

# The Society for Historians of American 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.



## Under-utilization of the Kellogg Papers

by

Michael Krenn, John P. Rossi,  
and David Schmitz (all of Rutgers)

Thomas G. Paterson's article "Who Invented the 'Cold War?' Another Version," SHAFR Newsletter 13 (December 1982) has hopefully ended the debate on the origins of the phrase the "Cold War." Now diplomatic historians can, as Paterson urges us, "all get back to researching and debating the real Cold War." This, however, is where the trouble, and the fun, begins. While having now investigated the origins of the phrase the Cold War, historians are far from any agreement on what the term means or represents. Most studies of the Cold War date its beginning with the end of World War II. From our research into the 1920s, however, it is clear that anti-communism played an important role in the making of United States foreign policy during the 1920s. This aspect of American foreign policy has been absent from the new diplomatic studies on the period.

While American policymakers accepted the fact that the Russian Revolution dramatically changed the world and its international relations, few diplomatic historians have investigated this. Nonetheless, anti-communism was a major factor influencing United States policymakers in the 1920s. This can be seen in the largely overlooked Frank B. Kellogg papers. While the reason for the under-utilization of these papers is understandable--there is a good deal of chaff in the Kellogg papers, including countless cigar orders and requests for Army-Navy game tickets--they can prove to be rewarding to the patient researcher. The prominent theme that runs through the complete collection was Kellogg's desire to head off the growth of radicalism at home and abroad.

The major recent diplomatic works on the 1920s (Hogan, Iriye, Leffler, et al.), so justly praised in Thomas McCormick's review of the field (Reviews in American History, December, 1982), have all failed to use the Kellogg papers. This is, in part, due to the former inaccessibility of the collection, as well as



the focus of their studies. (The Frank B. Kellogg Papers [hereafter FBK] are now available on Minnesota Historical Society microfilm from the Library of Congress). Most of the studies concentrate on Europe, while those dealing with United States policy in "underdeveloped" and "developing" nations do not see anti-communism as a major United States policy goal during Kellogg's Secretaryship. The Kellogg papers, however, offer a different perspective into the diplomacy of the 1920s and, therefore, provide an insight into the continuing debate over the origins of the Cold War. We offer the following documents as an indication of Kellogg's views and concerns with the hope that what we have found in these papers, sparse as they may be at times, may be of use to other SHAFR members.

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Kellogg's concern with communistic influences within the United States began long before his appointment as Secretary of State. An example of his thoughts on this subject can be found in the "Notes on the Congressional Record of Frank Kellogg, compiled under the direction of Charles J. Moos, 1936-1937." (FBK Mss Reel 7) In a February 4, 1919 speech to his colleagues in the Senate, Kellogg charged: "It is the I.W.W.--the escaped nihilists, who come to this country from Russia; the scum of Europe comprised of men who call themselves socialists but who are mere anarchists. They try to incite the dissatisfied elements of this country to a class warfare." Kellogg's antipathy to the spread of communism to the United States continued during his years as Secretary. He was especially concerned about allowing communists into the country. His position was made quite clear in an October 1925 letter to one Fred C. Van Dusen (FBK Mss Reel 17). Commenting on press reaction to his barring from entry into the United States of Shapurji Saklatvala, communist member to the British House of Commons from India, Kellogg bluntly stated: "I believe that this is the only way to treat these revolutionists."

Kellogg's efforts to contain communism abroad can be seen in his efforts to meet the first major problem in his tenure as Secretary, revolution in China. The Soviet Union had won tremendous influence over the nationalist movement in China by revising the unequal



treaties and offering funds, arms and advisers to the Kuomintang, the nationalist party in China. This situation was exacerbated by the refusal of the "Powers" to deal with the Kuomintang Government at Canton and their failure to revise the unequal treaties as promised at the Washington Conference. Through the aid of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party, with which it was allied, the Kuomintang grew in strength through the early Twenties. By 1925 it appeared as a threatening "red" specter to many foreign observers who feared China would go Communist.

While Kellogg was keenly aware of the Communist threat to United States interests, he did not believe that the Kuomintang represented Chinese Bolshevism. Rather, he astutely saw that the Soviet Union was attempting to utilize Chinese nationalism for its own ends on the common ground of anti-imperialism. Kellogg sought to frame American policy to undercut the Soviet position by negotiating a revision of the treaties, thereby meeting the demands of Chinese nationalism. This policy was outlined in a letter to President Coolidge (Kellogg to Coolidge, 26 June 1925, FBK Mss Reel 16), written shortly after Kellogg's taking office. His letter was written in response to a Chinese request for the United States to take the lead in revising the unequal treaties:

Now in the present very disturbed condition of China, it is evident that the Chinese Government is seeking to neutralize radical propaganda directed toward the immediate cancellation of so-called unequal treaties which undoubtedly includes extra-territoriality, conventional tariff, and leased territories. We are interested in the tariff question and in extraterritorial privileges which our citizens enjoy and under which they live. We are also interested in the protection of the right of our citizens to hold land which they now hold under leases, but we are not interested in the leased territories such as Dairen, leased to Japan, [a list of the leased territories follows]....

I would be perfectly willing to recommend the appointment of Mr. MacMurray and Mr. Strawn, who will presently be in China, with such assistance as they may need, to



attend a general conference such as is outlined in the Chinese note. The only question in my mind is whether in the present disturbed condition of China, it would do good or harm. I am inclined to the opinion that a statement that the United States is ready to attend such a conference would have a quieting effect in China but the serious question is this--whether we could in justice to our citizens, give up all our extra-territoriality immediately or could only do so by a progressive program as China demonstrates its capacity to protect foreigners and develop law and a judicial system to enforce it. I think we shall have to give up these rights sooner or later to China with certain treaty guarantees as to property now owned by Americans in China. There is very much less feeling in China against us than any other country; in fact, I think the sentiment is very strong and China naturally looks to us for assistance. It has been marvelous that no American citizen has yet been injured in the riots which have taken place but I am fearful that if the present condition goes on, that some such disaster may happen. I do not know just how other Governments would receive such an announcement by the United States. They might not look upon it with favor in view of the present disturbed condition. They might think it would tend to widen the breach between Americans and other subjects in China, and although I am inclined to think it would have a very quieting effect and rather back up the Chinese Government [sic]. Of course, I do not contemplate saying anything until I get back a further message from Mayer in Peking and until I get the comments of Mr. MacMurray, who arrives in Tokyo on Monday, as I am somewhat disturbed as to how the other Governments would take this. They might look at it as cutting under them and not standing by with the 'united front.' It is a very necessary thing in China, of course, that we should be firm in our support for the protection of all foreigners. We want to help China. I think it has been our policy to aid her in



the accomplishment of her aspirations. Nevertheless we must be careful and not at this time give the impression of backing out in the demand for the protection of foreigners.

Undoubtedly, Bolshevik agitators and propagandists are back [of] much of this anti-foreign demonstration in China which has brought about strikes and riots. I could not say that it is all attributable to that because it is easy to stir up an anti-foreign sentiment. Then there has been growing this feeling or aspiration [of nationalism] in China which was easy for the Bolsheviks to take advantage of.

The solution was clear, the United States had to make concessions to Chinese nationalism or Bolshevism would sweep a China feeling betrayed by an America that failed to help her achieve nationhood.

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Kellogg's policies towards Italy and Mussolini's fascist government indicate that his concerns with communism were not a new direction in the making of American foreign policy, but represented a continuation of Secretary Hughes's policies. Mussolini's assumption of power was viewed favorably by American policymakers, in large part because it was seen as the death blow to Bolshevism in Italy. Ignoring the domestic terror of the fascist government, Kellogg oversaw a favorable debt settlement with Italy over stiff Congressional opposition, and came to view all Italian opposition to Mussolini as being inspired and carried out by left-wing agitators. Kellogg's position is clearly illustrated in his letter to the American Ambassador to Rome, Henry Fletcher, 10 July 1926. (FBK Mss Reel 21)

I enclose you herewith an article ["Mussolini....Great, Able, Good"] written by Mrs. Kohlsaatt, about whom I wrote you, which appeared in the Pioneer Press of Saint Paul, where she is visiting her daughter. I suppose this article is somewhat overdrawn but I presume it is nearer the truth than the articles of the anti-Mussolini propagandists.



There are, as you know, in this country, especially in New York, Italian organizations made up of communists, socialists and anarchists, who are intensely opposed to the present government in Italy and very noisy and disorderly in their actions. They try to insult every prominent person coming from Italy connected with the government and even assaulted and beat up those who are known to be friendly. I have, on several occasions, requested the New York authorities to protect these people on their arrival which they have done, but the ordinary disturbances which occur from day to day are difficult to handle.

Kellogg's view of fascism as a bulwark against Bolshevism, therefore, served as the basis for continued friendly relations between the United States and Italy throughout the remainder of the 1920s.

During his tenure as Secretary of State, Kellogg also faced some serious problems in Latin America. His personal papers stress his growing concern over Mexican attempts to put into place land and subsoil policies which were viewed as detrimental to American concerns operating in that nation. It is also evident that suspicion of Mexican involvement in the revolution shaking Nicaragua also proved to be a major diplomatic concern of the Coolidge administration. State Department records point out that these were not Kellogg's only problems in dealing with United States-Latin American relations. American representatives in Chile and Argentina warned that communist activities were growing. From Venezuela there came ominous suggestions that should the seemingly immortal President Juan Vincente Gomez pass away, this nation might fall prey to communist agitators. Finally, Colombia was beginning to put forth disturbing "socialistic" oil legislation, very much resembling Mexico's plans.

It is in light of this information that Kellogg's most definitive statement concerning communism in Latin America should be viewed. Entitled "Bolshevik Aims and Policies in Mexico and Latin America" (FBK Mss Reel 24), the document was left by Kellogg with the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on 12 January 1927, following his testimony concerning Mexican involvement in Nicaraguan affairs. It stated that



The Bolshevik leaders have had very definite ideas with respect to the role which Mexico and Latin America are to play in their general program of world revolution. They have set up as one of their fundamental tasks the destruction of what they term American Imperialism as a necessary prerequisite to the successful development of the international revolutionary movement in the new world. The propagation of communist ideas and principles in the various countries of Latin America is considered secondary to the carrying on of propaganda against the aims and policies of the United States. Thus Latin America and Mexico are conceived as a base for activity against the United States. Communists in the United States have been repeatedly instructed to devote special attention to the struggle against "American Imperialism" in Latin America and to the organization of resistance to the United States....During the past few years the Bolshevik leaders have been giving more and more attention to anti-American activities in Mexico and Latin America. The Communists in the United States have been criticized for not displaying sufficient energy in this sphere. Very specific instructions in this regard were issued to the Communists in the United States in the "Resolution of the American Question" adopted at the VIth Enlarged Plenary Session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International at Moscow on March 15, 1926....In accordance with Moscow's instructions the American Communists during the last two years have been placing special emphasis on their anti-American work in Mexico and Latin America. Considerable attention was given to the matter at the Fourth Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party in Chicago, August 21-30, 1925. A special organization known as the All-American Anti-Imperialist League has been created by the American Communists to carry out the instructions of Moscow in a matter of organizing Latin America against the United



States....The Fourth Convention listed among the concrete tasks of the Party

"To carry on a systematic and active agitation against American imperialism, particularly in Latin America. To demand the withdrawal of American armed forces from foreign lands....[sic] To give active support to the activities of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League."

The same convention adopted a lengthy resolution with respect to the struggle against American imperialism. This resolution pointed out that

"there is sufficient homogeneity to permit the building of a powerful continental movement of workers and farmers against American imperialism, and sufficient resentment due to the occupation of Central American and Caribbean [sic] countries, the sustaining of autocracies such as those of Venezuela and Peru by United States aid, the interference in the internal affairs of all of the countries, the system of financial and military advisors, the monopolistic Monroe Doctrine and the robbery of the tremendous natural resources of Latin America."

[Kellogg concluded that] The resolution declared that there were "millions groaning under the American imperialist rule" in the Philippines, Porto Rico, Cuba, Mexico, Haiti, etc., and that it was the task of the Communists to give active support to the anti-American movements in the various countries in Latin America.

While Kellogg was roundly criticized at the time for drawing the spectre of communism into discussions of United States-Mexican difficulties arising from Mexico's attitude about oil properties and its involvement in Nicaragua, other evidence in the Kellogg Papers and elsewhere indicates that to the Secretary



at least, the red menace was very much a problem. In light of such evidence it would seem unwise to view Kellogg's pronouncements on Bolshevik activities in Latin America as merely attempts to rally support for his Mexican policies. For even though Kellogg received criticism for his stand, he could take comfort in James Sheffield's assessment of the Mexican situation in 1928. The American Ambassador to Mexico wrote Kellogg that his statements had done much to "halt the Bolshevik tendencies" of the Mexican government. (Sheffield to Kellogg, December 28, 1928, FBK Mss Reel 24).

Kellogg's worrying about communism in Latin America and elsewhere made it clear that fighting the spread of communism so as to protect nations vital to American interests from becoming socialistic was a main component of United States foreign policy during the 1920s. Thus, a perusal of the Kellogg papers, although frustrating at times, demonstrates that the origins of the Cold War were in the post-World War I and not the post-World War II period.

**East Is east and West Is west—  
But What About the Capitals?**

by

Robert W. Matson (University of Oregon)

Historians who write about the Cold War must be concerned not only with who controlled the capitals of Europe in the late 1940s, but also with where to put the capital letters in their terminology. Dictionaries used to inform us that "west" was a direction, whereas "West" designated a region (such as the American West, the Western Hemisphere, or the area in which the Western Civilization is characteristic). Newer editions, however, describe rather than prescribe the uses of words. Thus, Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language (1981) no longer preserves the distinction made in earlier editions. Instead, the definitions of "east" and "west" offer the rather passive comment: "often capitalized."

If we write about "Western Europe," do readers know what the term means? Do we? Is the term



geographical, cultural, or political? There are, of course, valid reasons for defining regions within Europe during various periods of history. But, as Alan Henrickson has correctly noted, after the Second World War "Western Europe" came to mean "a new entity, a somewhat artificial region defined less by culture or history than by the fact of Soviet military control over the eastern part of Europe."<sup>1</sup> Still, in many books one finds the same term used--and capitalized the same way--to refer to prewar and postwar regions that are neither geographically nor conceptually equal.

This matter should not concern only pedants with a desire to impose orthographic uniformity. The lack of neat symmetry in the real world is what requires care in the use of terms. For example, Finland is not geographically in western Europe, nor is it part of the Cold War anti-Soviet West. Yet the Finns are undoubtedly Western in culture in a way that the Russians, for example, are not. In fact, the economic and emotional ties Finland had with other Western democracies helped the Finns establish their unique postwar situation as an independent neighbor of the Soviet Union. Finland's status certainly puzzled State Department officials in the late 1940s, and though they finally decided to regard it as a special case, the Historical Office has never been quite sure where Finland is. Documents on Finland are published in both the Eastern Europe and Western Europe volumes of the Foreign Relations series. The Finns gained a degree of latitude from the confusion attending the birth of a new Western Europe, but it was a different story for the Czechs. Before the Spring Crisis of 1948, the latter hoped to gain American support for a policy of balancing ties with the Soviet block and a westward cultural orientation. They were not able to convince Secretaries of State Byrnes and Marshall, however, that their society was really Western at heart, even though they advanced virtually the same arguments as the Finns. Similarly, Swedish officials must have been both confused and angered by U.S. Ambassador H. Freeman Matthew's 1948 critique of their policies: "The United States has not forgotten Swedish neutrality; we do not like neutrality and we do not regard Sweden as a 'western ally'."<sup>2</sup>

These cases illustrate how difficult it was for U.S. officials to deal with situations that did not



seem to conform to their perception of a Europe that was becoming divided into two camps, the newest versions of Western and Eastern Europe. Historians should be able to handle these complexities more skillfully, but often we continue to rely upon the official expressions. And the diplomats, among whose papers we do our research, exacerbate the problem by their tendency to strew capitals prodigally throughout their dispatches so that the reader is unsure when they mean to give a geographic or political definition to terms such as "Western Europe."

Now that the Western Civilization has reached the Orient, and has nearly circumnavigated the globe, perhaps the terms "western" and "eastern" have no valid meanings other than geographical ones. But in the absence of help from either dictionaries or diplomats, historians must give their own definitions. We should do so in ways that do not, through a kind of circular reasoning, define categories in a way that disguises the dilemmas and diversity of real life.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Alan K. Henrikson, "The Creation of the North Atlantic Alliance, 1948-1952," Naval War College Review 32 (May-June, 1980): 7.

<sup>2</sup>H. Freeman Matthews to Secretary of State, 21 April 1948, U.S., Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948 3 (Washington, 1974): 98.

#### **Confessions of a British Diplomat in Washington, 1931-1935**

by

Benjamin D. Rhodes

(University of Wisconsin-Whitewater)

Under ordinary circumstances Washington has been regarded as a reasonably tolerable location by the British diplomatic service. The years of the Hoover Administration were a conspicuous exception, however, as practically everything that could go wrong did go wrong: collapsing banks and corporations, runaway unemployment, a breakdown of law and order, and obvious distress among the destitute. At the same time differences over economic issues subjected Anglo-



American relations to severe strains. America's high tariff policy, reinforced by the Hawley-Smoot tariff of 1930, was viewed by the British as a declaration of economic warfare. But especially Washington and London quarreled over Britain's World War I debt to the United States. In 1923 it was thought that a permanent solution had been found when the British agreed to fund their \$4.6 billion debt over a sixty-two year period. Both governments naively assumed that international prosperity would in time make the semi-annual payments appear insignificant. But these rosy assumptions were rendered obsolete by the depression.

To British diplomats whose impressions of America had been shaped during times of prosperity, progressivism, and patriotic fervor, the early thirties proved a cruel disillusionment. A case in point was that of Francis D'Arcy Godolphin Osborne, the number two man of the British Embassy. Previously the 47-year-old Osborne, who was the brother of the Duke of Leeds, had served in Washington as Third Secretary from 1913-1918. Prior to being named Counselor of the British Embassy at Washington, he had held a similar position in Rome. A bachelor and watercolorist, Osborne was considered by the State Department to be "friendly to the United States and neither insular nor imperialistic in his point of view;" his diplomatic style was characterized as the clever and popular brand.<sup>1</sup> Accompanied by his manservant, Osborne arrived at New York on July 24, 1931 on board the Aquitania. A month after Osborne had commenced his duties at the new British Embassy on Massachusetts Avenue, his 1928 four-seater sports phaeton Cadillac arrived following shipment from Italy.<sup>2</sup>

Osborne was plainly unprepared for the social and economic changes which had occurred in America since his departure from Washington in 1918. The depression was discouraging enough in itself, but Osborne was appalled by the accompanying breakdown of law and order, and by the moral revolution of the twenties. Chicago alone, he reported, boasted of a murder a day, and for only fifty dollars one could hire an assassin to liquidate an enemy. In America the function of a corporation lawyer was to advise his clients "just how near to the wind they can sail without transgression of the law; if he can suggest a practical means of evading the law, he is a better lawyer." Prohibition



was the obvious source of much of America's lawlessness. Other causes were also suggested:

The incessant emission of a flood of ill-considered and inconsistent law by the Federal and State Legislatures, much of it conceived and imposed against the wish and interest of an indifferent public opinion by an unholy alliance of religious cranks and business interests; the mass seduction of high-powered salesmanship with its hypnotic instillation of a lust for the acquisition of material possessions; the adaption of the methods of American business organisation to the principles of the now defunct Sicilian Mafia and Neapolitan Camorra; the impairment of the moral stamina of the race by the dregs of Europe; the persistence of the pioneer spirit with its rough-and-ready methods; the lack of the stabilising influence of history and tradition; the decay of religious faith; the decadence of obsolete ethical standards and sanctions; the contempt for human life engendered by war; and the craving for adventure and self-expression which is the inevitable reaction of an individualism thwarted by the restraints and inhibitions of an age of mass production and standardisation. As regards the last, there is no doubt that the exploits of the gangsters, as displayed in the press, on the film and in the theatre, offer a vicarious satisfaction to the sensation-loving, excitement-craving and romance-starved public of the country, which has grown a little tired of its former idols, the demi-gods and demi-vierges of Hollywood. Murder and robbery are not only advertised to the rising generation as highly remunerative, but are invested with a glamour which enhances their appeal to the baser instincts. America has always thirsted after national heroes, and now she has only a single and a rather secretive and contemptuous Lindbergh to set against a multitude of Capones and Diamonds.

The American people is alive to the danger of the situation. But in the face of the increase of crime, violence and



insecurity and the breakdown of law and order they appear to be as apathetic and helpless, perhaps as fatalistic, as in the face of the economic depression. Just as their stock markets' profits have vanished into thin air, so nothing remains of that comfortable post-war consciousness of the monopoly of moral righteousness which was the justification of the monopoly of gold much as the delusion of "service" was the justification of excessive profits. The spirit of the Puritans has capitulated to the materialism of big business, and the people have worshipped the golden calf of prosperity. And now prosperity is gone and unemployment has taken its place as the feature of the national economy. Government, both administrative and legislative, is helpless in the crisis and discredited in the public esteem. The wheels of justice are clogged. Lawlessness is rife, and the coming winter threatens the possibility of serious industrial disorder. The crisis calls for the emergence either of a leader empowered by the confidence and backing of the vast mass of the people or of a new spirit of political responsibility in the nation. For the moment, there is no sign of either.<sup>3</sup>

The Foreign Office approvingly received Osborne's rendition of America's decline and distributed it as a "confidential print" to the principal British embassies. Within a few months, unknown to Osborne, a detailed and accurate synopsis of his indiscreet views was being distributed with much tongue-clicking throughout the Western European Division of the State Department. The leak in British security originated at the British Embassy in Belgrade. John D. Prince, the American Minister to Yugoslavia, learned of Osborne's report concerning America's decadence through the British First Secretary, Philip Leigh-Smith, who was in fact the real head of the British Embassy due to the "almost continual absence of the sport-loving minister from his post." Leigh-Smith, according to Prince, was "sincerely disturbed" by Osborne's views and confided in his friend in order to learn his impressions. Prince maintained that Osborne had presented a highly superficial portrait and had



overlooked the existence of a solid middleclass element which was not susceptible to the blandishments of criminals and capitalists. "I need hardly remind the Department," Prince concluded, "that . . . it would be a very serious matter for my intimate friend, Mr. Leigh-Smith, were it to become known that he has given me such information."<sup>4</sup>

The State Department chose to regard Osborne's report as a juicy item of gossip, but not as something to be taken too seriously. Osborne's pique was ascribed to irritation over American war debt policy as well as to the culture shock inflicted by the contrast between the America of World War I and 1931. It was suggested that the outburst was caused by a personal grievance, since Osborne had been denied admission to the Diplomatic Gallery of the Senate and had irritably complained to the State Department that his personal visiting card had not been sufficient to furnish him admittance. Or, another possible explanation was that the account of American degeneracy was merely an aesthetic reaction to the more glaring vulgarizations of the press and movies. Assistant Secretary of State Harvey Bundy noted that his inclination was to read Osborne's report and "then forget it quickly." Osborne, he added, was "very able and not in general hostile at present."<sup>5</sup> And Under Secretary of State William R. Castle, Jr., in commending Prince for his report, characterized Osborne as an aesthete and noted: "It is not believed that he would now, after some months here, generalize as widely as he appears to have done."<sup>6</sup>

How completely did State Department officialdom underestimate their man! If anything, Osborne's service in Washington made him more, not less, critical of American society and government than before. Six months after the leak at Belgrade, Osborne once again addressed himself at length to comparing the America of 1918 with the America of 1931. This time he characterized his remarks as a "purely personal speculation based on brief and incomplete observation." Notwithstanding that qualification, Osborne permitted himself to indulge in sweeping generalizations:

In 1918, then America was a country united in the fine frenzy of patriotic endeavor. To-day it is a continent rather



than a country, and a continent divided against itself by conflicting interests and anxieties and united only in a common despair. The national spirit is moribund, and where it still lives it is inarticulate and helpless. There is a striking absence of social or civic responsibility. The national institutions are in equal disrepute and decadence. The system of government is patently unequal to the emergency. The President is a pathetic, distracted and helpless mediocrity. The Congress is an irresponsible and panic-stricken assembly, representing not a nation but a complexity of irreconcilable interests and almost exclusively swayed by party or parochial motives. Justice is a byword and the law a common prostitute. Human life and property are less respected and less protected than in any other community of the white race. There are no trusted leaders or counsellors in politics, finance, or industry. Banking is discredited and industry paralysed. There are over 10 million unemployed. The buoyancy of the American temperament is submerged in a mood of apathetic despair and paralytic defeatism. The country is not far from spiritual, moral and political as well as financial bankruptcy.

As the 1920's drew to their close, the crescendo of 'Republican prosperity' rose under Coolidge to its fantastic climax and inevitable collapse under Hoover. America was brutally awakened from its pipe-dream of a materialistic utopia to find Republican prosperity shattered around its feet, to see the country helplessly engulfed in the vicious spiral of the world crisis, and to discover 100 per cent. Americanism a broken reed in time of trouble . . . . And it is undeniable that the Anglo-Saxon race in America, the original ruling class, is losing control, is being outbred by more prolific, but less developed, racial elements, and is going to the wall.

There is, of course, no American race yet, and, in present circumstances, there can hardly be said to be an American nation. Mr. Sinclair Lewis's Babbitt, the



generally-accepted American, is, whatever his racial admixture, a mass-product, as standardised as his automobile, his radio and all the adjuncts of his life. And it may be held that all that American civilisation has so far given to the world is the debasement of democracy and of the capitalistic system in standardised mediocrity and organized materialism--Babbitt and Fordism . . . .

The atmosphere of America is stagnant and miasmatic, and there seems to be more life and hope in Europe, in spite of all her problems and misfortunes, more stability, more wisdom and more health than on the other side of the Atlantic. America seems to have fallen from adolescence into dementia praecox, or, as has been suggested, to have passed from barbarism into decadence without bringing civilisation. The democratic spirit is dissolved in 'joinerism,' the astonishing mania for innumerable, preposterous secret societies. (Or are they, with their childish pomp and pretentious paraphernalia, a pathetic yearning after the principle of aristocracy?) Kindliness is debased to a vulgar publicity value in 'folksiness.' There is a metallic quality in American life, a spiritual aridity, an absence of flavour or bouquet, something non-mature, but without the promise of immaturity or the strength of crudity. Life in America after life in Europe is like drinking Big Tree Burgundy after Chamartin.<sup>7</sup>

This time Osborne's views, despite being disseminated throughout the British diplomatic establishment, remained intact. Nor did the State Department discover that Osborne regarded President Hoover as "three parts businessman and one part preacher, with a convenient watertight compartment dividing the moral values of the two personalities." After hearing Hoover's speech accepting the 1932 Republican nomination, Osborne noted that the audience seemed apathetic. In part the lack of enthusiasm was attributable to a malfunctioning microphone, but a further cause was "the dispiriting influence of Mr. Hoover's personality, his unprepossessing exterior,



his sour, puckered face of a bilious baby, his dreary, nasal-monotone reading interminably, and for the most part inaudibly from a typescript, without a single inflection of voice or gesture to relieve the tedium."<sup>8</sup> And, in Osborne's opinion, British interests would be better served by the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt, since the Democrats had a greater tradition of international cooperation than the Republicans.<sup>9</sup>

In his final two years in Washington, Osborne became less outspoken, apparently because, like Sir Ronald Lindsay, the British Ambassador to the United States, he saw the social welfare programs of the New Deal as derived from the British model. He was shocked by the rise and fall (through assassination) of Louisiana Senator Huey Long, and by the "ignorance and muddle-headedness displayed by Congress when it passed the first of the Neutrality Acts of 1935.<sup>10</sup> However, the caustic generalizations regarding Hoover, Ford, and Main Street were now muted. In 1936 Osborne returned to Italy as British Minister to the Vatican, a position which he held throughout World War II, providing an important channel for contacts between the Allies and the Papacy. Osborne was knighted in 1943 and twenty years later inherited the title Duke of Leeds from his brother. With Osborne's death in 1964, the dukedom became extinct. In the end, the leak of Osborne's 1931 dispatch produced only a minor diplomatic ripple as the State Department misinterpreted his blend of superciliousness and sophistication as a momentary indiscretion. For both Osborne and Anglo-American relations, that proved fortunate.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Memorandum for Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, Division of Western European Affairs, September 16, 1931, General Records of the Department of State, File No. 701.4111/753-1/2, Record Group 59, National Archives (hereafter cited by file number).

<sup>2</sup>Osborne to Stimson, August 22, 1931, File No. 701.4111/754, RG 59.

<sup>3</sup>Osborne to Arthur Henderson, August 20, 1931, FO414/268/A5183, Public Record Office (hereafter cited as PRO).



<sup>4</sup>Prince to Under Secretary of State William R. Castle, December 31, 1931, File No. 701.4111/768, RG 59.

<sup>5</sup>Memorandum by Assistant Secretary of State Harvey Bundy, January 27, 1932, File No. 701.4111/774, RG 59.

<sup>6</sup>Castle to Prince, February 8, 1932, File No. 701.4111/768, RG 59.

<sup>7</sup>Osborne to Sir John Simon, June n.d., 1932, FO 414/270/A4028, PRO.

<sup>8</sup>Osborne to Simon, August 18, 1932, FO 414/270/A5556, PRO.

<sup>9</sup>Osborne to Simon, October 27, 1932, FO 414/270/A7519, PRO.

<sup>10</sup>Osborne to Sir Samuel Hoare, September 11, 1935, FO 414/272/A8111, PRO; Osborne to Hoare, August 27, 1935, FO 414/272/A7729, PRO.

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## ANNOUNCEMENTS

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The Centro per Gli Studi Politica Estera E. Opinione Pubblica of Milan, Italy wishes to make contact with SHAFR and would like an American to attend their Conference on October 28 and 29. Anyone interested should contact SHAFR President Ernest May (Harvard).

### SMITHSONIAN EXHIBITION

The Smithsonian Institution is planning a major exhibition on the United States Exploring Expedition of 1838-1842 for the Evans Gallery of the National Museum of Natural History. The exhibit will focus on the professionalization of science, the scientific role of the Navy and the institutional legacy that resulted from this voyage of discovery. We are in search of unique information and exhibitable items related to the Expedition. The museum would also like to contact the descendents of any of those who participated. Please notify Herman J. Viola, Chairman, U.S. Exploring Expedition Planning Committee, NAA 60A, The National Museum of Natural History, The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560.



## **INFORMATION REQUEST**

by Linda Killen (Radford College)

I am doing research on all aspects of US contact with Yugoslavia in the years 1918-1948 and would appreciate any leads that others may have discovered in doing their own research and/or reading. I am particularly interested in "informal" contacts of the sort which would usually be noted but not considered pertinent to more "cosmic" themes. Please contact Linda Killen, History Department, Radford University, Radford, VA 24142.

## **NEW AUSTRALIAN ORGANIZATION OF INTEREST TO SHAFR**

Peter G. Edwards (Australian War Memorial) sends the following information:

Members of SHAFR whose interest was aroused by the article by Roger Dingman in the December 1982 Newsletter, entitled 'Researching American Foreign Relations Abroad: Canberra,' may be interested to know that an equivalent organization has recently been established in Australia. It is called the Historians of Australian Defence and Foreign Policy Association and its president is Dr. John M. McCarthy, Department of History, University of N.S.W. at Duntroon, DUNTROON, A.C.T. 2600. Members of SHAFR who are visiting Australia would be welcome to contact HADFPA, especially if they have an interest in Australian-American relations.

## **SAWH Establishes an Endowment to Support the Julia Cherry Spruill and Willie Lee Rose Publication Prizes**

The Southern Association of Women Historians is delighted to announce the decision of its members to establish two prizes for publication and to solicit contributions to an endowment to support these prizes. East prize will be awarded every two years and will consist of \$500 and a plaque. The Julia Cherry Spruill Publication Prize in Southern Women's History will be for the best published work (book or article) in the history of Southern women. The Willie Lee Rose Publication Prize in Southern History will be for the



best book in Southern history authored by a woman.

The Southern Association of Women Historians invites all those who share our respect of Julia Cherry Spruill and Willie Lee Rose, and who share our goals of promoting the study of women, the study of Southern history, and the enhancement of the careers of women historians, to join us in honoring these outstanding scholars and promoting our goals by contributing to the endowment fund.

Checks should be made out to the Southern Association of Women Historians and sent to:

Professor Judith F. Gentry  
Department of History  
University of Southwestern Louisiana  
Lafayette, LA 70504

### **FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES VOLUMES**

The Department of State recently released two additional volumes in the series Foreign Relations of the United States for the years 1952-1954: Volume V, Western European Security and Volume XI, Africa and South Asia. Both volumes are in two parts. Five of sixteen scheduled volumes recording the years 1952-1954 have now been released.

Copies may be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Copies of Volume V (Department of State publications 9288 and 9289; GPO Stock No. 044-000-01948-5) may be purchased for \$28.00 and copies of Volume XI (Department of State publications 9280 and 9281; GPO Stock No. 044-000-01939-6) may be purchased for \$31.00 (domestic post paid). Checks or money orders should be made out to the Superintendent of Documents.

### **SEARCH FOR SHAFR EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER**

Ernest R. May, president of SHAFR, has appointed a Search Committee to find an Executive Secretary-Treasurer whose term will commence on June 1, 1985. Professors Warren Kuehl, Gary Hess, and Lawrence Kaplan, together with Mr. May, constitute the Committee. Nominations and inquiries may be addressed to Professor Ernest R. May, John F. Kennedy School of Government, 79 Boyston Street, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.



### CALL FOR PAPERS

The Pacific Coast Branch of the AHA will meet next August (1984) at the University of Washington campus in Seattle. All persons interested in presenting papers or organizing a session should forward a letter including 1) the title and abstract of the paper, and 2) the names and curriculum vitae of all prospective participants. Letters of inquiry and paper/session proposals must be received by December 31, 1983 and should be addressed to:

Albert Camarillo  
PCB-AHA Program Committee Chair  
Department of History  
Stanford University  
Stanford, California 94305

### CALL FOR PAPERS

The Sixth Symposium on the Occupation of Japan, sponsored by the MacArthur Memorial, the MacArthur Memorial Foundation, and Old Dominion University will be held on October 18-19, 1984 on the special topic "The Occupation of Japan: Arts and Culture."

The deadline for proposals is October 1, 1983. Direct inquiries to:

Director  
MacArthur Memorial  
MacArthur Square  
Norfolk, Virginia 23510

### RESEARCH GRANTS

The US Army Military History Institute will award approximately six Advanced Research Grants for 1984. Each grant carries a stipend of \$500.00 to cover travel and living costs while conducting research in the USAMHI library, archives and special collections. Applicants must be scholars at the graduate or post-graduate level pursuing research topics in the field of military history of interest to the academic community, the US Army, and the US Army Military History Institute. Both civilian and Active duty military personnel are encouraged to apply. The application deadline for grants to be awarded in 1984



is 1 January 1984. For information and application forms contact:

Assistant Director for Historical Services  
US Army Military History Institute  
Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17013

### **HAROLD L. PETERSON AWARD**

The Harold L. Peterson Award for the best article on any facet of American military history written in the English language and published during 1983 in an American or foreign journal has been announced by William C. Everhart, chairman of the board of Eastern National Park and Monument Association.

Nominations may be made on behalf of articles that deal not only with military history, including naval and air, directly but also with economic, political, social, ecological, or cultural developments during a period of war or affecting military history between wars from the time of settlement until the present. Three clear copies of articles nominated must be received by the Executive Secretary of Eastern National Park and Monument Association, PO Box 671, Cooperstown, NY 13326, not later than March 15, 1984.

### **Tentative AHA/SHAFR Sessions**

Alan K. Henrikson (Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy) and Program Chairman for SHAFR activities reports the tentative approval for two sessions that will be joint AHA-SHAFR sessions at San Francisco in December (1983).

"American Foreign Policy, 1900-1940: The European Perspective" Chair: Richard Leopold, Northwestern University. Papers by Serge A. Ricard (Provence), Dragoljub Zivojinovic (Belgrade), and Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones (Edinburgh). Comment by Lloyd E. Ambrosius (Nebraska-Lincoln).

"National Security and Declassification of Diplomatic Documents, 1950-1960: Problems and



Possibilities" Chair: Lawrence S. Kaplan (Kent State).  
Panel: Thomas G. Patterson (Connecticut), William Z.  
Slaney (U.S. Department of State), and Milton O.  
Gustafson (U.S. Archives).

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## STUDENT BONERS

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Robert A. Taft: another big post war politician who  
was a relative of the Taft that was  
vice president.

--served as president and vice presi-  
dent. He was healthy over-weight man  
with a moustache.

--was a prominent figure in the Truman  
administration. He was called "Mr.  
Republican."

--was a congressman which supported  
Kennedy. Thus being one of the major  
contributors to helping Kennedy win  
election because of his backing.

--was another prominent political  
leader that made himself known.

-- Robert H. Ferrell (Indiana)

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## SHAFR — A GENEALOGICAL INQUIRY

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September, 1983

Dear Members of SHAFR:

I write to ask your assistance in an interesting  
and important project that, I believe, will further  
strengthen the identity of our organization, help us  
to recognize some of our intellectual debts and  
interrelationships, and provide important family  
"data" for the SHAFR archives at Georgetown. This  
project will help us to clarify our intellectual  
"roots" and "branches." The end product, will include  
a moderate component of oral history (especially  
involving the more advanced members of our guild),  
career reflections and informative anecdotes, and  
construction of a SHAFR family tree, as inclusive as  
possible.



I would appreciate your taking the time to complete the adjacent information sheet, which will help provide the data base necessary to initiate the project, and mailing it to me at your earliest convenience. I shall also be writing selected members of SHAFR for information. I take this opportunity to thank you for your interest and support.

Most cordially,

Geoff Smith  
Queen's University

Mail to: Professor G.S. Smith  
History Department  
Queen's University  
Kingston, Ontario K7L 3N6

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Present Position \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Year Ph.D. Secured: \_\_\_\_\_

Mentor: \_\_\_\_\_

University: \_\_\_\_\_

Would Contribute Information/Assistance

to Project \_\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No

Individuals You Feel Should be Contacted

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



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

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(Please limit abstracts to a total of twenty (20) lines of Newsletter space, or approximately two hundred (200) words. The desire to accommodate as many contributors as possible, plus the overriding problem of space, makes this restriction necessary. Double space all abstracts, and send them as you would have them appear in print. For abstracts of articles, please supply the date, the volume, the number within the volume, and the pages. It would be appreciated if abstracts were not sent until after a paper has been delivered, or an article has been printed. Also, please do not send abstracts which have appeared in Diplomatic History, since all SHAFR members already receive the latter publication).

Robert R. Swartout, Jr. (Carroll College, Helena, Montana), "United States Ministers to Korea, 1882-1905: The Loss of American Innocence," Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 57 (1982), 29-40.

This article is comprised of three parts. The first section surveys the history of Korean-American diplomatic relations from 1882 to 1905, focusing on the division which arose between U.S. ministers serving in Seoul and foreign policy makers back in Washington over the issue of Korean independence. Ultimately of course, the "hands-off" approach of Washington prevailed and the United States acquiesced in the Japanese takeover of Korea in 1905. The second part of the essay reviews the ways in which American historians over the years have interpreted America's nineteenth-century Korean policy. Recently, most such historians have concluded that officials in Washington pursued a reasonable policy reflecting America's limited interests in the peninsular kingdom. The last section of the article, differing from the previously stated interpretation, suggests that U.S. ministers to Korea, because of their firsthand experiences, often gained special insights into the peculiar problems of the Korean peninsula. By ignoring the ministers' pleas for greater American support of Korean independence, Washington policy makers, it is argued, may have missed an important



opportunity to help create a neutralized, independent Korea through the concerted efforts of international diplomacy.

Hong-Kyu Park (Jarvis Christian College), "American Involvement in the Korean War," History Teacher, 16 (February, 1983), 249-263.

A bibliographical note citing selected materials that are readily available and should prove useful in integrating the Korean involvement into the writing and teaching of recent American foreign relations. Although the subject has attracted considerable scholarly and popular attention over the past three decades, there have emerged no clearly defined schools of interpretation. While the American decision to intervene in Korea and the Truman-MacArthur dispute have been fairly well reconstructed, there are possibilities for further investigation of the Sino-American military confrontation, U.S. negotiations for the Korean armistice, and America's domestic implications of the war. The whole story of the Korean involvement will remain untold as long as much of the American and most of the communist evidence remains hidden from view.

Jonathan Goldstein (West Georgia College), "Indochina War on Campus: The Summit/Spicerack Controversy at the University of Pennsylvania, 1965-67."

Paper read at the annual meeting of the Southwest Conference, Association for Asian Studies, Boone, North Carolina, January 1983. In September 1965, University of Pennsylvania students discovered and publicized the fact that their institution had been engaged for fourteen years in secret chemical/biological warfare (CBW) research with applicability in Indochina. From then until May 1967 Penn students, faculty, and administration were embroiled in debate over whether to continue, transfer, or abandon such research. The controversy evoked broader considerations, such as the morality and legality of the Indochinese-American war, the appropriateness of non-publishable research on a university campus, and the abridgment of the right to academic freedom if such research was banned. The issue was only resolved in May 1967 when the Penn trustees voted to return the contracts for CBW Projects Summit and Spicerack uncompleted to the Defense Department. No other American university, at



the height of the Indochina conflict, dared to make such a clear break with secret war research. The Penn experience therefore represents a significant episode in the opposition to the Indochina War by American intellectuals.

David J. Reynolds (Cambridge U), "The United States and European Security from Wilson to Kennedy, 1913-63," RUSI: The Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies (London), 128/2 (June, 1983), 16-24.

A conference paper surveying US attitudes to military commitments in Europe during the period. It notes the self-limitations on US involvement even after 1945 and the role played by a globalist manichaeian ideology in committing the USA in Europe beyond strict security interests.

Robert M. Hathaway (History Staff, CIA) presented a paper in April at Hofstra University's Presidential Conference on Harry S. Truman, marking the centenary of Truman's birth, "Truman, Tito, and the Politics of Hunger."

This paper looked at the extension of food aid to Yugoslavia in 1950-51, one of the first uses of American agricultural assistance as a foreign policy instrument during the Cold War. This early attempt to enlist America's farm bounty in the conduct of global politics suggests that, Jimmy Carter's embarrassments with the partial grain embargo against the USSR notwithstanding, the nation's food resources can be successfully mobilized to further national purposes, given clearly delineated objectives and a willingness to avoid excessive expectations. In this instance, emergency food supplies from the United States helped Yugoslavia escape the most serious consequences of a disastrous drought; assisted Tito in maintaining his precarious independence of the Soviet bloc; encouraged Belgrade to accord its populace greater personal freedoms (albeit only temporarily); and enabled Washington to parlay the good will generated by its food aid into more substantive military agreements with the Yugoslavs.

Robert A. Friedlander (Ohio Northern University), "United States Policy Towards Armed Rebellion," Year Book of World Affairs, 37 (1983), 399-62.

On January 20, 1981 President Ronald Reagan proclaimed a renewed American commitment to aid



friendly nations subject to radical terrorist subversion. Reagan stressed traditional values and historic American principles in international affairs. Yet, American foreign policy during the first 100 years of the constitutional republic theoretically rested upon neutrality and non-intervention. With the outbreak of the Spanish-American War and Theodore Roosevelt's diplomacy of imperialism, the United States tradition of neutrality was transformed into an interventionist legacy which continued until the New Deal era. Non-intervention was revived by the passage of the Neutrality Act of 1935, and lasted until the global upheaval of World War II which permanently modified traditional American interests. The Truman era made it evident that American security was dependent upon the preservation of global freedom, and with the onset of the Cold War, the United States became the Gendarme of the Free World. Vietnam, however, revived the non-intervention tradition, for the American people were no longer willing, and perhaps unable, to sustain a policy of maximum strength for an indefinite period. Ronald Reagan interpreted his landslide election as a signal by the American people that U.S. power and prestige be restored throughout the world. This represented a return to Monroeism and the post-Second World War American foreign relations pattern. Today, America, if not a clay colossus, is nonetheless, a much reduced image of its former self. The wounds of recent years have served to temper the confrontations of the present, and they will most likely limit the challenges of the future.

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**Minutes of the SHAFR Council Meeting  
held August 4, 1983, at  
The Catholic University of America, Washington, DC**

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Ernest R. May, presiding. The meeting was called to order at 8:30 a.m.

In attendance were Council members Lawrence Kaplan, Lawrence Gelfand, Geoffrey Smith, David Pletcher, Sandra Taylor, and Warren Cohen. Also attending were Robert Seager, Warren Kuehl, William Brinker, Alan Henrikson, Daniel Helmstadter, Frederick Marks, and Marvin Zahniser.



The first item of business concerned Mr. May's memorandum of 12 July, 1983, in which he summarized the activities of SHAFR on a scale of importance. He had done so in response to the financial report given Council earlier at Cincinnati by Mr. Zahniser. Zahniser had shown that SHAFR's expenses had overtaken its income and that some action must soon be initiated. Either SHAFR's activities had to be scaled down or dues must be increased. Mr. May had then appointed an ad hoc Committee to examine SHAFR's activities in relationship to its expenses in order to determine what action should be recommended to Council. Although the ad hoc Committee had not determined the specific recommendations to be made, it had largely agreed upon the relative importance of SHAFR's activities. Mr. May's memorandum of 12 July thus indicated the Committee's thinking.

1. The foremost objective is to preserve our guild identity--to insure that people who study, teach or write about the history of American foreign relations have a sense of being engaged in a collective enterprise and are able to learn what others are doing. This we achieve through:

- a) meetings in conjunction with the AHA and
- b) periodic conventions of our own;
- c) distributions of a newsletter; and
- d) organized recruitment of new members by the Membership Committee

2. Second is dissemination of research through:

- a) publication of a journal;
- b) panels at AHA, OAH, and SHAFR conventions; recognition of distinguished scholarship (especially by means of Bernath awards);
- d) sponsorship of the Guide.

3. Third is the promotion of research through:

- a) fellowships (The Holt; State Department internships, if they materialize); and
- b) efforts to open research materials as, for example, by supporting the National Coordinating Committee.

Discussion then opened. Mr. May indicated unease that support for work of the National Coordinating Committee (NCC) ranked so low on the scale. Mr. Gelfand responded that larger historical organizations must bear the major load in helping the NCC. Our



annual contribution may be only \$500.00, but our income from dues totals just \$11,000.00. Some consideration was then given to the particular items of expense for SHAFR, to see where savings might be realized. Mr. Zahniser submitted the following analysis to indicate where the monies were being spent:

Activity	Dollars	% of Budget
Diplomatic History	\$ 7,585.00	53.83
Xerox & Postage	1,200.00	8.52
Bonding Fee	110.00	1.78
Telephone-Home office	200.00	1.32
Stationery/Supplies	650.00	4.61
Brochures/Programs	900.00	6.39
Receptions/ Conf/ Expenses	2,000.00	14.20
Secretary-Treasurer Exp.	500.00	3.55
Committee Expense	200.00	1.32
CPA/Tax Consultant	150.00	1.03
National Coordinating Comm.	500.00	3.55
Maintaining Network of Mem.	130.00	.92
Total	14,090.00	100.00

(approx)

All moneys for the Bernath Prizes come from endowments established through the generosity of Dr. and Mrs. Bernath of Laguna Hills, California, in honor of their deceased son Stuart. (By previous action of Council, lifetime membership dues go into the general endowment.)

Our operating income, Mr. Zahniser added, comes from the following sources:

1. Membership dues for 814 reg. members	\$10,175.00
2. Retired or unemployed members (59)	472.00
3. Sale of membership lists	440.00
Total	11,087.00

Discussion then ensued about maintaining our annual summer conference. Might it be wise to hold it every other summer, given the costs of the conference? Mr. Helmstadter was asked if Scholarly Resources intends to raise the price of Diplomatic History following expiration of its contract with SHAFR at the end of 1984. He responded that if the current economic situation holds and the Company experiences no sharp reversals, he foresees only a minimal increase



in the cost of the journal. There was also discussion about the expense of indexing Diplomatic History and how those costs were to be borne.

Council finally concluded, after extensive discussion, that it wished to maintain its current activities at their present level, and believed that the membership concurred with this opinion. The only remaining expedient, then, was to raise dues effective 1984. The following motions were moved and seconded:

To  
establish the annual dues of regular members at \$16.50  
establish lifetime membership dues at \$250.00  
charge institutional members \$10.00 for the Newsletter

All motions passed unanimously.

No change was recommended in the level of student or in retired and unemployed members dues but this matter may be brought before Council for consideration at a later time.

Mr. Kuehl urged that our membership be made aware of the pressing need to make gifts to the general endowment fund. He reminded Council that universities may not be so willing in future years to provide funds for secretarial assistance and computer services for the work of our Executive Secretary-Treasurer and for the editors of our publications.

Our dues will only remain relatively stable if we proceed now to enlarge our general endowment.

There was some discussion concerning the growing desire of universities to charge groups such as SHAFR a rather sizable fee for the use of classrooms during the summer conference. It was moved and seconded that Council opposes University hosts charging SHAFR room fees for summer meeting conference facilities. The motion passed unanimously.

Mr. May then read a brief report from Mr. Herring, Editor of Diplomatic History:

"...the rejection rate (for articles) continues to be high. We still have a very small backlog. The vast majority of articles submitted and accepted deal with



the time frame 1940-1950. ....I would like to take a minute to thank the many members of SHAFR who have given so generously of their time to help us by reading articles for Diplomatic History. Since we took over the journal in May 1982, we have used some 60 people as referees, and the response has been outstanding. Our readers have been prompt. They have done the job in a highly professional manner, providing comments that have been enormously helpful to us and to the authors. In a number of cases, sometimes even when articles have been rejected, authors have remarked to us on the high quality and helpfulness of the criticism they receive. This speaks well for our organization and for diplomatic historians. We would like to acknowledge formally before this group the splendid contribution to the journal made by these SHAFR members. Thanks!"

Mr. Zahniser then reported the following. Mr. May will deliver the SHAFR Presidential Address at the SHAFR luncheon during the AHA meetings in San Francisco, December 1983. His topic will be: "Writing Contemporary International History." The luncheon will be held at Enzo's Restaurant at 3 Embarcadero Center. Council will meet at the Sheraton Palace Hotel on Tuesday, December 27, Parlor G from 8 - 11 p.m. The SHAFR reception will be held at the Sheraton Palace on Wednesday, December 28 in the Golden Gate Room from 5 - 7 p.m.

SHAFR's summer meeting, 1984, will be held at The George Washington University, Washington, D.C. Dr. H.F. Bright, Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs of GWU, has extended an official invitation to SHAFR through Lawrence Gelfand. The exact date for the meetings is to be determined. Professor Peter Hill will serve as Local Arrangements Chair. Mr. Zahniser concluded his report by asking that Council begin the process of searching for his successor as Executive Secretary-Treasurer. His term will end on June 1, 1985. Mr. May indicated he will appoint a Search Committee.

Mr. Henrikson reported for the Program Committee. He expressed general satisfaction with the summer



program and with the wonderful cooperation of his colleagues. His greatest disappointment was that Professor N.N. Bolhkovitinov, Institute of General History, USSR Academy of Sciences, was unable to attend and read his paper titled, "The Origin of the Monroe Doctrine: Interpretation of a Soviet Historian." Council concurred with Mr. Henrikson's disappointment concerning professor Bolhkovitinov. Other changes in the summer program were noted by Mr. Henrikson. He announced as well that SHAFR will sponsor two sessions at the forthcoming AHA meetings. One is titled "American Foreign Policy, 1900-1940s: The European Perspective" and the other is titled "National Security and Declassification of Diplomatic Documents, 1950-1960: Problems and Possibilities."

Ms. Harriet Schwar indicated the Bernath Lecture Prize Committee is considering a strong group of nominees.

Warren Cohen reported that the first W. Stull Holt Traveling Fellowship has been awarded to Michael Sewall of Christ College, Cambridge, who is currently pursuing graduate work at The Johns Hopkins University. The stipend is for \$1,000.00. Mr. Cohen indicated a desire to increase the award amount substantially but such will depend on further fundraising efforts.

On behalf of Charles DeBenedetti, Mr. May read the following proposed terms for the Norman and Laura Graebner Award: "A Graebner prize is to be awarded annually to a historian of United States foreign relations whose achievements in the fields of scholarship, teaching, and government or community service have contributed most significantly to the fuller understanding of American diplomatic history." Motion was made and seconded to accept this wording and was passed unanimously. (This award is intended for senior persons in the field, whereas the Bernath Prizes are awarded to encourage younger scholars.

Ms. Taylor reported that she is continuing her efforts to work out a joint meeting with SHAFR and the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association for 1985.

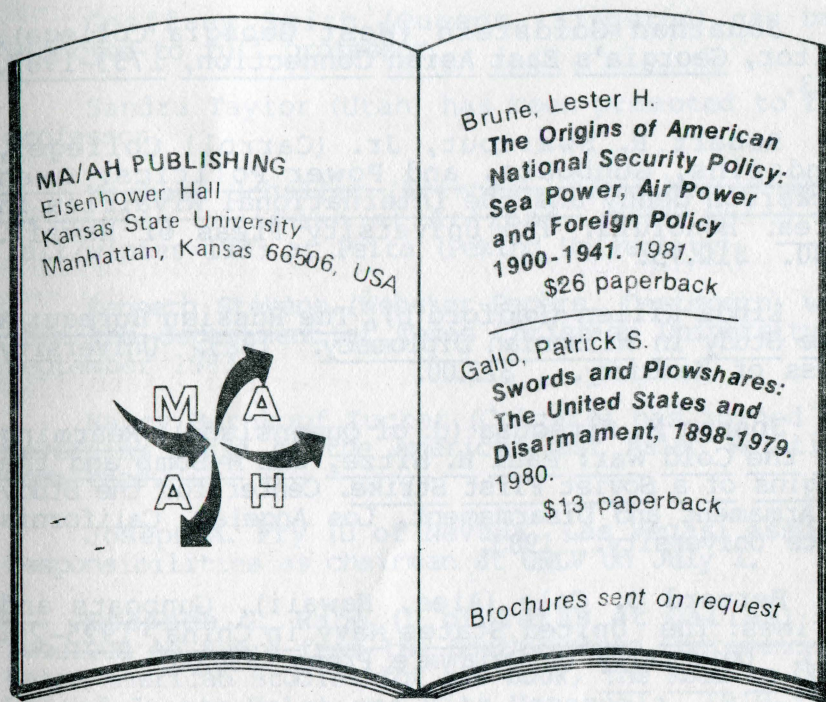
Mr. May expressed deep appreciation to Mr. Henrikson for the outstanding summer program and to



Mr. Langley who has taken charge of local arrangements at Catholic University.

The meeting adjourned at 9:45 a.m.

Marvin R. Zahniser  
Secretary to Council



SHAFR members are urged and encouraged by the editor to **ADVERTISE** in the Newsletter. If you have a book forthcoming please contact me for the established rates.

Keep the Newsletter afloat!



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## PUBLICATIONS

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Peter G. Edwards (Australian War Memorial, Canberra), Prime Ministers and Diplomats: The Making of Australian Foreign Policy 1901-1949. 1983. Oxford University Press, Melbourne. \$Aust. 24.95.

Warren F. Kuehl (Akron), editor, Biographical Dictionary of Internationalists. Greenwood Press. 1983.

Jonathan Goldstein (West Georgia College), editor, Georgia's East Asian Connection, 1733-1983. 1983.

Robert R. Swartout, Jr. (Carroll College), Mandarins, Gunboats, and Power Politics: Owen Nickerson Denny and the International Rivalries in Korea. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii. 1980. \$10.75.

Linda Killen (Radford U), The Russian Bureau: A Case Study in Wilsonian Diplomacy. 1983. University Press of Kentucky. \$22.00.

Joseph M. Siracusa (U. of Queensland), Rearming for the Cold War: Paul H. Nitze, the H-Bomb and the Origins of a Soviet First Strike. Center for the Study of Armament and Disarmament, Los Angeles, California State University. 1983.

Bernard D. Cole (Aiea, Hawaii), Gunboats and Marines: The United States Navy in China, 1925-28. 1983. University of Delaware Press. \$30.00.

Robert A. Friedlander (Ohio Northern University), Terror-Violence: Aspects of Social Control. Oceana Publications, Inc. 1983. \$32.50.

Robert H. Ferrell (Indiana University), ed., Dear Bess: The Letters from Harry to Bess Truman 1910-1959. 1983. Norton. \$19.95.

Kathleen Burk (Imperial College, London University), ed., War and the State: The Transformation of British Government 1914-1919. 1982. Allen & Unwin, Inc. \$29.50.



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## PERSONALS

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Peter G. Edwards has been appointed official historian of Australia's involvement in the Malayan Emergency and the Vietnam War. He is attached to the Australian War Memorial, P.O. Box 345, Canberra City, A.C.T. 2601.

Theodore Wilson (Kansas) is serving as the John Morrison professor at Fort Leavenworth for the year.

Geoffrey Smith (Queens, Kingston) has been promoted to full professor.

Sandra Taylor (Utah) has been promoted to full professor.

Michael Schaller (Arizona), after having served as acting chairman at Arizona, will spend the fall/winter 1983 at Peita (Peking University).

Kenneth Stevens (Webster Papers, Dartmouth) will join the department at Texas Christian University in September 1983.

Nancy Bernkopf Tucker (Colgate) has joined the governing board of the American-East Asian Relations Committee.

Joseph A. Fry (U of Nevada, Las Vegas) assumed responsibilities as chairman at UNLV on July 1.

Stephen G. Rabe (U of Texas at Dallas) has received an award from the Southwestern Conference on Latin American Studies for his book, The Road to OPEC: United States Relations with Venezuela, 1919-1976. The award carries both a certificate and a cash prize. CONGRATULATIONS!

David Reynolds (Cambridge U) has been appointed Fellow and Director of Studies in History at Christ's College, Cambridge, CB2 2BU, England.

George C. Herring (Kentucky) recently received a Moncado Prize for "excellence in the writing of military history" for his article, "American Strategy in Vietnam: The Postwar Debate" which appeared in



Military Affairs (April 1982). CONGRATULATIONS!

John J. Sbrega (Tidewater CC, Virginia) received a Moncado Prize also. CONGRATULATIONS!

Several SHAFR members have been awarded Albert J. Beverage Memorial grants for 1983. Among them are: Stephen D. Bodayla (Marycrest College), Michael H. Ebner (Lake Forest College), Priscilla M. Roberts, John J. Sbrega (Tidewater CC), and Thomas D. Schoonover (Southwestern Louisiana).

Priscilla M. Roberts has been awarded a postdoctoral fellowship at the Smithsonian in Washington, specifically at the Eisenhower Institute in the National Museum of American History, for 1983-84.

Richard Lukas (Tenn Tech U) has been selected as one of three faculty members to be honored with the position University Professor.

Manfred Jonas (Union College) has been named Dr. Otto Salgo Visiting Professor of American Studies at the Eotvos Lorand University of Budapest for 1983-1984. Jonas will be the first occupant of the Salgo chair and will lecture on American History and political culture.



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## SHAFR'S CALENDAR

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- November 1 Deadline, materials for the December Newsletter
- November 1-15 Annual elections for officers of SHAFR
- November 9-12 The 49th annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association will meet at Charleston with headquarters at the Sheraton Charleston.
- December 1 Deadline, nominations for the 1984 Bernath Memorial lectureship.
- December 27-30 The 98th annual convention of the AHA will be held in San Francisco with headquarters at the Hyatt-Regency Embarcadero Hotel.
- January 1, 1984 Membership fees in all categories are due, payable at the national office of SHAFR.
- January 15 Deadline, nominations for the 1983 Bernath article award.
- February 1 Deadline, nominations for the 1983 Bernath book prize.
- February 1 Deadline, materials for the March Newsletter.
- April 4-7 The 77th annual meeting of the OAH will be held in Los Angeles with headquarters at the Biltmore Hotel.
- May 1 Deadline, materials for the June Newsletter

The 99th meeting of the AHA will be in Chicago. The Program Chair is C. Warren Hollister, Department of History, University of California-Santa Barbara, CA

The 78th annual meeting of the OAH will be held in Minneapolis on April 17-20, 1985. The Program chair

Gerald N. Grob  
Department of History  
Rutgers U  
New Brunswick, NJ 08903



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

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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 1983. The article must be among the author's first five (V) which have seen publication. Membership in SHAFR or upon a college/university faculty is not a prerequisite for entering the competition. Authors must be under thirty-five (35) years of age, or within within five (5) years after receiving the doctorate, at the time the article was published. Previous winners of the S.L. Bernath book award are ineligible.

**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, 1984. The Chairman of the Committee for 1983 is Harry Stegmaier, Department of History, Frostburg State University, Frostburg, Maryland 21532.

**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 1984, at Los Angeles.



## 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)

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

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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 1985 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, 1983. The Chairman of the Committee, and the person to whom nominations should be sent, is Harriet D. Schwar, Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

**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)

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## THE STUART L. BERNATH MEMORIAL BOOK COMPETITION

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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 1983. 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: Dr. William Stinchcombe, Department of History, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y. 13210. The works must be received no later than February 1, 1984.

**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, held in conjunction with 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)



## AMERICAN-EAST ASIAN RELATIONS NEWSLETTER

VOLUME III

NUMBER 1

SEPTEMBER 1983

### DISSERTATIONS IN AMERICAN-EAST ASIAN RELATIONS

In the June 1980 issue of the A.E.A.R. Newsletter, we published a selected bibliography of doctoral dissertations in American-East Asian relations. Because graduate students have continued to produce theses at a truly remarkable rate during the last three years, it is now time to update that initial list and to report on some of the basic trends in research at the dissertation level. Only those theses that illustrate those basic trends will be listed here. Individuals who want the aggregate list may write to Sheila Driscoll, 143 Arlington St., Winchester, Mass. 01890.

The select-list of dissertations that follows is organized into five categories: Inner Asian Relations; Asian-Americans; American-Chinese



Relations; American-Japanese Relations; American-Korean and American-Filipino Relations. Entries are listed alphabetically within each category, and each entry includes the following data: author; title; institution granting the degree; date degree was awarded; discipline; Dissertations Abstracts International (DAI) number; and DAI volume number and month-year.

#### INNER-ASIAN RELATIONS

Disserations listed under this category are ones that belong, strictly speaking, to East Asian history or to East Asian area studies. They describe and analyze "inner Asian" relationships, such as those between Japan and Korea or China and Japan. These studies nevertheless constitute a valuable and essential part of the context of American-East Asian relations, and, because they do, examples are included in this compilation.

Chang, Dal Joong. "Japanese Corporations and the Political Economy of South Korean-Japanese Relations, 1965-1979." University of California, Berkeley, 1982. History. DAI8300451. 43: February 1983.

Fogel, Joshua Andrew. "Politics and Sinology: The Case of Naito Konan (1866-1934)." Columbia University, 1981. History. DAI8029083. 41: January, 1981.

Kang, Sung-hack. "The Impact of the Russo-Japanese War on the Northeast Asian Regional Subsystem: The War's Causes, Outcome, and Aftermath." Northern Illinois University, 1981. Political Science. DAI8122245. 42: October 1981.

Kim, Dong-sung. "The Politics of Anti-Hegemonism and China's Foreign Policy Toward Japan, 1971-1978." University of Connecticut, 1981. Political Science. DAI8203051. 42: March 1982.

Sandles, Gretchen Ann. "Soviet Images of the People's Republic of China, 1949-1979." The University of Michigan, 1981. Political Science. DAI8116330. 42: August 1981.

Shin, Paull Hobom. "The Korean Colony in Chientao: A Study of Japanese Imperialism and Militant Korean Nationalism, 1905-1932." University of



Washington, 1980. History. DAI8026305. 41: November 1980.

Spendelow, Howard R. III. "Conflict of Authority in South Manchuria: The Early Years of the Russian Leasehold, 1898-1900." Harvard University, 1982. History. DAI8222706. 43: November 1982.

Tanaka, Yoshiaki. "Japan's Postwar Foreign Policy Toward China: Linkages Between External Impacts and Internal Reactions." State University of New York at Binghamton, 1979. Political Science. DAI8003080. 40: February 1980.

Wei, Chao. "Foreign Railroad Interests: An Irritant in Chinese Japanese Relations (1903-1937)." St. John's University, 1980. History. DAI8014098. 41: July 1980.

#### ASIAN-AMERICANS

Doctoral candidates in history and the social sciences have only begun to cultivate this rich area of study. Their neglect of the study of Asian-Americans is evident in the numbers. Of the more than sixty dissertations completed on Asian-Americans since June 1980, historians and social scientists wrote about one-third of them. Doctoral students in other disciplines, predominately in education, have written the remainder, and they have produced several excellent studies and opened up such new subjects to investigation as Korean-Americans and Asian-American women. They have also continued to write about more familiar topics, such as Japanese "war relocation" centers, racial stereotyping, and Chinatowns.

Cates, Rita Takahashi. "Comparative Administration and Management of Five War Relocation Authority Camps: America's Incarceration of Persons of Japanese Descent During World War II." University of Pittsburgh, 1980. Political Science. DAI8102328.

Chang, Lydia Liang-hwa. "Acculturation and Emotional Adjustment of Chinese Women Immigrants." Columbia University, 1980. Social Work. DAI8023486. 41: October 1981.

Cho, Chung Hyuk. "Communication Modes in Adaptation Process: A Case of Korean Immigrants."



University of Michigan, 1982. Education. DAI8224926. 43: December 1982.

Chou, Michaelyn Pi-hsia. "The Education of a Senator: Hiram L. Fong From 1906 to 1954." University of Hawaii, 1980. American Studies. DAI8100669. 41: January 1981.

Geer, Chang Hyun Shin. "Korean Americans and Ethnic Heritage Education: A Case Study in Western New York." State University of New York at Buffalo, 1981. Education. DAI8204058. 42: March 1982.

Kim, Jean. "Processes of Asian American Identity Development: A Study of Japanese American Women's Perceptions of their Struggle to achieve Positive Identities as Americans of Asian Ancestry." University of Massachusetts, 1981. Educational Psychology. DAI8118010. 42: October 1981.

Kwong, Peter Chi-choong. "The Politics of the Labor Movement in New York City's Chinatown 1930-1950." Columbia University, 1978. Political Science. DAI8017078. 41: August 1980.

Lou, Raymond. "The Chinese American Community of Los Angeles, 1870-1900: A Case of Resistance, Organization, and Participation." University of California, Irvine, 1982. History. DAI8303535. 43: March 1983.

Low, Victor. "The Chinese in the San Francisco Public School System: An Historical Study of One Minority Group's Response to Educational Discrimination, 1859-1959." University of San Francisco, 1981. Education. DAI8117494. 42: August 1981.

Shibata, Seiji. "Identification of Ethnic Awareness: Comparative Study of Anglo-Americans' Vereotypes of Their Own Ethnic Groups and Japanese Stereotypes of the American Ethnic Groups." Brigham Young University, 1982. Education. DAI8228778. 43: January 1983.

Yagasaki, Noritaka. "Ethnic Cooperativism and Immigrant Agriculture: A Study of Japanese Floriculture and Truck Farming in California." University of California, Berkeley, 1982. Social Geography. 43: February 1983.



Yap, Stacey Guat-Hong. "Gather Your Strength Sisters: The Emerging Role of Chinese Women Community Workers." Boston University Graduate School, 1983. Sociology. 43: June 1983.

#### AMERICAN-CHINESE RELATIONS

"The China Tangle" of the 1940s continues to be the dominant concern of doctoral candidates in American-Chinese relations. Since June 1980, of the two score and ten completed theses, fully twenty-five percent of them focused on this tumultuous era in Sino-American interactions, and the authors of those studies depended largely upon American archival resources. That they did is not surprising in view of the fact that the American sources are available and accessible to researchers; the Chinese documents are neither available nor easily accessible. One may add that official state papers are not requisites for all topics in this area, and one would hope that in the future students would undertake more studies about the Chinese side, such as Helen Esther Fleischer Anderson's excellent "Through Chinese Eyes: American China Policy, 1945-1947," and about the informal dimension of American-Chinese relations.

Anderson, Helen Esther Fleischer. "Through Chinese Eyes: American China Policy, 1945-1947." University of Virginia, 1980. History. DAI8024048. 41: November 1980.

Baron, Michael Lewis. "Tug of War: The Battle Over American Policy Toward China 1946-1949." Columbia University, 1980. Political Science. DAI8016899, 41: August 1980.

Byers, Gertrude C. "American Journalism and China, 1945-1950." St. Louis University, 1980. American Studies. DAI8101252. 41: January 1981.

Feaver, John Hansen. "The Truman Administration and China, 1945-1950: The Policy of Restrained Intervention." The University of Oklahoma, 1980. History. DAI8019124. 41: September 1980.

Grasso, June Marie. "Conflict and Controversy: The United States, Taiwan, and the People's Republic of China, 1948-1950." Tufts University, 1980. History. DAI8202799. 42: February 1982.



Head, William Pace. "America's China Sojourn: United States Foreign Policy and Its Effects on Sino-American Relations, 1942-1948." The Florida State University, 1980. History. DAI8020334. 41: September 1980.

Harris, Scott Allen. "Domestic Politics and the Formulation of United States China Policy, 1949-1972." University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1980. Political Science. DAI8110077. 42: July 1981.

Hood, Charles Eugene. "'China Mike' Mansfield: The Making of a Congressional Authority on the Far East." Washington State University, 1980. History. DAI8025926. 41: November 1980.

Kublin, Michael Baru. "The Role of China in American Military Strategy From Pearl Harbor to the Fall of 1944." New York University, 1981. History. DAI8127927. 42: January 1982.

Simon, Nancy Smith. "From the Chinese Civil War to the Shanghai Communique: Changing U.S. Perceptions of China as a Security Threat." The Johns Hopkins University, 1982. Political Science. DAI8302682. 43: March 1983.

Wilkinson, Mark Francis. "At the Crossroads: Shanghai in Sino-American Relations, 1945-1950." University of Michigan, 1982. History. DAI8215105. 43: August 1982.

#### AMERICAN-JAPANESE RELATIONS

Dissertations often reflect contemporary concerns. That truism scarcely needs to be stated, but in the case of recent dissertations on American-Japanese relations it bears repeating because theses in that area are heavily oriented towards contemporary issues. Almost one-third of the doctoral dissertations compiled for the three year period, June 1980-June 1983, either focused on the tensions in U.S.-Japan trade relations or on Japanese management practices. Doctoral candidates, however, have not entirely neglected other aspects of American-Japanese interactions. Indeed, in the area of informal-cultural relations, they have produced several noteworthy and innovative studies. In this regard, one dissertation--Alan Takeo Moriyama's "Imingaisha:



Japanese Emigration Companies and Hawaii, 1894-1908"--deserves special mention because it examines the impact of immigration on both American and Japanese societies.

Blythe, Stephen E. "Japanese Management Systems: A Comparison With U.S. Management Systems and Their Application to U.S. Industry." University of Arkansas, 1979. Management, DAI8025985. 41: November 1980.

Borden, William Silvers. "The Pacific Alliance: The United States and Japanese Trade Recovery, 1947-1954." University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1981. History. DAI8117504. 42: November 1981.

Hada, John Juji. "The Romanji Movement During the Allied Occupation of Japan (1945-1952)." University of San Francisco, 1981. Language. DAI8121626. 42: October 1981.

Hamada, Tomoko. "Comparative Study of Business Culture: A United States-Japanese Joint Venture Company in Japan." University of California, Berkeley, 1980. Anthropology. DAI8113058. 42: July 1981.

Higashi, Chikara. "U.S.-Japanese Trade Policy Formulation and Frictions in Trade Relations: 1978-79." The George Washington University, 1982. Economics. DAI8229471. 43: February 1983.

Humeston, Helen Mary. "Origins of America's Japan Policy." University of Minnesota, 1981. History. DAI8206366. 42: April 1982.

Kawabe, Nobuo. "Japanese Business in the United States Before World War II: The Case of Mitsubishi Shoji Kaishu, The San Francisco and Seattle Branches." The Ohio State University, 1980. History. DAI8022298. 41: October 1980.

Kume, Teruyuki. "Exploratory Study of Japanese Approaches to Decision-Making in the United States." University of Minnesota, 1979. Management. DAI8011839. 40: May 1980.

Lee, Kay Keun-Hyun. "The Effects of Technological Developments on International Trade: The Case of U.S. and Japanese Steel Industries."



Rutgers University-New Brunswick, 1979. Economics. DAI8008901. 41: April 1981.

Martin, Richard Gordon. "The Okinawa Factor in U.S.-Japanese Post-World War II Relations." University of Georgia, 1982. Political Science. DAI8308189. 43: May 1983.

Moriyama, Alan Takeo. "Imingaisha: Japanese Emigration Companies and Hawaii, 1894-1908." University of California, Los Angeles, 1982. History. DAI8306094. 43: April 1983.

Murayama, Yuzo. "The Economic History of Japanese Immigration to the Pacific Northwest: 1890-1920." University of Washington, 1982. Economics. DAI8212595. 42: June 1982.

Nishida, Hiroko. "Variations in Value Orientations and Cultural Change in Japan and the U.S.A.: An Intercultural Perspective." University of Minnesota, 1979. Sociology. DAI8011857. 40: June 1980.

Saadat-Nejad, Ahmad. "Factors Which Influence the Transfer of Management Practices Between the United States and Japan." United States International University, 1981. Management. DAI8115444. 42: August 1981.

#### AMERICAN-KOREAN & AMERICAN-FILIPINO RELATIONS

Convenience alone accounts for lumping American-Korean and American-Filipino relations together. Unlike the other areas of American-East Asian relations listed above, neither American-Korean nor American-Filipino relations have commanded the attention of graduate students. Consequently, doctoral candidates have written comparatively fewer dissertations in those areas than in the more popular American-Chinese or -Japanese relations. With regard to American-Filipino relations, it is difficult to discover a discernible pattern in the doctoral dissertations. The same is not true of American-Korean relations. Here, the Korean War dominates the landscape.



Acierto, Maria Guillen. "American Influence in Shaping Philippine Secondary Education: An Historical perspective, 1898-1978." Loyola University of Chicago, 1980. Education. DAI8019009. 41: September 1980.

Berry, William Emerson, Jr. "American Military Bases in the Philippines, Base Negotiations, and Philippine-American Relations: Past, Present, and Future." Cornell University, 1981. Political Science. DAI8119472. 42: October 1981.

Johnson, Nelson Ewin. "New England Congressional Attitudes Concerning American Policy Toward the Philippines, 1899-1908." Middle Tennessee State University, 1979. History. DAI8008285. 40: April 1980.

Kang, Woong Joe. "The Korean Struggle for International Identity in the Foreground of the Shubfeldt Negotiation, 1866-1882." The George Washington University, 1981. History. DAI8112390. 42: July 1981.

Kim, Yong-Bock. "Historical Transformation, People's Movement, and Messianic Koinonia: A Study of the Relationship of Christian and Tonghak Religious Communities to the March First Independence Movement in Korea." Princeton Theological Seminary, 1976. Religion. DAI8028540. 41: December 1981.

Lee, Jung Ha. "The Impact of the Nixon Doctrine on South Korea: A Critical Analysis of the U.S.-South Korean Relations, 1969-1976." The Catholic University of America, 1980. Political Science. DAI8012121. 40: June 1980.

Litonjua, Meneleo Dychoco. "Political Change and External Dependency: A Theoretical Discussion, the Philippine Case and a Crossnational Study." Brown University, 1982. Sociology. DAI8228295. 42: May 1983.

Osthom, Hakon. "The First Year of the Korean War: The Road Toward Armistice." Kent State University, 1982. History DAI8227965. 43: March 1983.



Park, Hong-Kyu. "American-Korean Relations, 1945-1953: A Study in United States Diplomacy." North Texas State University, 1981. History DAI8118099. 42: September 1981.

Petillo, Carol Morris. "Douglas MacArthur: The Philippine Years." Rutgers University-New Brunswick, 1979. History. DAI7928436. 40: January 1980.

Sanders, Jerry Wayne. "Peddlers of Crisis: The Committee on the Present Danger and the Legitimation of Containment Militarism in the Korean War and Post-Vietnam Periods." University of California, Berkeley, 1980. Sociology. DAI8029576. 41: January 1981.

Ron Lilley



## THE SHAFR NEWSLETTER

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

**EDITOR:** William J. Brinker, Department of History, Tennessee Tech.

**EDITORIAL ASSOCIATE:** John W. Winters, Tennessee Tech.

**EDITORIAL ASSISTANT:** Scott Hickman, Tennessee Tech.

**ISSUES:** The Newsletter is published on the 1st of March, June, September, and December. All members receive the publication.

**DEADLINES:** All material must be in the office of the editor not later than four (4) weeks prior to the date of publication.

**ADDRESS CHANGES:** Notification of address changes should be in the office of the editor at least one month prior to the date of publication.

**BACK ISSUES:** Copies of most back numbers of the Newsletter are available and may be obtained from the editorial office upon payment of a service charge of 75 cents per number. If the purchaser lives abroad, the charge is \$1.00 per number.

**MATERIALS DESIRED:** Personals (promotions, transfers, obituaries, honors, awards), announcements, abstracts of scholarly papers and articles delivered--or published--upon diplomatic subjects, bibliographical or historiographical essays dealing with diplomatic topics, essays of a "how-to-do-it" nature respecting the use of diplomatic materials in various (especially foreign) depositories, biographies, autobiographies of "elder statesmen" in the field of U.S. diplomacy, and even jokes (for fillers) if upon diplomatic topics. Authors of "straight" diplomatic articles should send their opuses to Diplomatic History. Space limitations forbid the carrying of book reviews by the Newsletter.

### FORMER PRESIDENTS OF SHAFR

1968	Thomas A. Bailey (Stanford)
1969	Alexander DeConde (California-Santa Barbara)
1970	Richard W. Leopold (Northwestern)
1971	Robert H. Ferrell (Indiana)
1972	Norman A. Graebner (Virginia)
1973	Wayne S. Cole (Maryland)
1974	Bradford Perkins (Michigan)
1975	Armin H. Rappaport (California-San Diego)
1976	Robert A. Divine (Texas)
1977	Raymond A. Esthus (Tulane)
1978	Akira Iriye (Chicago)
1979	Paul A. Varg (Michigan State)
1980	David M. Pletcher (Indiana)
1981	Lawrence S. Kaplan (Kent State)
1982	Lawrence E. Gelfand (Iowa)



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