, in Buenos Aires, Argentina.



Regina



Books

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SHAFR MEMBER DISCOUNT

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**CHARTING AN INDEPENDENT COURSE:  
Finland's Place in the Cold War and in U.S.**

**Foreign Policy.** T. Michael Ruddy. (1998) 228pp

The essays in this volume give equal weight to Finland and the Finnish situation as well as the Cold War and the role of the United States. The goal is to shed new light on Finland's place in the Cold War and in American foreign policy.

Cloth \$32.95, Paper \$14.95

**SHAFR Price (paper) \$8.00**

**INTO THE DARK HOUSE: American Diplomacy &  
the Ideological Origins of the Cold War.** Joseph M.

Siracusa. (1998) 288pp.

The purpose of this book is twofold: it seeks to delineate some of the ideas, beliefs and assumptions from Franklin D. Roosevelt's shift in Soviet policy in the autumn of 1944 to the resumption of the Korean armistice talks in late 1951; and it seeks to provide students of the early Cold War period with some of the major historical documents that have been the bases of historical interpretations during the past fifty years.

Cloth \$36.95, Paper \$17.95.

**SHAFR Price (paper) \$9.00**

**BALKAN CURRENTS: Studies in the History,  
Culture & Society of a Divided Land.** Lawrence A. Tritle.

(1998)160pp

The essays in this volume give equal weight to Finland and the Finnish situation as well as the Cold War and the role of the United States. The goal is to shed new light on Finland's place in the Cold War and in American foreign policy.

Cloth \$21.95

**SHAFR Price (cloth) \$13.00**

**AMERICA'S AUSTRALIA/AUSTRALIA'S**

**AMERICA.** Joseph M. Siracusa & Yeong-Han Cheong (1997)

160pp

"[This is] the best available introduction to relations between these two continental, British-begotten, frontier-shaped, Pacific powers....The writing is robust, at times delightfully so." *Journal of American History*

\$21.95 cloth, \$12.95 pap

**SHAFR Price (paper) \$7.00**

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SHAFR MEMBER DISCOUNT

**The Cuban-Caribbean Missile Crisis of October 1962.** Lester H. Brune. (1996) 160pp. \$12.95 paper      **SHAFR Price (pap) \$8.00**

**America and the Indochina Wars, 1945-1990: A Bibliographical Guide.** Lester H. Brune & Richard Dean Burns, eds (1992) 352pp. \$39.95      **SHAFR Price (cloth) \$13.00**

**Empire on the Pacific: A Study in American Continental Expansion.** Norman A. Graebner. (1983) 278pp. \$14.95 paper      **SHAFR Price (paper) \$9.00**

**Theodore Roosevelt and the Inter-National Rivalries.** Raymond Esthus. (1982) 165pp \$12.95      **SHAFR Price (paper) \$8.00**

**Panama, the Canal and the United States.** Thomas M. Leonard. 144pp. \$10.95 paper      **SHAFR Price (paper) \$6.00**

<b>Siracusa.</b> <i>In the Dark House,,,</i>	\$ 9.00	—
<b>Ruddy.</b> <i>Charting an Independent Course,,,</i>	\$ 8.00	—
<b>Tritle.</b> <i>Balkan Currents,,,</i>	\$13.00	—
<b>Siracusa.</b> <i>America's/Australia,,,</i>	\$ 7.00	—
<b>Brune.</b> <i>Cuban-Caribbean Missile Crisis</i>	\$ 8.00	—
<b>Brune.</b> <i>Amer. &amp; the Indochina Wars,,,</i>	\$13.00	—
<b>Graebner.</b> <i>Empire on Pacific...</i>	\$ 9.00	—
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CALENDAR

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1998

- November 1                      Deadline, materials for December *Newsletter*.  
November 1-15                  Annual election for SHAFR officers.  
November 1                      Applications for Bernath dissertation fund  
   awards are due.  
November 15                      Deadline for SHAFR summer conference  
   proposals.  
November 15                      Deadline for Myrna F. Bernath research  
   fellowship proposals.

1999

- January 1                          Membership fees in all categories are due,  
   payable at Blackwell Publishers, 350 Main  
   St., Malden MA 02148.  
January 7-10                      The 113th annual meeting of the AHA will  
   take place in Washington. Program chair:  
   John Voll, History, Georgetown U.  
January 15                          Deadline for the Bernath Article Award.  
February 1                          Submissions due for Warren Kuehl Award,  
   deadline for the Bernath Book Award,  
   deadline for March *Newsletter*, and deadline  
   for Ferrell Book Prize.  
February 15                          Deadline for the Bernath lecture prize.  
March 1                              Deadline for Graebner Prize nominations.  
April 1                               Applications for the W. Stull Holt dissertation  
   fellowship are due.  
April 22-25                          The 92nd meeting of the OAH will take  
   place at the Sheraton Centre Toronto.  
May 1                                 Deadline, materials for the June *Newsletter*.  
June 23-26                          SHAFR's 24th annual conference will meet  
   at Princeton. Local Arrangements chair:  
   Eileen Scully, Princeton.  
August 1                              Deadline, materials for the September  
   *Newsletter*.



The Adam's Mark Hotel in St. Louis will be the site for the March 30-April 2, 2000 OAH. A model for the cover sheet required for all submissions is found on page 10 of the August 1998 *OAH Newsletter*. There is no address included but the Program Committee co-chairs are: Donna Gabaccia, University of North Carolina at Charlotte and Bruce Laurie, University of Massachusetts at Amherst. The deadline for program submissions is **January 15, 1999**.

The 2000 AHA meeting will be in Chicago, Jan. 6-9. The call for papers has appeared in the Sept. 1998 issue of *Perspectives*. The chair is Claire Moses, 2101 Woods Hall, U. of Maryland. **Deadline: Feb. 15, 1999.**

The 2001 meeting will be held in Boston, Jan. 4-7.

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## AWARDS, PRIZES, AND FUNDS

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Complete details regarding SHAFR awards, prizes, and funds are found in the June and December issues of the *Newsletter*, abbreviated information in the March and September issues.

### THE STUART L. BERNATH MEMORIAL PRIZES

The Stuart L. Bernath Memorial Lectureship, the Memorial Book Competition, and the Memorial Lecture Prize were established in 1976, 1972, and 1976, respectively, through the generosity of Dr. Gerald J. and Myrna F. Bernath, in memory of their son, and are administered by special committees of SHAFR.

#### The Stuart L. Bernath Book Prize

This is a competition for a book dealing with any aspect of the history of American foreign relations. The purpose of the award is to recognize and encourage distinguished research and writing by scholars of American foreign relations. Five (5) copies of each book must be submitted with the nomination and should be sent to: David Wilson, Department of History, Southern Illinois Univ., Carbondale IL 62901-4519. Books (five copies of each) may be sent at any time during 1998, but should not arrive later than February 1, 1999.

**The Stuart L. Bernath Lecture Prize**

The Bernath Lecture Prize seeks to recognize and encourage excellence in teaching and research in the field of foreign relations by younger scholars. Prize-winners deliver a lecture, comparable in style and scope to the SHAFR presidential address, at the SHAFR meeting during the annual OAH conference. Nomination is open to any person under forty-one years of age whose scholarly achievements represent excellence in teaching and research. Send nominating letter and *curriculum vita* no later than 15 February 1999 to: Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, Department of History, Univ. of San Diego, 5998 Alcalá Park, San Diego CA 92110.

**The Stuart L. Bernath Scholarly Article Prize**

The purpose of the prize is to recognize and to encourage distinguished research and writing by young scholars in the field of diplomatic relations. The prize is open to any article or essay appearing in a scholarly journal or edited book, on any topic in United States foreign relations that is published during 1998. The prize is open to any person within ten years of reception of the PhD. Nominations shall be submitted and three copies of the article must be submitted to the chairperson of the committee: Gordon Chang, Department of History, Stanford Univ., Stanford CA 94305.

**The Stuart L. Bernath Dissertation Grant**

This grant has been established to help doctoral students who are members of SHAFR defray some of the expenses encountered in the research of their U.S. foreign relations dissertations. Applications should be sent in triplicate to: Frederick W. Marks III, 112-20 72nd Drive, Forest Hills NY 11375. The deadline for application is November 1, 1998.

Recent Winner: D'Arcy M. Brissman (1997)

**The Myrna F. Bernath Book and Fellowship Awards**

(1) A prize award of \$2,500 to be offered every two years (apply in odd-numbered years) for the best book by a woman in the areas of United States foreign relations, transnational history, international history, peace studies, cultural interchange, and defense or strategic studies. The next prize will be awarded to a book published in 1996-1997. Submission deadline is November 15, 1999.

(2) An award of \$2500 (apply in even-numbered years), to research the study of foreign relations among women scholars. The grants are intended for women at U.S. universities as well as for women abroad who wish to do research in the United States. Preference will be given to graduate students and newly finished Ph.D's. The subject-matter *should be historically based* and concern American foreign relations or aspects of international history, as broadly conceived. Work on purely domestic topics will not be considered. Applications should include a letter of intent and three copies of a detailed research proposal of no more than 2000 words. Deadline for applications is 15 November 1998. For both awards contact: Christine White, Department of History, Penn State U., University Park PA 16802-5500.

### THE W. STULL HOLT DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIP

This fellowship is intended to help defray costs of travel, preferably foreign travel, necessary to the pursuit of research on a significant dissertation project. Contact: Keith Nelson, History Dept., University of California, Irvine CA 92715.

Recent Winners: Christopher Endy (North Carolina, Chapel Hill), Richard Wiggers (Georgetown), and Xiaodong Wang (North Carolina, Chapel Hill)

### THE NORMAN AND LAURA GRAEBNER AWARD

The Graebner Award is to be awarded every other year at SHAFR's summer conference to a senior historian of United States foreign relations whose achievements have contributed most significantly to the fuller understanding of American diplomatic history. Contact: Chester Pach, History Department, Ohio University, Athens OH 45701. The deadline for nominations is March 1, 1999.

**Recent Winner: Robert Ferrell (Indiana)**

### THE WARREN F. KUEHL AWARD

The Society will award the Warren F. Kuehl Prize to the author or authors of an outstanding book dealing with the history of internationalism and/or the history of peace movements. The subject may include biographies of prominent internationalists or peace leaders. Also eligible are works on American foreign relations that examine United States diplomacy from a world perspective and which are in accord with Kuehl's 1985 presidential address to SHAFR. That address voiced an "appeal for scholarly breadth, for a wider perspective on how foreign relations of the United States fits into the global picture." Contact: David F. Schmitz, Department of History, Whitman College, Walla Walla WA 99362



**ARTHUR LINK PRIZE  
FOR DOCUMENTARY EDITING**

The prize will recognize and encourage analytical scholarly editing of documents, in appropriate published form, relevant to the history of American foreign relations, policy, and diplomacy. By "analytical" is meant the inclusion (in headnotes, footnotes, essays, etc.) of both appropriate historical background needed to establish the context of the documents, and interpretive historical commentaries based on scholarly research. The competition is open to the editor/author(s) of any collection of documents published after 1984 that is devoted primarily to sources relating to the history of American foreign relations, policy, and/or diplomacy; and that incorporates sufficient historical analysis and interpretation of those documents to constitute a contribution to knowledge and scholarship. Contact: Mary Giunta, NHPRC - Room 300, National Archives, Washington DC 20408

**THE LAWRENCE GELFAND - ARMIN RAPPAPORT FUND**

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations established this fund in 1990 to honor Armin Rappaport, the founding editor of the Society's journal, *Diplomatic History*. The fund will support the professional work of the journal's editorial office. Contact: Allan Spetter, Department of History, Wright State University, Dayton OH 45435.

**ROBERT H. FERRELL BOOK PRIZE**

This is competition for a book, published in 1998, which is a history of American Foreign Relations, broadly defined, and includes biographies of statesmen and diplomats. General surveys, autobiographies, or editions of essays and documents are not eligible. The prize is to be awarded as a senior book award. Deadline for submissions is February 1, 1999. Contact: Thomas Noer, History, Carthage College, Kenosha WI 53140-5438.

**National History Day Award**

SHAFR has established an award to recognize students who participate in the National History Day (NHD) program in the area of United States diplomatic history. The purpose of the award is to recognize research, writing, and relations to encourage a better understanding of peaceful interactions between nations. The award may be given in any of the NDH categories. For information contact: Cathy Gorn, Executive Director, National History Day, 0119 Cecil Hall, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742

# *The SHAFR Newsletter*

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**SPONSOR:** Tennessee Technological University, Cookeville, Tennessee.

**EDITOR:** William J. Brinker, Box 5154, Cookeville, TN 38505  
Tel. (931) 372-3332; e-mail Wbrinker@TNTECH.edu; FAX (931) 372-6142.

**EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS:** Heather White and Sara Wilkerson.

**BACK ISSUES:** The *Newsletter* was published annually from 1969 to 1972, and has been published quarterly since 1973. Copies of many back numbers of the *Newsletter* may be obtained from the editorial office for \$2.00 per copy (for members living abroad, the charge is \$3.00).

**GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSION:** The *Newsletter* solicits the submission of personals, announcements, abstracts of scholarly papers and articles delivered or published upon diplomatic subjects, bibliographical or historiographical essays, essays of a "how-to-do-it" nature, information about foreign depositories, biographies, autobiographies of "elder statesmen" in the field, jokes, *et al.* Papers and other submissions should be typed and the author's name and full address should be noted. The *Newsletter* accepts and encourages submissions on IBM-formatted 3½" diskettes. A paper submitted in WordPerfect is preferred. A hardcopy of the paper should be included with the diskette. The *Newsletter* goes to the printer on the 1st of March, June, September, and December; all material submitted for publication should arrive at least four weeks prior.

## **FORMER PRESIDENTS OF SHAFR**

- |   |                                       |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1968 Thomas A. Bailey (Stanford)          | 1983 Ernest R. May (Harvard)          |
| 1969 Alexander DeConde (CA-Santa Barbara) | 1984 Warren I. Cohen (Michigan State) |
| 1970 Richard W. Leopold (Northwestern)    | 1985 Warren F. Kuehl (Akron)          |
| 1971 Robert H. Ferrell (Indiana)          | 1986 Betty Unterberger (Texas A&M)    |
| 1972 Norman A. Graebner (Virginia)        | 1987 Thomas G. Paterson (Connecticut) |
| 1973 Wayne S. Cole (Maryland)             | 1988 Lloyd Gardner (Rutgers)          |
| 1974 Bradford Perkins (Michigan)          | 1989 George Herring (Kentucky)        |
| 1975 Armin H. Rappaport (CA-San Diego)    | 1990 Michael Hunt (North Carolina)    |
| 1976 Robert A. Divine (Texas)             | 1991 Gary Hess (Bowling Green)        |
| 1977 Raymond A. Esthus (Tulane)           | 1992 John Lewis Gaddis (Ohio)         |
| 1978 Akira Iriye (Chicago)                | 1993 Warren Kimball (Rutgers-Newark)  |
| 1979 Paul A. Varg (Michigan State)        | 1994 Melvyn Leffler (Virginia)        |
| 1980 David M. Pletcher (Indiana)          | 1995 Robert Dallek (UCLA)             |
| 1981 Lawrence S. Kaplan (Kent State)      | 1996 Mark Gilderhus (Colorado State)  |
| 1982 Lawrence E. Gelfand (Iowa)           | 1997 Emily Rosenberg (Macalester)     |