

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

NEWSLETTER

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SOCIETY FOR HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

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MEMBERSHIP: Annual dues are \$16.50, payable at the office of the Executive Secretary-Treasurer. Student fees - \$6.00, retired members - \$8.00, life memberships - \$250.00. In the case of membership by husband and wife, dues for one of them shall be one-half of the regular price. For those wishing only the SHAFR Newsletter the cost is \$10.00. Institutions wishing Diplomatic History should contact Scholarly Resources.

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

PRIZES: The Society administers several awards. Four of them honor the late Stuart L. Bernath, and are financed through the generosity of his parents, Dr. and Mrs. Gerald J. Bernath of Laguna Hills, California. Awards also honor Laura and Norman Graebner, the late W. Stull Holt, and Warren Kuehl. Details of each of these awards are to be found under the appropriate headings in each Newsletter.

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

A PASSAGE TO INDIA 1986: REFLECTIONS ON INDO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

by

Gary R. Hess (Bowling Green State University)

"If the United States stands for democracy, why has it not been a better friend of India?" "Why does the United States persist in selling arms to Pakistan when history teaches that Pakistan seeks those arms only for use against India?"

Those questions followed each of some twenty lectures that I recently delivered on the history of Indo-American relations before audiences at ten universities throughout India. They reveal an often ignored irony of post-World War II American diplomacy: the extent to which United States policy has disappointed, and at times alienated, the world's largest democracy.

My audiences were comprised principally of post-graduate (graduate in American definition) and faculty in history and political science. Whether in national universities (like Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi, the University of Bombay, the University of Madras) or state universities (like Meerut University, North Bengal University, University of Mysore) I found young people and their professors who were deeply interested in and knowledgeable about U.S. foreign relations. While I offered five topics for presentation, the one selected everywhere was Indo-American relations; second lectures at most stops was on U.S.-Asian relations generally. Educated Indians know far more about the U.S. than educated Americans know about India--a point that I make in my lectures--and many questions and comments reflected a sense that Americans failed to appreciate India's problems and accomplishments. Even a casual visitor to India has to be impressed by the signs of economic and technological progress over the past quarter century. Indians resent the current American fascination with China. One astute observer of American history

commented that not only were Americans ignoring the accomplishments of a democratic India while extolling the advances of an authoritarian China, but the U.S. was allowing its China connection to limit its policy options in South and Southeast Asia. Since Indians look upon China as a continuing threat (the memory of the invasion of 1962 figures prominently in diplomatic and strategic thinking), some fear that the U.S. may be "taken in" by Beijing to support a reassertion of Chinese influence in South Asia.

My talks were not a defense of U.S. policy. Rather after explaining how global considerations of the early Cold War had led to the alliance with Pakistan, I emphasized the extent to which that action had undermined America's interest in cultivating a close working relationship with India. Thus in dealing with India over the last thirty years, the United States has been forced to balance the Indian resentment over the Pakistan alliance with the recognition of India's importance as a democratic society endeavoring to maintain national unity and to advance economically. And since India held such importance, the U.S., I suggested, had no interest in supporting Pakistani warfare against India, thus leading to Pakistan's disillusionment with its ally. Pakistani scholarship on the U.S.-Pakistan alliance can be quoted extensively to illustrate the extent to which the alliance may have benefited the U.S. vis a vis the Soviet Union in the 1950s and 1960s, but failed to meet Pakistan's expectations.

At times the United States and India have managed, while essentially "agreeing to disagree" on the Pakistan issue, to build upon common points of interest. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, although bitterly resentful over what he called bringing "the cold war to the very frontiers of India," recognized the importance of close economic and cultural ties with the West. Presidents Dwight Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy gave high priority to India's economic development as a model for the Third World. Above all, a common concern about China drew the United States and India together, and in response to the Chinese offensive during the border war of 1962, the Kennedy administration rushed military assistance to India. American prestige was at a peak.

This characterization of the 1955-64 period as a relatively harmonious phase of Indo-American relations stirred some controversy among my audiences. Young people in India tend to see Indo-American relations principally from the perspective of the U.S. alliance with Pakistan, and the suggestion that arms sales to Pakistan did not stand in the way of the U.S. and India resolving other issues had obvious implications for the present relationship, which, in some ways, resembles that of the 1955-64 period. The U.S. military support of India in 1962 receives little attention in the study of Indian foreign relations, which tends to emphasize the continuing Indo-Soviet friendship. My first visit to India in 1963-64 was, as I can now appreciate, at a unique point in Indo-American relations; Americans were popular, and everywhere appreciation was expressed for the support during the border conflict.

In a measure of how rapidly international politics can change, the U.S. in 1965 was criticized by both sides for its role in the Indo-Pakistani conflict that fall. India blamed the U.S. for having armed Pakistan for a decade, thus giving it the capacity to wage war. Pakistan felt betrayed by Washington's imposition of an arms embargo as the fighting began and by its failure to come to Pakistan's aid. The events of 1965 revealed the contradictions of American policy. Pakistan and the United States had different priorities, thus the U.S. could not be the "friend" that Pakistan sought; American interests never justified armed support of Pakistan against India. Significantly, the Soviet Union emerged as the peacemaker after the 1965 war, with increased status in the subcontinent. The "no-win" situation of the U.S. in the Indo-Pakistani rivalry was repeated, with even more dire consequences, in the 1971 conflict that resulted in the independence of Bangladesh. The Nixon administration's evident indifference to the suffering of the peoples of East Pakistan and the impact of their exodus to India was followed by the infamous "tilt" toward Pakistan in the December 1971 fighting. Indo-American relations deteriorated, reaching their nadir. Again Pakistanis resented another arms embargo and found (correctly) the "tilt" to be a meaningless military gesture.

The events from 1965 to 1971 profoundly shape Indian attitudes toward the superpowers. To gain a measure

of security as unfolding events in 1971 raised the specter of Pakistani-Chinese-American action against India, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi entered into a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union. From the Indian perspective, that step was critical to India's subsequent success. Thus, Indians generally share Mrs. Gandhi's expression of appreciation for the Soviets having "stood by us in moments of difficulties" and their "time-tested friendship." While few Indians openly criticize the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, they unhesitatingly express indignation over the resumption of American arms sales to Pakistan--which was undertaken in response to the Soviet action. The memories of American arms being used against Indians in 1965 and 1971 linger, and the concentration of Pakistani forces along its Indian, as opposed to Afghan, frontier lead to fears that Pakistan, perhaps this time with a nuclear capability, will strike again.

Despite these problems, Indo-American relations show signs of improvement. Official reluctance to challenge the Soviets over Afghanistan notwithstanding, that action has accelerated the dialogue between India and Pakistan over a number of issues--a process that can only benefit the United States. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has sought to balance the Soviet connection by increased contacts with and high technology imports from the U.S.; as the Indians quip, "Rajiv stands for progress, he shows his face to the Americans and his back to the Soviets." The U.S. has repented by acknowledging, in the recent Senate Foreign Relations Committee testimony of Secretary of State George P. Shultz, India's status as a "major regional and world power." Countries like India which share "U.S. democratic values," the secretary added, "deserve our moral and material support." Such statements ought to be reassuring to Indians. Indeed the underlying problem in Indo-American relations historically has been a matter of status. As a democratic society and regional power, Indians, since the days of Nehru, have resented decades of American condescension.

Whatever the history of troubled diplomatic relations, American culture and institutions have not lost their appeal. American television, motion pictures, and popular literature are a part of the cultural life of middle and upper class Indians. On the streets of

Calcutta posters of Sylvester Stallone are sold side by side with those of the Pope and Indian gods. The numerous bookdealers hawking magazines and books on the streets of Connaught Circle in Delhi sell everything from Jane Fonda exercise manuals to the works of Hemingway. As the British have gradually left, the United States has become the principal source of Western influence. In colleges and universities, American studies, especially American literature, is widely taught. The American Studies Research Centre in Hyderabad has become a focus of research and seminars on American history, literature, philosophy, art, etc. The complexities of the Indo-American policy in the subcontinent had been criticized from every angle, while the Soviets were warmly praised. An Indian professor then asked the seventy students and faculty in the audience how many wanted to study in the Soviet Union. No hands went up. But when he asked how many wanted to go to the U.S., nearly every hand shot into the air. One hopes that American policy in coming years will somehow build up on that sentiment.

THE LIBRARY OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

by

Eric S. Edelman (Alexandria, Va.)

As statesmen settle into their term of office, they supposedly begin thinking about their place in history. Secretary of State George P. Shultz, however, has been thinking instead about leaving a little history in his place when he leaves Foggy Bottom. A believer in John Quincy Adams's observation that "knowledge is power," Secretary Shultz intends to leave an intellectual legacy for his successors that will serve both to entertain and to enlighten them.

(Eric Edelman is a Foreign Service Officer currently serving in the Office of Soviet Union Affairs. He received his PhD in American Diplomatic History from Yale University in 1981. From 1982 to 1984 he was Special Assistant to Secretary of State George P. Shultz.)

Specifically, the Secretary has launched the endowment of a small, continuing project which will establish a permanent library of works on American diplomacy. The Shultz Library will be housed in the newly remodelled and refurbished offices of the Secretary of State on the seventh floor of the Department of State.

The seeds of this project were sown in June, 1984 when Secretary Shultz agreed to vacate his office suite so it could be transformed, through the plans of architect Alan Greenberg, by a team of carpenters and other artisans who specialize in historic reconstruction.

For some 20 years, almost since Secretary of State Dean Rusk moved into them, Clement Conger, the curator of the State Department's extensive collection of Americana, sought an opportunity to reconstruct the Secretary's Office. It was only with the advent of George Shultz, whose background in the construction business predisposed him to Conger's ambitious plans, that a Secretary of State was willing to subject himself to the inconvenience caused by moving out of his offices to temporary quarters. Whereas his predecessors were unwilling to put up with the sound of jackhammers and power drills, George Shultz found it to be music to his ears. Contrary to most expectations, the reconstruction of the Seventh floor offices was completed on schedule, and Secretary Shultz and his staff were returned to their new offices before the end of January, 1985. Together with the diplomatic reception rooms on the eighth floor, these rooms represent the most extensive historical reproduction of Federal period architecture outside of Williamsburg and Winterthur. All the construction has been supported by private donations. No public funds have been expended.

One of the byproducts of the rebuilding effort was a considerable increase in the already ample bookshelf space in both the Secretary's large office, where he receives foreign dignitaries, and his adjoining private study. In past years the shelves were occupied by a collection of nineteenth century volumes which appeared to have been purchased by the lot (probably in the 1950s) more for their rich looking leather bindings and gilt-edged leaves than for their subject matter. Included among the titles were such

works as Handy Andy, A Tale of Irish Life, Ancient Mysteries Described...including The Festivals of Fools and Asses (some observers believed this to be a particularly apt title for a State Department collection), The Rat Trap, The Eccentric Mirror, and similar works. Secretary Shultz decided that in the new decor, a library dedicated to American diplomacy and diplomatic history would be more appropriate. (Bibliophiles may rest assured that the contents of the earlier library will be placed in good homes).

When the Secretary of State decided to replace this collection he was offered a variety of views on the composition of the new library. As one might expect, there was no unanimity of opinion, and in fact, strongly differing views were expressed about the kind of library a Secretary of State should have. Recommendations included "the Great Books," Americana, and foreign area studies. One prominent Washington man of letters insisted that Secretaries of State would be ill-served by any contact with modern scholarship. He proposed instead a collection of classic works in government and diplomacy, starting with the "Analects" of Confucius, and contributed his own copy of the "Memoirs" of the Duc de Saint-Simon, describing it as the indispensable guide to the ways of present day Washington, which is "a court Society" just as much as Versailles in the days of Louis XIV. In the end, Secretary Schultz determined to start a collection of works of scholarship in American Diplomatic History, and memoirs and other volumes pertaining to the practice of diplomacy in the Foreign Service and the Department of State. As the Secretary noted in a letter to Ambassador George Kennan, "I was interested to hear your comment that a library such as this could only be compiled in England or America where writing on diplomacy has become a literary genre."

As a result, instead of classical political theory, international relations, or area studies, the new "Library of the Secretary of State" will provide Secretary Shultz, his successors and other principal officers of the department with the story and analysis of America's encounter with the rest of the world. The Secretary's fund is endowed to purchase memoirs, autobiographies, edited papers and letters, biographies, scholarly works and monographs, serious

popular histories and even some fiction, all dealing with the practice of American diplomacy.

The actual accessioning of books for the library was turned over to the Secretary's immediate staff of Foreign Service Officers. By chance, one of the mid-level officers attached to his staff was a recent University of Virginia, PhD in diplomatic history and his expertise was put to good use. The collection now numbers about 300 books; it is expected to run to several thousand volumes and to become a definitive core collection in its particular field. It is intended that, when the collection reaches such a level, an annotated bibliography will be published, and work has already begun on such a volume.

Washington has turned out to be a treasure trove of books on diplomacy and the staff has scoured the capital's bookstores specializing in used and remaindered books. They have been particularly successful in acquiring memoirs and autobiographies, many of which are out of print and difficult to locate. A number of interesting "association" copies have been found, signed or inscribed by their owners or authors, such as David Bruce, Charles E. Bohlen, John Stewart Service, Robert D. Murphy, and Lucius D. Clay. Others, when stopping by the Department, have autographed their own works, among them Henry Kissinger, George Kennan, Abba Eban and Eleanor Dulles. In addition, on the Secretary's many trips around the United States, members of the staff have found time to duck into the local bookstores to seek additional volumes. So far, they have turned up many more memoirs than expected. In addition to the well known works by major players, many are little known accounts by lower level foreign service personnel and political appointees which might not otherwise be preserved. As the Secretary noted in his letter to Ambassador Kennan, "it does appear that this library will have a character all its own."

The library project will continue to grow and develop after George Shultz has left office and contributions to the endowment from former and future Secretaries of State and others are welcome. The Secretary's staff is now concentrating on acquiring solid scholarly monographs for inclusion in the collection. At present works by scholars including Kendrick Clements, Warren Kuehl, Dumas Malone, Robert Maddox, Bruce

Kuniholm, Samuel Flagg Bemis, George Kennan, William Langer and Everett Gleason, Marilyn Blatt Young, Robert Schulzinger, William Widenor, Forrest Pogue, Daniel Smith, Jerald Combs, Felix Gilbert, John Lewis Gaddis, Richard Leopold, Kenneth Shewmaker, and Lawrence Wittner are on the shelves. Some scholars like Walter LaFeber, Norman Graebner and Martin J. Sherwin have contributed autographed and inscribed copies of some of their works. William Appleman Williams has graciously undertaken to locate copies of some of his out of print volumes for inclusion. SHAFR members with monographs to their credit who wish to be included in this living library for use by America's statesmen are invited to donate inscribed hard-bound copies of their work. Volumes should be sent to Charles Hill, Executive Assistant to the Secretary, Office of the Secretary, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

THE FIRST EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE TO INDOCHINA

by

Sandra C. Taylor (University of Utah)

For scholars like myself who do research and teach courses on the Vietnam War a chance to visit the three war-torn countries of Indochina was an opportunity for which I had long been waiting. After somewhat fruitless attempts to arrange passage on my own through the U.N. Mission of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in New York (the only official link for Americans, denied more direct access because of the absence of diplomatic relations between the two countries), I was delighted to receive an announcement of a trip being organized by John McAuliff, head of the U.S.-Indochina Reconciliation Project.

The US-IRP journey, the first exchange of educators from the United States to Indochina, was arranged for late December 1985 to mid-January 1986, taking advantage of a time when most educators would be on holiday breaks and the season when the weather would be most clement in Indochina. The group of twelve, whose applications were reviewed by a screening committee of international Vietnam specialists,

included political scientists, historians of Vietnam, the United States and China, a sociologist, and two secondary school teachers. Our common denominator was our endorsement of the trip's goal, the improvement of relations between Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea and the United States, and the desire to forge links for later research trips and educational exchanges.

Since I was on leave winter quarter and also had received assurances of financial support from my university, I was able to participate in travels to all three countries. We first visited Laos, the only country which still retains diplomatic relations with the United States by virtue of its essentially bloodless transfer of power in 1975. Although circumstance and the primitive state of Lao transportation prevented us from journeying far outside Vientiane, we were cordially received there. We met with officials of the foreign ministry, ministry of education, ministry of planning, women's federation, visited a cooperative farm, and spent a day at Dong Dak Teachers College. The opportunity to gain a perspective on current turbulent relations between Laos, Kampuchea, Vietnam, and their perceived enemies, China and Thailand was invaluable. As Laos is Communist, Soviet and Vietnamese advisors are in evidence, but the easy-going Lao nature does not permit the oppressiveness of Eastern European Communism, and these advisors apparently find the Lao as difficult to meld to their mold as American advisors did two decades ago. Laos is clearly reaching out to America; it has maintained diplomatic relations with the U.S. and has welcomed an AFSC program run since the days of the American war.

Vietnam was the goal for most members of the US-IRP contingent, and for a historian of the war, a primary objective. We spent nine days in the Hanoi area, including a day trip to Haiphong. We were received as an "official" delegation, since the Vietnamese clearly attached more significance to our scholarly titles than would our own government. Since our visit predated by days the official visitation of Assistant Secretary of State Jeffrey Wolkowitz and Assistant Secretary of Defense, Richard Armitage who visited Hanoi to discuss return of MIA remains, Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach took the opportunity of audience with our group to make a special plea for improved relations with the United States, leading

eventually to the re-establishment of diplomatic ties. This was a theme we heard repeated many times.

Our schedule was packed with meetings with government officials, as well as interactions with embassy staff from Sweden, Japan and Australia, who gave us an "outside" opinion on how it was to do business and conduct diplomacy with the Socialist Republic. A meeting with General Tran Cong Man, now editor of the army newspaper, yielded fascinating insights into the Vietnamese army perspective on the late war. Likewise, a day spent at Hanoi University with scholars of both ancient and modern Vietnamese history -- and American history -- provided a stimulating exchange of ideas and a fervent desire for continued interaction on both sides. The military museum yielded memories that were more poignant, as we viewed relics of B 52s, bicycles from the Ho Chi Minh Trail, and pictures of Americans captured during the 1972 bombings.

Ho Chi Minh City, Cu Chi, home of the famous tunnel complex, and the delta town of My Tho were the most powerful sites we visited. Ghosts literally haunted the streets of Saigon, so familiar to one who had never visited before from the footage of so much television coverage. Memories of the past war almost overcame the wealth of new information we received from the Southerners, many of whom were not hesitant to voice their dissatisfactions with the petty irritations of life under Northern domination as well as their hopes for the future as economic reforms are enacted that will perhaps further the integration of the country and its desperate attempts at recovery and progress. A day with the faculty of Ho Chi Minh City University was as exciting as the day at Hanoi, and opportunities for oral histories on the war from the Vietnamese perspective abounded. (For Vietnamese-speaking researchers, some archival work also appears possible.) Everywhere we were received with courtesy and friendship, and our hosts tried to shield us from most sights and comments that would exacerbate tensions. While children at first taunted us with cries of "Lien Xo" (Russians) they were delighted when we responded with the word for American.

Kampuchea, formerly Cambodia, the most poverty-stricken and desperate nation of Indochina. I remembered the beauty of Pnom Penh from a visit there

in 1968; today the city, still reeling under the impact of Pol Pot's holocaust, barely functions. Peasants camp in the streets and use water from open cisterns, and because this is a country still at war, troops and police are everywhere. Most, in the city, are Khmer troops being trained to replace the Vietnamese forces that will leave by 1990, but the stories of fear of Pol Pot's return (his forces are by far the most numerous of the "coalition" of the resistance) came from every Khmer we talked with. We could venture only briefly outside the city, since roads are in deplorable condition and more distant regions are unsafe.

We were not the only Americans in Indochina (not counting the many Rambos who lurk on its fringes.) Political Scientist Joe Zasloff and Historian William Duiker received, after lengthy applications, permission for a three-week trip that partially coincided with ours. Most other scholars we met in Hanoi were Americans coming from Australian National University. Only Australian Ben Kiernan and his Khmer wife Chantou Boua are presently working in Cambodian archives.

Humanitarian workers were also present; in Laos and Kampuchea relief workers from AFSC and Oxfam were providing most-needed assistance in irrigation projects, physical therapy, and veterinary medicine. Since Vietnam is still being ostracized for its 1979 invasion of Kampuchea -- which excited more criticism than the regime that built the torture chambers of the Pol Pot regime at Tuol Sleng and filled the killing fields with corpses -- no humanitarian assistance to Vietnam exists, except for the presence of Dr. Judy Ladinsky of the US Committee on Scientific Cooperation with Vietnam.

A visit to Vietnam is a challenging and stimulating experience. Prospects for a return to do research remain problematic, however. Lack of diplomatic recognition is one barrier. The Reagan administration cites as necessary for the restoration of diplomatic relations the resolution of the MIA issue and Vietnam's withdrawal from Kampuchea, however communication through the UN mission is lengthy and difficult. Tourism by former war veterans has been established by Greg Kane, and McAuliff's US-IRP group will take educators again next Christmas; he is also

organizing trips for peace activists and journalists. (McAuliff can be contacted for information at 5808 Greene Street, Philadelphia, 19144.) Proposals for research projects should be directed to the US Committee for Scientific Cooperation or to Nguyen Dang Quang, First Secretary of the UN Mission, who will forward them to Hanoi. The Committee is acting as liaison with the Social Sciences Commission in Vietnam, which coordinates scholarly activity. The opportunity to learn first-hand about Indochina since 1975, as well as to gain a deeper understanding into its culture, history, and perspectives on the American war from "yesterday's enemy" make this opportunity to travel to Indochina a most rewarding and stimulating prospect for all teachers of the Vietnam War.

THE DOMINO THEORY?

by

Linda Killen (Radford University)

(The following telegram was found among the RG 59 papers relating to the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. Readers are invited to speculate as to the actual intent. Augustus Richards was in his seventies at the time he wrote the telegram and his only known contact with foreign policy seems to be his membership in the same law firm as Charles Evans Hughes.)

"Critical Situation in Yugoslavia calls for your immediate attention.

Daniel De Luce Garnett correspondent writing from Belgrade report published Monday's Utica Press states that Belgrade looks like 'a California town at the crest of a boom.' Private enterprise is 'steadily diminishing,' biggest hotels state owned as well as largest stores; brand new buildings growing up like mushrooms under five year plan; having stones uprooted for new utility mains; headlines in trade-union newspapers tell of name excelled, shock workers honored; red-painted street cars bear slogan 'Death to Fascism-Liberty for the people'; which is the conventional form for concluding letters, like our

'Yours truly'; crowded movie houses showing pictures from Russia, England, France, Czechoslovakia; with Hollywood omitted because of the block booking requirement; London newspapers of all hues sold at 12 different bookshops; nation's printing presses working overtime; American businessmen absent due to our refusal to issue passports; boys in uniform but unarmed marching in streets singing partisan war songs; prostitution disappearing from the streets; and in short, as De Luce puts it, nothing in the city lets the visitor forget the 'New Democracy' which has supplanted the rickety kingdom' [sic] described in Louis Adamico [sic] 'Natives Return.' Even more shocking to the De Luce report published in Tuesday's Utica Press disclosing that our diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia are being freed of friction, due chiefly to the attitude and activities of two disloyal rascals in charge of our embassy--Cavendish W Cannon and John M Cabot--who are fraternizing with these reds, and have acutally gone so far as to screen the embassy of German collaborators, and plotters against the present regime.

Now for God's sake, Kennan, wake up and put a stop to this even if atom bombs are required. These horrible conditions could easily spread to Macedonia dna [sic] all Greece with devastating effect upon our royal and loyal friends in that country. Should such negligence in your office continue anything could happen even peace with Russia."

(The full reference is RG59, 860h.00/8-747, received by Policy Planning Staff, Department of State 8 August 1947. The telegram was sent by Mr. Augustus Richards and addressed to George Kennan, Chief of Planning Commission, State Department.)

MINUTES
SHAFR Council
June 26, 1986

The SHAFR Council met at 8:00 a.m. on June 26, 1986, in the History Department conference room on the 6th floor of the Intercultural Center of Georgetown University. President Betty Unterberger presided. Council members present were Richard Dean Burns, Michael Hunt, Warren F. Kuehl, Roger Trask, Theodore

Wilson, and William Kamman. Others present included David L. Anderson, William Brinker, Lewis Hanke, Daniel C. Helmstadter, and Page Putnam Miller.

1. Lewis Hanke discussed with Council the need to keep abreast of materials for the study of U.S. history outside the United States. He referred to his recently published guide covering the period 1945-1980 and his hope that there would be updates every five years. Professor Hanke noted that such a project needed a sponsoring organization and it was for that reason that he was approaching SHAFR. Council discussed Hanke's proposal. There were a number of questions on cost, editorship, worthwhileness of the project and the importance to SHAFR. President Unterberger appointed a committee of Ted Wilson, Chairman, Milton Gustafson, and Michael Hunt to examine the published five-volume guide and to consider the questions raised in the discussion.

2. Page Putnam Miller, director of the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History, discussed the proposed appointment of John Agresto as Archivist of the United States. She noted that many organizations had taken a stand in opposition to the appointment. Dr. Miller also discussed public access to Nixon papers. This question is tied to the choice of an archivist and how that appointee would handle access to presidential papers generally. She reported that there was little or slow movement on FOIA legislation and appropriations.

3. Richard Dean Burns, chairman of the ad hoc committee for indexing Diplomatic History, reported for that committee. Daniel Helmstadter suggested it would probably be best to have the index put in a computer by a trained diplomatic historian and put in camera ready form. There followed a discussion of the form of publication - perhaps a regular or special issue of Diplomatic History - and the cost. Daniel Helmstadter believed the most important step was compilation of the index. Means of publication could wait for a later decision. Richard Burns and Warren Kuehl should continue seeking a qualified person to do the index. A graduate student at the University of Washington, Seattle, had indicated an interest. Council agreed to this procedure and approved expenditure of a reasonable amount of money (to be determined by the committee) for the indexing.

4. Warren Kuehl reported on republication of the Guide to American Foreign Relations Since 1700. Kamman noted that 52 members of SHAFR had returned the questionnaire indicating an interest in buying the Guide. It was agreed that the Guide was useful and should be available to SHAFR members at a reasonable price. After discussion of covering initial expenses or republication from the endowment and operating accounts Kuehl recommended that SHAFR order 300 copies. Council approved.

5. Council approved a new contract with Scholarly Resources for publication of Diplomatic History. The new agreement becomes effective on January 1, 1987, and will continue through December 31, 1990. The cost per volume per individual SHAFR member will remain at \$9.00 for 1987 and then rise to \$10.00 beginning January 1, 1988, and remain there for the term of the contract.

6. David Anderson, editor of the Roster and Research List, has revised the form for reporting information to be included in the list. Anderson is planning a roster supplement early in 1987.

7. Council passed unanimously a resolution expressing appreciation for the excellent work of all persons who helped to organize the 1986 summer conference at Georgetown University. Those persons named included Milton Gustafson, Linda Killen, Gary Ostrower, Sheri Wells, and especially the co-chairpersons Justus Doenecke and Thomas Helde. Council also expressed its gratitude to Georgetown University for being a gracious host.

8. Council noted that SHAFR's 1987 summer conference would be at the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland from June 24-27. Discussion then turned to the 1988 summer conference. There were questions on site, time, and whether SHAFR should meet with Pacific Coast Branch of the AHA. Amid various opinions, Council decided to issue a call for 1988 invitations to combine with one already received. Council will then select a site.

9. William Brinker, editor of the Newsletter, reported an interest in having information in the Newsletter about accommodations in various cities for

researchers. It was suggested that the Newsletter might publish addresses of places to write.

10. President Unterberger announced that Kurt Schultz of Miami University had received the W. Stull Holt Memorial Dissertation Fellowship. Formal announcement will be made at the luncheon on Friday, June 27, 1986.

11. Warren Kuehl recommended that SHAFR formalize the process of choosing representatives to serve on the Department of State's Advisory Committee on Historical Documentation. Kuehl moved that the three immediate past presidents of SHAFR constitute a nominating committee for SHAFR's representatives on the committee. The motion passed. SHAFR's current members on the committee beginning in 1986 are Michael Hunt and Warren Cohen. Members will normally serve a three-year term. Because Council believes that staggered terms are desirable it was arranged for Cohen to serve a four-year term and for Hunt to serve a three-year term. In the Spring, 1987, Council will arrange for nominations for a replacement.

12. Council unanimously approved a resolution instructing the executive secretary-treasurer to sign an agreement opening an account with Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner, and Smith.

13. There was a brief discussion concerning speakers for SHAFR's plenary sessions.

14. President Unterberger noted that Council had approved establishment of a Warren Kuehl Award. Richard Leopold will serve as chairman of the committee to draw up the guidelines. It is hoped that the Kuehl Award can be awarded on alternate years when the Graebner Award is not offered.

Council adjourned at 10:35 a.m.

WARREN F. KUEHL PRIZE

To mark the retirement on July 31, 1986 of Warren F. Kuehl as Professor of History and Director of Peace Studies at the University of Akron, the Council of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations has approved the establishment of a Warren F. Kuehl Prize, and committee to solicit funds for its endowment from members of the Society and from friends of Warren Kuehl throughout the world of scholarship.

No single person has done more for the Society over the years than Warren F. Kuehl, and it can be argued that no one has done as much. He chaired the Society's Program Committee from 1968 to 1970, served on the Nominating Committee from 1971 to 1973, was Joint Secretary-Treasurer from 1974 to 1979, and became Vice President in 1984 and President in 1985. He attended all but six Council meetings from 1974 through 1986. Although others took the lead in planning for a SHAFR Guide, he was the key person in keeping the project alive, seeking an editor and publisher, and obtaining the low purchase price for members of the Society. Similarly, he negotiated the highly favorable financial arrangements for Diplomatic History. Most of all, his careful oversight and sound investment policy, both during his secretary-treasurership and after, enabled the Society to move from a position of no financial reserves in 1974 to the extremely satisfying fiscal situation of 1986.

Other organizations benefited from Warren F. Kuehl's initiatives and labors, and contributions will be sought from members of, among others, the Society for the Study of Internationalism, the Association for the Bibliography of History, and the Conference on Peace Research in History, as well as from his contemporaries and mentors at Northwestern University.

As defined by the Council, the Warren F. Kuehl Prize, to be offered every other year, is to be awarded to the author or authors of an outstanding book dealing with the history of internationalism and/or the history of peace movements. Such books may include biographies of prominent internationalists or peace leaders. Also eligible are works on American foreign relations which examine United States diplomacy from a world perspective and which are in accord with Kuehl's 1985 presidential address to the Society for

Historians of American Foreign Relations. There he voiced an "appeal for scholarly breadth, for a wider perspective on how the foreign relations of the United States fits into the global picture."

It is hoped to make the first award in 1987. Toward that end, President Unterberger has named a selection committee consisting of Charles L. DeBenedetti of the University of Toledo, Chair; David S. Patterson of the Office of the Historian, Department of State; and William C. Widenor of the University of Illinois. This group will coordinate with the Executive Secretary-Treasurer, William Kamman of North Texas State University, in establishing regulations and deadlines for the submission of books and in informing publishers about these matters. The Society's Newsletter, under William Brinker of Tennessee Technological University, will also assist in publicizing the prize and regulations.

Contributions to the endowment of the Warren F. Kuehl Prize should be made to SHAFR, WARREN F. KUEHL PRIZE and be sent to Lawrence S. Kaplan at Kent State University, Kent, Ohio 44242. The undersigned hope that the response will be prompt and generous.

Alexander DeConde
University of California, Santa Barbara
David W. Hirst
The Papers of Woodrow Wilson, Princeton
Lawrence S. Kaplan
Kent State University
Richard W. Leopold, Chair
Northwestern University

ABSTRACTS

David F. Trask (Center of Military History), "Official Histories of the War in Vietnam: Why They are Produced and What is Available for Classroom Use," Teaching Political Science, Vol. XII (Summer, 1985), pp. 187-194. This article appears in a collection edited by Allen E. Goodman entitled "Symposium on Vietnam" intended to provide guidance for those teaching courses on the history of the Vietnam conflict. Trask lists all completed official histories produced by the

historical offices of the Department of Defense and also those projected for future publication. The article includes a commentary on the opportunities and pitfalls associated with the writing of official histories of the Vietnam conflict.

Richard Allen Baker (U.S. Senate Historical Office), "A Slap at the "Hidden-Hand Presidency": The Senate and the Lewis Strauss Affair", - a paper read at the O.A.H. in New York. On June 19, 1959 the U.S. Senate refused to confirm Lewis L. Strauss as the Secretary of Commerce. President Eisenhower later called this action "one of the most depressing official disappointments I experienced during my eight years in the White House. Senators who participated in this dramatic showdown still recall it as one of the great political bloodlettings of the Senate's modern history. Given the rarity of such rejections, the relative insignificance of the post, and the nominee's distinguished public career, one must conclude that there were other forces at work. This paper explores those forces within the context of growing congressional frustration at executive domination, the changing complexion of the Senate's Democratic majority, and the legislative branch's greatly enhanced institutional resources.

Historians of the Eisenhower administration have given the Strauss defeat relatively little notice. Increasingly flattering in their assessment of Eisenhower's management style and leadership as president, these studies have treated the Strauss rejection as an aberration and a momentary disappointment. It takes on new significance, however, if viewed from the perspective of Congress rather than the presidency. Far more than a well-publicized clash between two determined foes, this event marked the eruption, within the Senate's Democratic majority, of pent-up frustration at a decade of bipartisan conciliation mandated by narrow party divisions. The Strauss clash also demonstrated the maturation of the Senate's capacity to establish and pursue agendas independent of those put forth by the White House.

Alexander S. Cochran, Jr. (Center of Military History), "The Impact of Vietnam on American Military

Doctrine," paper presented at Organization of American Historians Meeting. This paper is an examination of just how Vietnam effected the doctrines of the four military services. It is based upon research in the individual service doctrinal manuals and professional journal articles as well as interviews with officials who were or currently are involved with doctrinal development. Upon the Navy, the impact was nil, for Vietnam posed very little, if any, test of past or current maritime doctrine. The Air Force however saw the war as a successful test of its various notions of airpower: thus the war served as a confirming doctrinal experience. The Army emerged from the war unsure of its doctrine, a confusion that persists through today with its ambivalence concerning low intensity conflict. The impact upon the Marine Corps was vast as it considered its doctrine abused during the war and then threatened afterwards. The paper offers three tentative conclusions; one that Vietnam impacted upon service doctrine in direct proportion to that services' involvement; two, that the impact was related to the services' own perception of what its "job" was in Vietnam; and three, that Vietnam has had very little, if any, impact upon American military doctrine.

Thomas Leonard (University of North Florida), "The United States and Central America 1955-1960." A paper presented at the OAH annual meeting. From 1955 to 1960, United States policy makers did not perceive a communist threat, either international or domestic, to the Central American region. However, there was constant speculation that local communists had influence beyond their numerical strength in student, labor and professional groups. This influence raised concern over potential violence, particularly during the 1958 visit of Milton Eisenhower. The violence failed to materialize. The U.S. attitude toward each country varied. Despite apparently friendly relations with the Somozas in Nicaragua, the U.S. pressured for political liberalization. The strongman Ydigoras regime in Guatemala was viewed as something wanted by all Guatemalans. Salvadoran Presidents Osorio and Lemus were viewed with suspicion because of their left leaning domestic policies, and the military was accepted in Honduras as a stabilizing political influence. Costa Rica, the only functioning democracy in the region, was acceptable despite its socialist

government, but its president, Jose Figueres was disliked because of his anti-U.S. attitude. Despite this fluid situation, the U.S., for the most part ignored the region, because there was no communist threat.

Joseph A. Fry, (University of Nevada, Las Vegas), "John Tyler Morgan's Southern Rationale for Hawaiian Annexation." A paper read at the 1986 meeting of the Organization of American Historians in New York. From the early 1880s, Morgan consistently advocated and worked for the annexation of the Hawaiian islands. Although this aggressive pursuit of Hawaii placed him in a minority position within both the South and the Democratic party, it was his perception of southern and particularly Alabama needs that determined his expansionist agenda. Morgan's desire to annex Hawaii was part of a comprehensive expansionist program aimed at the South's economic revival and escape from colonial bondage to England and the Northeast. He deemed the archipelago an indispensable stepping stone to Asian trade and critical to the construction of a Nicaragua canal. The canal and access to Asian markets would provide outlets for Alabama cotton, timber, iron, and coal and facilitate independence from northern and English merchants. Casting aside party regularity and proposing a "southern" treatment of native Hawaiians, Morgan proposed to liberate the South by making others dependent.

Ronald Spector, (University of Alabama), "The Origins of Anzus: New Zealand-American Relations in Happier Times" in Hyam Gold (ed.), New Directions in New Zealand Foreign Policy (Auckland: Benton Ross 1985) pp. 39-51. First presented as a paper at the University of Otago, this article examines the current ANZUS controversy in the light of the origins of ANZUS and of changing U.S.-New Zealand perceptions of Japan and of each other. It discusses the differences in attitude between Australia and New Zealand at the time of the signing of ANZUS and the irony of a "military alliance" firmly opposed by the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. Regarding the recent troubles, the author concludes that "It would not be the least of ironies of the present ANZUS disagreement, if it resulted in New Zealand adopting an attitude toward foreign relations similar to that of the U.S. in the 1930s;

not as a reaction to the policies of decadent and selfish European powers but as a response to the originator and erstwhile chief spokesman for isolation: the United States."

Stephen G. Rabe (University of Texas, Dallas), "Eisenhower and the Overthrow of Rafael Trujillo," Conflict Quarterly, 6 (Winter 1986) : 34-44. Using recently declassified documents, this article explores the Eisenhower administration's efforts to remove Rafael Trujillo from power. By 1960, the administration had concluded that Trujillo menaced hemispheric security, because he was creating "Batista-like" conditions in the Dominican Republic. The administration initially tried to persuade Trujillo to step down. When the dictator refused, the administration considered violent measures, including supplying weapons to Dominican dissidents who sought to assassinate Trujillo. Whether President Eisenhower authorized or knew of efforts to assist potential assassins cannot be determined. But such efforts followed shortly after Eisenhower denounced Trujillo in unusually strong and suggestive language.

-----, "Eisenhower and Latin America: Arms and Dictators," Peace and Change, 11 (Spring 1985) : 49-61. This article is an examination of the Latin American policy of the Eisenhower administration, with a focus on its military aid program. It also analyzes interpretations associated with "Eisenhower revisionism." The article concludes that the administration practiced Cold War policies in Latin America. Its major program for Latin America was military aid. It supported and transferred arms to military dictators, because they professed to be anti-Communist. By the end of the 1950's, the Eisenhower administration was hastily fashioning new political and economic policies for the region. But it was a fear of communism -- not a concern for democracy, human rights, and social well-being -- that motivated the administration.

Kathleen Burk (Imperial College, London University), "Britain and the Marshall Plan," C. Wrigley, ed., Warfare, Diplomacy and Politics: Essays in Honour of A.J.P. Taylor (London 1986), 210-230. Three main questions are posed in this essay: why was there a

Marshall Plan, why did Britain need Marshall aid and what use did the U.S. make of its supposed leverage over Britain provided by the aid? Britain's need for such aid is set in the context of Britain's long-term economic decline. Regardless of this decline, however, the U.S.'s leverage over Britain is seen to be less than might be supposed; certainly the use made of it was limited.

Guenter Bischof (Harvard University), "Mark W. Clark und die Aprilkrise 1946," Zeitgeschichte, vol. 13, no. 7 (April 1986), 229-52. (This is the Austrian Journal of Contemporary History). This article argues that Clark played a very important role as U.S. High Commissioner in Austria. He began his new job quite ignorant of the ambiguous position Austria was in as a "liberated" country. In the fall of 1945, he tried very hard to get along with the Soviets in the Allied Council in Vienna. Cold War tensions started in Austria earlier than elsewhere, after the Communists suffered a bad defeat in the elections of November 1945. After that the Soviets started to put a lot of economic and political pressure on the newly formed coalition government. As a consequence, Clark's view of the Soviets began to sour and he became a great champion of the Austrians and their independence. By March 1946, Anglo/American-Soviet relations reached crisis proportions. Clark summed up the critical state of affairs in a speech to a group of prominent American newspapermen in April 1946. As a result, Austria slowly became identified as one of the problem areas in the emerging Cold War. (Clark's speech--an excellent summary of the great number of difficulties in the Austrian occupation--is appended in the original English version to the article).

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SHAFR SEEKS MEMBERS' ADVICE

At its June meeting at Georgetown the SHAFR Council decided to solicit the membership for invitations regarding hosting the summer meeting in 1988. (We

will meet at Annapolis in 1987.) If you wish to invite the society in 1988 please contact Betty Unterberger or Tom Paterson (addresses of our current president and vice president respectively are found on the inside front cover).

EDITOR SEEKS INFORMATION FROM MEMBERS

In future issues of the Newsletter I would like to include information regarding suitable lodging accommodations for scholars visiting major archival cities, such as New York and Washington. This might be helpful for international scholars arriving in the United States for the first time. It might keep them from an embarrassing, or possibly dangerous, situation.

An inquiry to the Institute of International Education resulted in a list of organizations which provide services to international visitors (usually making arrangements for brief homestays with U.S. families). IIE suggested contacting Metro-International, 666 Broadway, 9th floor, New York, N.Y. 10012 for assistance with housing information. As yet, the editor has not pursued this possibility.

If members know of cheap, safe, and sane facilities to which SHAFR might steer foreign visitors, please contact the Newsletter.

CLEAN OUT YOUR FILES AND ADD TO THOSE AT THE SHAFR ARCHIVES

Through an arrangement with Georgetown University our society has established archives. Former officers, chairs of committees, and other members involved in similar activities are requested to send their files to the following:

Nicholas B. Scheetz
Manuscript Librarian
Special Collections Division
Georgetown University Library
Washington, D.C. 20057

NEWS CONCERNING THE BAILEY ENDOWMENT

SHAFFR was pleased to discover from a royalty statement from the University of California Press that Thomas A. Bailey had assigned royalties from Prologue to War to the Thomas Bailey Endowment. We had not previously known of this.

BERLIN SEMINAR

Bradley University's Berlin Seminar for college faculty teaching foreign policy, international studies and European history will be held from June 12-30, 1987. The schedule is:

- June 12-17 - Pre-Seminar visits to Erfurt-Dresden
- June 17-22 - Seminar in East Berlin and Potsdam
- June 22-28 - Seminar in West Berlin, Europäische Akademie
- June 28-30 - Sessions at Bonn Foreign Office and Cologne Institute for International Studies.

Seminars are presented by German university faculty, political leaders and foreign office experts of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. Because of subsidies received from both German governments, the participant's principal cost is travel to and from Berlin.

Invitations to attend with requests that American faculty serve as session commentators are sent to applicants in October 1986. This permits faculty time to obtain travel funds. If you are interested in detailed information on the 1987 or future seminars, write to:

Lester H. Brune
Department of History
Bradley University
Peoria, IL 61625

SHEAR CALLS FOR PAPERS

The Society for Historians of the Early American Republic will meet at Temple University's City Center Campus in Philadelphia on July 16-18, 1987. Proposals are invited for individual papers, sessions, and panels. Proposals should include a synopsis of the thesis, methodology, and significance of each paper and a vitae for each author. Send proposals to:

Dr. James B. Stewart
Macalester College
St. Paul, MN 55105

The deadline for proposals in December 1, 1987.

JOHN CARTER BROWN FELLOWSHIPS

The John Carter Brown Library offers approximately fifteen short-term (1-4 months) and long-term (6-12 months) fellowships with stipends of \$800 and \$2,300 per month respectively.

Recipients of the fellowships are expected to be in regular residence at the Library and to participate in the intellectual life of Brown University. The research projects of the fellows must be suited to the holdings of the Library. The Library is particularly strong in printed materials, both European and American, related to the discovery, exploration, settlement, and development of North and South America before 1830.

For information write:

Director, John Carter Brown Library
Box 1894
Providence, RI 02912

The deadline for the receipt of application material is February 1, 1987.

9th ANNUAL GRENA MEETING

The theme for the 9th annual meeting of GRENA--the Groupe de Recherche et d'Etudes Nord-Américaines--(March 13-15, 1987) will be "Conformity and Dissent in

U.S. Life and Letters." Proposals for papers to be presented in either French or English should be received by October 1, 1986. Contact:

Serge Ricard
Institute d'Etudes Anglo-Americaines
University of Provence
29, avenue Robert Schuman
13621 Aix En Provence CEDEX (France)

GILBERT CHINARD PRIZE

The Gilbert Chinard award will be given for distinguished scholarly books or manuscripts in the history of Franco-American relations by Canadian or American authors published during 1986. Historical studies in any area or period are acceptable, including critical editions of significant source materials. The Chinard Prize of \$750 is awarded annually for a book or manuscript in page-proof, the Incentive Award of \$250 is for an unpublished book-length manuscript, generally by a younger scholar.

Deadline for the 1986 award is December 31, and five copies of each entrant should be sent to:

John McV. Haight Jr.
Department of History, Maginnes #9
Lehigh University
Bethlehem, PA 18015

MILITARY AFFAIRS SEEKS NEW HOME

The American Military Institute seeks expressions of serious interest on the part of individuals, institutions, or publishers to publish its journal, MILITARY AFFAIRS. Candidates should have experience in military history, scholarly publications, the firm support of their home institution, and, preferably, experience in journal publication. Write:

Dr. Richard H. Kohn
AMI Special Committee
1058 Rocky Run Road
McLean, VA 22102

The deadline for those interested is October 15, 1986.

LATEST SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE VOLUME

Newly released executive session transcripts of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee trace the origins of the Vietnam war during the Kennedy administration, as well as early Congressional skepticism of American policy in Vietnam. Repeatedly during 1962, administration officials linked their disappointment over the neutralization of Laos with their optimism over a military solution in Vietnam. Some senators were dubious. In an exchange with U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam Frederick Nolting, Senator Wayne Morse warned: "I just want to go on record as saying that, in my judgement, if you make this a unilateral American military action, you will be surprised how quickly American public opinion will leave you in regard to the sacrifice of American boys in Southeast Asia, because you will find a very strong feeling developing that we don't intend to take on the French burden and make the same mistake the French made."

Other newly declassified testimony in the volume includes CIA Director John McCone on the release of U-2 pilot Francis Gary Powers; Ambassador George F. Kennan on the situation in Yugoslavia; Averell Harriman on Laos and Vietnam; and Robert F. Kennedy on his world tour. The volume concludes with a briefing by Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara, and CIA officials on developments in Cuba immediately prior to the Cuban Missile Crisis, and a mark-up session on the Cuban Resolution that later served as a model for the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.

Due to Gramm-Rudman-Hollings budget cuts, fewer copies of the Historical Series and other Congressional hearings will be printed in the future. Those interested in receiving the series should contact the Committee to have their names added to the mailing list. Copies are available at no charge from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, D.C. 20510.

OAH CALL FOR PAPERS

The program committee for the 1988 OAH meeting invites proposals for papers, panels, workshops, but especially entire sessions. Proposals should include a two-page synopsis that summarizes the thesis,

methodology, and significance of each paper, and one vita for each participant. Two copies of each proposal should be sent to:

Paul Boyer, Program Chair
Department of History
Humanities Bldg., Room 4131
University of Wisconsin-Madison
Madison, WI 53706

The deadline for submissions is March 15, 1987.

MACARTHUR MEMORIAL CONFERENCE

The MacArthur Memorial, with the cooperation of the General Douglas MacArthur Foundation and Old Dominion University, will sponsor a symposium, "The Occupation of Japan: The Impact of the Korean War," October 16-17, 1986, in Virginia Beach, Virginia. This is the seventh in a series of symposia on the Occupation of Japan. Major papers and comment will be presented by scholars, government officials, military officers, and Occupationaires. Anyone interested in attending the symposium is invited to write to:

the Secretary, MacArthur Memorial
MacArthur Square
Norfolk, VA 23510

PERSONALS

Editorial and personal apologies to Nancy Tucker (Colgate) for misinformation which appeared in the June 1986 issue of the Newsletter. Hopefully, the correct information is presented below.

Nancy was promoted to Associate Professor and awarded tenure in December 1985. She will begin working in the Office of Chinese Affairs at the Department of State in September 1986. She also received a Beeke-Levy Research Fellowship from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Foundation during 1986. Readers of the SHAFR Council Minutes will know that she has won the Stuart L. Bernath Lectureship Prize for 1987.

Robert D. Schulzinger (University of Colorado) has been designated the Benjamin Cardozo Professor of American History at Yale University for the spring semester, 1987.

W. Patrick Strauss (Oakland University) has received a Fulbright Lectureship in American Studies for 1986-1987 at Shanghai International Studies University in the People's Republic of China. Strauss will teach a graduate course on the history of American foreign policy and one on international relations and will give lectures in various other locations in China during the academic year.

Linda Killen (Radford University) will spend the fall semester 1986 on a Fulbright Research Grant in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. She reports a little anxiety about tackling the language, but plans to give it a good try.

Priscilla Roberts (University of Hong Kong) was recently elected President of the American Studies Association of Hong Kong, for a year, beginning July 1, 1986.

Ronald H. Spector has been awarded the first annual Theodore and Franklin D. Roosevelt Naval History prize for Eagle Against the Sun (now available in Vintage paperback edition), an account of World War II in the Pacific. Congratulations!

Richard Immerman (University of Hawaii at Manoa) has received the University of Hawaii's Excellence in Research Award for 1986.

Alan K. Henrikson has been named Lloyd I. Miller Visiting Professor of Diplomatic History at the State Department's Foreign Service Institute (FSI) and also selected as the Scholar-in-Residence at FSI's Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs, 1986-1987. He will also be a Visiting Scholar at the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

Robert R. Swartout, Jr. (Carroll College) has been selected as a Fulbright Scholar to lecture in American history at Korea University, Seoul, for the 1986-87 academic year.

Kathleen Burk (Imperial College, London University) was Visiting Professor at The Graduate Institute of Peace Studies, Kyung Hee University, Seoul, Korea, from April-June 1986.

Su-Ya Chang (University Park, PA), Peter L. Hahn (Nashville), Valdenia C. Winn (Kansas City), and Daizaburo Yui (Hitotsubashi University) were recently awarded grants from the Harry S. Truman Library Institute.

Richard D. Burns (California State University at Los Angeles) has received the Beahl T. and Irene Perrine Fellowship from the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association.

Charles M. Dobbs (Metropolitan State College) received a Vigortone Fellowship from the Hoover Library Association.

CALENDAR

November 1	Deadline, materials for the December <u>Newsletter</u> .
November 1-15	Annual election for SHAFR officers.
December 1	Deadline, nominations for the Bernath Dissertation Support Awards.
December 27-30	The 101st annual meeting of the AHA will be held in Chicago. The headquarters hotel is to be the Hyatt Regency.
January 1	Membership fees in all categories are due, payable at the national office of SHAFR.
February 1	Deadlines for the 1986 Bernath article award and the Bernath book award.
February 1	Deadline, materials for the March <u>Newsletter</u> .

- March 1 Nominations for the Bernath
lecture prize are due.
- April 1 Applications for the W. Stull Holt
Dissertation Fellowship are due.
- April 2 - 5 The 80th annual meeting of the OAH
will be held in Philadelphia with
headquarters at the Wyndham
Franklin Plaza Hotel. (The
deadline for submissions has
passed.)
- May 1 Deadline, materials for the June
Newsletter.
- June 25-28 The 13th annual conference of SHAFR
will be held at Annapolis. Program
co-chairs are George Herring,
University of Kentucky and Robert
Love, U.S. Naval Academy.
- August 1 Deadline, materials for the Sept-
ember Newsletter.

The 1987 meeting of the AHA will be held in
Washington, December 27 - 30.

The 1988 meeting of the OAH will be held in Reno,
Nevada, March 30 - April 2, at the MGM Grand Hotel.

The Program Chair is:

Professor Paul Boyer
Department of History
Humanities Building, Room 4131
University of Wisconsin-Madison
Madison, WI 53706.

The deadline for proposals is March 15, 1987.

PUBLICATIONS

Paolo E. Coletta (United States Naval Academy), An Annotated Bibliography of U.S. Marine Corps History. University Press of America. 1986. ISBN 0-8191-5218-8 \$37.50.

John M. Carroll (Lamar University) and George C. Herring (University of Kentucky), Modern American Diplomacy. Scholarly Resources Inc. July 1986. ISBN 0-8420-2263-5 \$9.95 paper.

Alan K. Henrikson (Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy), editor, Negotiating World Order: The Artisanry and Architecture of Global Diplomacy. Scholarly Resources Inc. 1986. ISBN 0-8420-2239-2 \$30.00 cloth.

Russell D. Buhite (University of Oklahoma), Decisions at Yalta: An Appraisal of Summit Diplomacy. Scholarly Resources Inc. 1986. ISBN 0-8420-2256-2 \$25.00 cloth; ISBN 0-8420-2268-6 \$8.95 paper.

Frederick W. Marks III (Forest Hills, New York), Independence on Trial: Foreign Affairs and the Making of the Constitution. 2nd ed. Scholarly Resources Inc. 1986. ISBN 0-8420-2272-4 \$25.00 cloth; ISBN 0-8420-2273-2 \$7.95 paper.

Thomas Schoonover (University of Southwestern Louisiana), Mexican Lobby: Matias Romero in Washington, 1861-1867. University Press of Kentucky. 1986. ISBN 0-8131-1586-8 \$21.00.

F.X.J. Homer (University of Scranton) and Larry D. Wilcox (University of Toledo) eds., Germany and Europe in the Era of the Two World Wars: Essays in Honor of Oron James Hale. University Press of Virginia. 1986. ISBN 0-8139-1077-3 \$24.95.

Burton I. Kaufman (Kansas State University), The Korean War: Challenges in Crisis, Credibility, and Command. Temple University Press. 1986. ISBN 0-87722-418-8 \$34.95.

Kathleen Burk (Imperial College, London University), Britain, America and the Sinews of War 1914-1918. George Allen & Unwin. 1985. ISBN 0-04-940076-2 \$29.95.

Serge Ricard (University of Provence), Theodore Roosevelt et la Justification de l'Imperialisme. University of Provence. 1986. 110 Francs until October 1986, thereafter 150 Francs.

THE STUART L. BERNATH MEMORIAL PRIZES

The Stuart L. Bernath Memorial Article Prize, the Memorial Book Competition, and the Memorial Lecture Prize, were established in 1976, 1972, and 1976 respectively, through the generosity of Dr. and Mrs. Gerald J. Bernath, Laguna Hills, California, in honor of their late son, and are administered by special committees of SHAFR.

The Stuart L. Bernath Memorial Book Competition

Description: This is a competition for a book dealing with any aspect of American foreign relations. The purpose of the award is to recognize and to encourage distinguished research and writing by scholars of American foreign relations.

Eligibility: The prize competition is open to any book on any aspect of American foreign relations, published during 1986. It must be the author's first or second monograph.

Procedures: Books may be nominated by the author, the publisher, or by any member of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations. Five (5) copies of each book must be submitted with the nomination. The book should be sent directly to: Stephen E. Pelz, History Department, University of Massachusetts-Amherst, Amherst, Massachusetts 01003.

Books may be sent at any time during 1986, but should not arrive later than February 1, 1987.

The award of \$1500.00 will be announced at the annual luncheon of the Society of Historians of American Foreign Relations held in conjunction with the Organization of American Historians, in April, 1987, in Philadelphia.

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 (Massachusetts-Amherst)
1976	Martin J. Sherwin (Princeton)
1977	Roger V. Dingman (Southern California)
1978	James R. Leutze (North Carolina-Chapel Hill)
1979	Phillip J. Baram (Program Manager, Boston)
1980	Michael Schaller (Arizona)
1981	Bruce R. Kuniholm (Duke)
	Hugh DeSantis (Department of State)
1982	David Reynolds (Cambridge)
1983	Richard Immerman (Hawaii)
1984	Michael H. Hunt (North Carolina-Chapel Hill)
1985	David Wyman (Massachusetts-Amherst)
1986	Thomas J. Noer (Carthage)

The Stuart L. Bernath Lecture Prize

Eligibility: The lecture will be comparable in style and scope to the yearly SHAFR presidential address delivered at the annual meetings of the American Historical Association, but will be restricted to younger scholars with excellent reputations for teaching and research. Each lecturer will address himself not specifically to his/her own research interests, but to broad issues of concern to students of American foreign policy.

Procedures: The Bernath Lecture Committee is soliciting nominations for the lecture from members of the Society. Nominations, in the form of a short letter and curriculum vita, if available, should reach the Committee no later than March 1, 1987. The chairman of the committee to whom nominations should be sent is: Ronald J. Nurse, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, VA 24061.

The award is \$500.00, with publication in Diplomatic History

Previous Winners

1977	Joan Hoff Wilson (Fellow, Radcliffe Institute)
1978	David S. Patterson (Colgate)

1979	Marilyn B. Young (Michigan)
1980	John L. Gaddis (Ohio U)
1981	Burton Spivak (Bates College)
1982	Charles DeBenedetti (Toledo)
1983	Melvyn P. Leffler (Vanderbilt)
1984	Michael J. Hogan (Miami)
1985	Michael Schaller (Arizona)
1986	William Stueck (Georgia)
1987	Nancy B. Tucker (Colgate)

The Stuart L. Bernath Scholarly Article Prize

The purpose of the prize is to recognize and to encourage distinguished research and writing by young scholars in the field of diplomatic relations.

Eligibility: Prize competition is open to any article on any topic in American foreign relations that is published during 1986. The author must be under 45 years of age, or within 10 years after receiving the Ph.D., at the time of publication. Previous winners of the Stuart L. Bernath Book Award are excluded.

Procedures: Nominations shall be submitted by the author or by any member of SHAFR by January 15, 1987. It will be helpful if the person making the nomination can supply at least one copy and if possible five (5) copies. The chairperson of the committee is: James Fetzer, State University of New York, Maritime College/Ft. Schuyler, Bronx, New York 10465.

The award of \$300.00 will be presented at the SHAFR luncheon at the annual meeting of the OAH in April, 1987, in Philadelphia.

Previous winners:

1977	John C.A. Stagg (U of Auckland, N.Z.)
1978	Michael H. Hunt (Yale)
1979	Brian L. Villa (Ottawa)
1980	James I. Matray (New Mexico State)
	David A. Rosenberg (Chicago)
1981	Douglas Little (Clark)
1982	Fred Pollock (Cedar Knolls, N.J.)
1983	Chester Pach (Texas Tech)
1985	Melvyn Leffler (Vanderbilt)
1986	Duane Tananbaum (Ohio State)

The Stuart L. Bernath Dissertation Fund

This fund has been established through the generosity of Dr. and Mrs. Gerald J. Bernath in honor of their late son to help doctoral students defray some of the expenses encountered in the concluding phases of writing their dissertations.

Requirements include:

1. The dissertation must cover some aspect of American foreign relations.
2. An award will help defray:
 - (a) last-minute costs to consult a collection of original materials that has just become available or to obtain photocopies from such sources
 - (b) typing and/or reproducing copies of the manuscript
 - (c) abstracting costs.
3. The award committee presumes that most research and writing of the dissertation has been completed. Awards are not intended for general research or for time to write.
4. Applicants must be members of SHAFR.
5. A report on how the funds were used must be filed by the successful applicant(s) not later than six (6) months following presentation of each award.
6. The applicant's supervisor must include a brief statement certifying the accuracy of the applicant's request and report of completion.
7. Generally an award will not exceed \$500.00, and a minimum of three awards each year will be made. More awards are possible if the amounts requested are less.

Nominations, with supporting documentation should be sent to Dennis Bozyk, 33952 Spring Valley, Westland, MI 48185. Deadline for applications is 12/1/86.

Previous winners:

1985	John Nielson (UC-Santa Barbara)
1986	Valdinia C. Winn (Kansas)
	Walter L. Hixon (Colorado)

THE W. STULL HOLT DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIP

The Holt Dissertation Fellowship was established as a memorial to W. Stull Holt, one of that generation of historians which established diplomatic history as a respected field for historical research and teaching.

The award will be \$1500.00.

Applicants must be candidates for the degree, Doctor of Philosophy, whose dissertation projects are directly concerned with the history of United States foreign relations. The award is intended to help defray travel and living expenses connected with the research and/or the writing of the dissertation.

To be qualified, applicants must be candidates in good standing at a doctoral granting graduate school who will have satisfactorily completed all requirements for the doctoral degree (including the general or comprehensive examinations) except for the dissertation before April, 1987.

There is no special application form. Applicants must submit a complete academic transcript of graduate work to date. A prospectus of the dissertation must accompany the application. This should describe the dissertation project as fully as possible, indicating the scope, method, and chief source materials. The applicant should indicate how the fellowship, if awarded, would be used.

Three letters from graduate teachers familiar with the work of the applicant, including one letter from the director of the dissertation, should be submitted to the committee.

Deadline for filing applications and supporting letters for this year's award will be April 1, 1987.

Applications should be addressed to the Chairperson of this year's W. Stull Holt Fellowship Committee: Lawrence E. Gelfand, Department of History, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa 52242.

THE NORMAN AND LAURA GRAEBNER AWARD

The Graebner Award is to be awarded every other year at SHAFR's summer conference to a senior historian of United States foreign relations whose achievements have contributed most significantly to the fuller understanding of American diplomatic history.

Conditions of the Award:

The Graebner prize will be awarded, beginning in 1986, to a distinguished scholar of diplomatic and international affairs. It is expected that this scholar would be 60 years of age or older.

The recipient's career must demonstrate excellence in scholarship, teaching, and/or service to the profession. Although the prize is not restricted to academic historians, the recipient must have distinguished himself or herself through the study of international affairs from a historical perspective.

Applicants, or individuals nominating a candidate, are requested to submit three (3) copies of a letter which:

- (a) provides a brief biography of the candidate, including educational background, academic or other positions held and awards and honors received;
- (b) lists the candidate's major scholarly works and discusses the nature of his or her contribution to the study of diplomatic history and international affairs;
- (c) describes the candidate's teaching career, listing any teaching honors and awards and commenting on the candidate's classroom skills; and
- (d) details the candidate's services to the historical profession, listing specific organizations and offices, and discussing particular activities.

First Scholar Honored:

1986 Dorothy Borg (Columbia)

THE SHAFR NEWSLETTER

SPONSOR: Tennessee Technological University,
Cookeville, Tennessee.

EDITOR: William J. Brinker, Department of History.

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT: Timothy Cross, Tennessee Tech.

ISSUES: The Newsletter is published on the 1st of
March, June, September and December.

DEADLINES: All material should be sent to the editor
four weeks prior to publication date.

ADDRESS CHANGES: Changes of address should be sent to
the Executive Secretary-Treasurer: William
Kamman, North Texas State University, Denton,
Texas 76203.

BACK ISSUES: Copies of back numbers of the Newsletter
may be obtained from the editorial office upon
payment of a charge of \$1.00 per copy: for
members living abroad, \$2.00.

MATERIALS DESIRED: Personals, announcements,
abstracts of scholarly papers and articles
delivered--or published--upon diplomatic sub-
jects, bibliographical or historiographical
essays, essays of a "how-to-do-it" nature, infor-
mation about foreign depositories, biographies,
autobiographies of "elder statesmen" in the
field, jokes, etc.

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)
1983	Ernest R. May (Harvard)
1984	Warren I. Cohen (Michigan State)
1985	Warren F. Kuehl (Akron)