

The Society for Historians of American  
Foreign Relations

**NEWSLETTER**

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**Page**

- 1 Irwin F. Gellman, The Freedom of Information Act, The Federal  
Bureau of Investigation, And Me
- 5 Clifford L. Egan, The INA Corporation Archives.
- 6 Thomas A. Bailey, Seduction With Satisfaction.
- 8 Minutes of the Council Meeting
- 11 Personals
- 14 Abstracts of Articles and Papers
- 22 Publications.
- 23 Conferences and Notices
- 25 SHAFR Calendar
- 26 By-Laws of SHAFR
- 32 Stuart L. Bernath Memorial Awards

## THE SHAFR NEWSLETTER

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

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**BACK ISSUES:** Copies of most back numbers of the **Newsletter** are available and may be obtained from the editorial office upon the payment of a service charge of 75¢ 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 and 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

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|------|---|
| 1968 | Thomas A. Bailey (Stanford)                         |
| 1969 | Alexander De Conde (U of 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 (U of California--San Diego)     |
| 1976 | Robert A. Divine (Texas)                            |
| 1977 | Raymond A. Esthus (Tulane)                          |
| 1978 | Akira Iriye (Chicago)                               |
| 1979 | Paul A. Varg (Michigan State)                       |

# The Freedom of Information Act The Federal Bureau of Investigation And Me

by

Irwin F. Gellman\*

When I started my research of inter-American diplomacy during the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt, I had no inkling that my efforts would lead to the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) nor to the application of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). I chose to examine United States relations with Cuba in the New Deal era, and the first ambassador to Havana under the new president's leadership happened to be Sumner Welles. He came into the administration as an assistant secretary of state for Latin American affairs, but temporarily assumed the Cuban post to resolve the crises which plagued the troubled island. Welles remained at his station almost to the end of 1933. Once he returned to the State Department, he resumed his position of assistant secretary and played a prominent part in shaping regional policies over the next decade.

After I finished my Cuban project, I expanded my horizons to a study of United States-Latin American relations for the entire Roosevelt presidency. Welles's responsibilities in the conduct of foreign affairs mounted dramatically. He assumed primary direction of hemispheric matters during Roosevelt's first term and in 1937 the president promoted him to undersecretary of state. For the next six years Welles held a critical position in formulating regional as well as global policies.

In the summer of 1943 Welles unexpectedly resigned from office. I knew that he and Secretary of State Cordell Hull had clashed; Hull had accused his subordinate of usurping the secretary's authority. Many authors have briefly alluded to this conflict, but was this enough to end a brilliant government career? No one bothered to ask this question while war consumed the nation; the issue was simply pushed aside. The conflict took more than a decade of bureaucratic intrigue to construct and only an instant to forget.

I, too, did not recognize the magnitude of the Hull-Welles struggle until, by chance, I was interviewing a diplomat who served during the Roosevelt era. As we talked, we casually moved into a discussion of administration personalities. He knew Welles, mentioned his homosexuality and lamented that this abnormality had driven Welles from office.

This facet of Welles's behavior did not shock me; I had heard this charge when I was investigating Welles's Cuban ambassadorship. Several Cubans alleged that he was homosexual, but I dismissed these

\*Most of the material on the Welles affair can be found in the author's **Good Neighbor Diplomacy** (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979)

charges as unfounded attacks by his detractors. I naively concluded that a patrician like Welles could not have such tendencies. As I learned more about my subject, I began to question this logic as additional evidence confirmed Welles's homosexuality.

If the charges were accurate, how could my present interview confirm this? I asked my source: "How could allegations brought by Cubans in 1933 bring about the undersecretary's dismissal a decade later?" I received a totally unexpected reply. Cubans had not driven him from office. An investigation that Welles had propositioned a group of Negro porters on a presidential funeral train had. I asked: "How do I substantiate this?" The answer came immediately: "The FBI had investigated the incident."

Armed with this information, I wrote the FBI on February 27, 1975 and asked Director Clarence Kelley to release material regarding Welles's "homosexual activity" under the provisions of the FOIA. Kelley promptly replied. First, I had to obtain permission from Welles's heirs to see the file, but even that (the FBI never listed the heirs for me) did not guarantee a release. The FBI would then review the file to determine if I was entitled to see anything; naturally the FBI would unilaterally make this judgment.

I answered Kelley on March 25. Why did I need any approval from heirs? Welles's homosexuality had been whispered for years; several books had intimated as much; and other writers openly alleged as much. No one was making any startling revelation. What I desired was verification of the FBI inquiry on the train ride and how Welles's antagonists used this to remove him from office. The FBI totally rejected my arguments. Kelley dogmatically held my request was a "clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy." The FBI was through with me; I had the right to appeal to the department of justice or go to court.

I decided to appeal to the attorney general through the FBI and based the appeal on the points that no invasion of privacy existed and further asserted: "I believe that due to the nature of my request that opening these records is not only proper but indeed the public has the right to know the full story in this regard." In mid May the FBI acknowledged the receipt of my request and then promptly buried it!

I waited almost until the end of the year before calling the department of justice to determine the status of my appeal. Individuals in that agency quickly found my letter and recommended if Welles's descendants would assist me, information that I desired could be released quicker.

I had forgotten that a friend of mine was assisting Benjamin Welles with his father's papers and that I had suggested that the son file a FOIA request. I learned, much to my astonishment, that he had already received documentation while I had nothing. On December 13 I wrote Welles's son: "Somehow the FBI misplaced my request, and now it has been suggested that if you give me access to the material which has been released to you, except for intimate and embarrassing details, the material can be released to me much quicker. If you will not, I will have to wait a longer period." The son refused. (In fact on August 23, 1979, he wrote me: "The material furnished me by various agencies of the U.S.

government must, for reasons you will appreciate, remain under my personal control until the completion of my own labors -- e.g. for some years to come.”)

Despite this intransigence I received assistance and was encouraged to write Kelley once more and narrow my request to material on Welles's train ride in September 1940 and the subsequent FBI inquiry. I followed this advice and on March 2, 1976, the department of justice reversed the FBI ruling. The deputy attorney general “granted access to all relevant information concerning Sumner Welles that pertains to the allegations that certain unsubstantiated rumors were used to drive Mr. Welles from public office, to the extent that the release of such information would not constitute an unwarranted invasion of the personal privacy of third parties.” If I was dissatisfied with the partial release, my last appeal was to go to court. I, of course, was delighted. I did not need any heir's consent, nor was opening the file “an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy.”

My elation turned to frustration as I waited for documents which did not arrive. The FBI was delaying the release. On June 7, I wrote the department of justice summarizing the communications over the last year and a half. Welles's heir promptly received material under the FOIA that I was still denied. “Thus, under the act, according to the FBI, some citizens are more equal than others.” The son, I knew, intended to write a book on his father, “and by giving him material without providing me with the same data, the FBI has given Benjamin Welles sole literary rights over public documents.” The FBI waived the privacy section of the FOIA for an heir, but this exemption does not exist under the act. What was an heir: a wife, son, aunt, cousin? No one in government cared to answer those questions. I demanded equal treatment, but was ignored.

Four days after I sent this letter, Kelley released a limited portion of the Welles file to me. At the time I did not know of the struggle that was occurring between the justice department and the FBI. I was the first third party allowed into O.C. (Official and Confidential) files. Most FBI employees are not aware of this designation. These documents, according to Washington gossip, were compiled over J. Edgar Hoover's long tenure and kept in his inner offices. The contents would not be released because of the list of individuals that Hoover collected information on the sordid nature of their lives read like a who's who in America. Some even suggested that these files were destroyed after Hoover's death because of their explosiveness.

My request created a serious dilemma. Should the government provide such intimate files for public scrutiny? In my case there were some unique circumstances: I was considered to be a scholar who had made a serious request; I had already published other works; the FBI had released most of the file to the son; and the file had been used for political purposes.

I had won a partial victory, but the pressing line of what to do with the rest of the O.C. files still remain. I doubt if the government has resolved this problem. The press occasionally reports that the FBI had information on Martin Luther King, Jr.'s sexual promiscuity or Jack

Kennedy's affair with Judith Exner, but no one has connected these incidents with the overall concerted FBI effort to assemble such files. If the data was brought from the FBI's inner sanctum, the nature of the files would lead to the embarrassing question with the equally startling conclusion. What reason should such intimate inquiries be made and isolated under a special designation other than blackmail!

As for my own work, I had collected information on major figures in the Roosevelt administration for over a decade. I had looked at thousands upon thousands of documents and did not know what new material would come from the FBI. Once I received my limited access, had a chance to assimilate and place the data in perspective, I realized the magnitude of my struggle with the FBI and why that agency fought so diligently to keep their investigation secret. The documentation illustrated how the file was used for political purposes, and the reports that I had provided the key to solve the mystery surrounding the fall of the most powerful and influential United States undersecretary of state.

# THE INA CORPORATION ARCHIVES

by

Clifford L. Egan (University of Houston)

American diplomatic historians should note the holdings of the Philadelphia-based INA Corporation. INA, a major multi-line property and casualty insurance company with interests in the health field and financial services area, was formed as a holding company for the Insurance Company of North America and its subsidiaries in 1967. The Insurance Company of North America, which was founded in 1792, primarily wrote marine and fire insurance until this century, and it is the marine insurance segment of the business that especially merits the attention of scholars in diplomatic history.

The INA Archives have been assembled and arranged according to their source and order with materials divided into 20 Record Groups. Of these divisions, Record Groups 2 (French Spoliations), 4 (Marine Insurance), and 8 (Legal) are the most significant. As its name indicates, Record Group 2 pertains to documents arising from the losses of United States citizens during the Quasi-War with France. Record Group 4 contains material relating to the loss of American shipping during the Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon. There are papers concerning the issuance of war risk policies in the twentieth century as well. Like Record Group 2, Record Group 8 holds records relating to spoliation claims; in addition, there are papers concerning the **Alabama** claims (Insurance Company of North America received but \$11,169 of the \$15,500,000 settlement with Great Britain), war risks in both World Wars, and the sabotage carried out by German agents at Black Tom, New Jersey, in the First World War.

A **Guide to the INA Corporation Archives** will acquaint researchers with the various Record Groups. Calendars have been compiled for Record Groups 2 and 4 and Record Group 4 is indexed. A useful history of the Insurance Company of North America has been written by Marquis James, **Biography of a Business, 1792-1942** (Indianapolis and New York, 1942).

The staff of the INA Corporation Archives is eager to lend assistance to investigators. Those interested in using materials should contact Miss Katherine Maras at the INA Archives, 1600 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103, telephone (215) 241-4386.

# SEDUCTION WITH SATISFACTION

by

Thomas A. Bailey

My good friend, Professor Warren F. Kimball, has contributed a mini-article to the **Newsletter** (June 1980), racily titled in part, "Seduction without Satisfaction." Near the outset he heaps praise on me and the dominance of my **Diplomatic History of the American People**, first published in 1940 and now in its tenth edition. Then he proceeds to point out that those unfortunate readers "seduced" by my collection of "great cartoons" and "funny stories" come away from this illusory experience with their passion for pedantic diplomatic history completely unappeased--or appeased in a way that he finds deplorable.

I wrote the **Diplomatic History** over a period of five years primarily for the benefit of the students rather than for that of their teachers, but knowing full well that the teachers would do the adopting. From early days a large number of instructors have been "seduced" into using the book. Many students in turn have been "seduced," but, Kimball to the contrary, with outspoken satisfaction, whether in prep school, college, or graduate school. Over the years I have received many oral and written expressions of appreciation from grateful teachers and students alike, including letters signed by entire classes.

On many points Kimball, in my judgment, is mistaken, especially when he implies that I am a monocausationist. This I am not, even though my pioneering emphasis on the influence of public opinion ("the American People") may mislead the unwary. We teachers throw out ideas, if we have any, and they often come back in garbled form.

Kimball criticizes my chronological approach, although actually the structure is chronological within a topical framework. A student can never really comprehend the flow of history, including cause and effect, unless he has a fairly clear conception of the sequence of events.

Kimball seems annoyed by my use of "funny stories," as he describes my relatively few carefully chosen contemporary anecdotes. Confucius might well have said that one pointed verbal illustration can be worth many pictures.

Kimball also seems unhappy over my use of cartoons, which actually are pictorial editorials, and often powerful ones at that. There is a Chinese proverb: "One picture is worth more than ten thousand words," but of course that depends on the picture. Thanks to television, the present generation is picture-oriented, and if an author can help to communicate ideas through verbal imagery, why not? Or is that too much of a concession to what Kimball refers to as "pop history," such as I allegedly write?

Kimball is critical of my bibliographies as being too full. Better too full, I say than not full enough. There are references at the ends of each of the fifty-nine chapters, plus an overflow in the rear numbering ninety-two pages, for a grand total of nearly 150 pages. I have been told by scholars that these 150 or so pages are the most valuable part of the book. Indeed, how many scholarly textbooks in history have more? The articles and books thus listed are often categorized by a few carefully



chosen sentences, and in this limited way I have attempted to help keep current the incomparable Bemis and Griffin **Guide**.

Kimball is also unhappy because I have included brief abstracts of articles and monographs by graduate students and others who are not top-ranking historians, as though professors had a monopoly on revealed truth. Actually, the alert lecturer should supplement the **Diplomatic History** or take issue with it, if he wishes, and thus demonstrate that he knows more than the author of the textbook.

Kimball to the contrary, I did not regard public opinion as a "great beast," though Hamilton allegedly did. I am not afraid of such pressures, for they are the very basis of democratic government. But, as I try to make clear in my book, public sentiment is to be guided and educated rather than inflamed or ignored.

Kimball to the contrary, I have never regarded James K. Polk and Franklin Roosevelt as great heroes. Thanks to Polk, we are now having to live with Santa Anna's revenge in the person of illegal Mexican immigrants, and I did not vote for Roosevelt in 1932, 1936 or 1940. Because of the war situation, I reluctantly cast my ballot for him in 1944. In my writings I am certain that I am reasonably critical in dealing with both Polk and Roosevelt. I currently have a book in press with the Macmillan Free Press entitled **The Pugnacious Presidents**, and these two men are portrayed at length in this context, warts and all.

Kimball is distressed because, for the earlier days of the Republic, I harp on the theme that Europe's distresses spelled "America's diplomatic successes." He seems to think that this phrase downgrades the affirmative quality of early American statecraft. Actually I borrowed the phrase from the distinguished Samuel Flagg Bemis, who probably adapted it from the proverb, "England's distress is Ireland's opportunity." In any event, in pre-NATO days it was deemed sound strategy to permit one's potential foes to waste their strength on one another.

Kimball opines that I overstress the importance of the Irish voters in the Presidential campaigns of the later nineteenth century. I think not, as Grover Cleveland could testify if he were alive and alert. The clout of the Irish in New York roughly resembled that of the Jews in New York at the present time. But the roles are now reversed. Once we twisted the British lion's tail to keep the Irish happy on voting day; now we pour our arms and money into Israel to keep the American Jews happy on voting day.

Kimball indirectly questions the intellectual quality of my book, thus leaving the impression that it may be markedly inferior to the competition and that my extraordinary success has been due to "funny stories", alliteration, and other gimmicks. The 1940 edition of the book was favorably reviewed in the **American Historical Review** by Professor James P. Baxter, of Harvard University, and in 1943-1944 I was asked to teach the year-long course in diplomatic history at Harvard. In 1940-41, also on the strength of the **Diplomatic History**, I was invited to spend a semester at the famous "think tank" at Princeton, The Institute for Advanced Study, where Albert Einstein was then stationed. These institutions both seem to have concluded that I had grasped the

essentials of American diplomatic history.

My observation has been that an instructor can teach more history--and with less pain--if he uses a readable but soundly based text rather than one clogged with so-called erudition. Most of the learned exegesis will be quickly forgotten, if ever remembered in the first place. I do not agree with those pedants who insist that to be scholarly one must be dule, abstruse, and unintelligible. We historians have our own in-house jargon, not readily understood by those not initiated. Dr. Dixon Ryan Fox, formerly of Columbia University, wrote in the preface to my first edition (1940) that "this is a book for which American scholarship does not have to apologize in the matter of literary quality." The author has given us a "reading book" as well as a "study book."

Although the sales are holding up well relatively, my present publishers are disturbed by the size and price of the **Diplomatic History**, and they are putting pressure on me to reduce the bulk of the book from 1132 pages to a more saleable one of about 600 pages. I am reluctant to undertake this formidable task. After much pain and strain, most of the juice would be squeezed out, and we would have a shriveled **Diplomatic History** that would be not only less scholarly but also less readable. This kind of mutilation has no appeal for me, and I hope that I have earned some respite from such labor as I slip even further into retirement.

## MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL MEETING

The Council met on Friday, August 15, 1980 at the Center for Continuing Education, University of Maryland, College Park. Members present: David Pletcher, Lawrence Kaplan, Lawrence Gelfand, Raymond Esthus, Paul Varg, Gary Hess. Also present: David Trask, Milton Gustafson, William Brinker, Wayne Cole, Eugene Trani, Waldo Heinrichs, Richard Burns. Since a quorum was not present all motions introduced at the meeting were subsequently submitted to Council members for action by mail ballot.

After calling the meeting to order at 7:30 a.m., President Pletcher reported the establishment of an **ad hoc** committee on finance which Warren Kuehl has agreed to chair. Milt Gustafson reported that the Nominations Committee is nearing completion of its work and expects to have a slate of candidates within a few weeks.

Gene Trani summarized the work of the Program Committee, including the development of the program for the Maryland meeting and the problems of sponsoring sessions at the AHA and OAH conventions. Following his remarks, the Council discussed the membership of the Program Committee for 1981; it was agreed that he will remain on the committee to be joined by three new members, one of whom will be named Chairperson.

Dick Burns commented on the progress of the **Guide**. All forty chapters have been received; twenty-eight have been finally edited, with the others at copy editing stage or returned to contributing editors for a final review. Publication by the Fall of 1981 is likely. He inquired whether

someone should be designated to contribute a preface. After considerable discussion, the President requested that Larry Gelfand, Wayne Cole, and Larry Kaplan be responsible for providing a background statement which, at their discretion, could either be a preface or part of the general introduction which Burns is preparing.

Council considered Guidelines for the Bernath Supplementary Trust Account which had been drafted by Warren Kuehl in consultation with the Bernaths. The Guidelines stipulate that the former Bernath "undesignated fund" may be drawn upon by the Council in the future to increase the Bernath prizes, to subsidize students memberships, or to meet administrative expenses associated with the prizes. Varg, seconded by Esthus, moved approval of the Guidelines. The Council, by mail ballot, approved the motion.

On the matter of the establishment of a standing Committee on Government Relations, it was moved by Varg, seconded by Gelfand, that the Council recommend to the membership an amendment to the By-Laws as follows:

The Committee on Government Relations, through association with government and professional agencies, shall report to Council on the publication of the **Foreign Relations** volumes, classification and declassification of documents, and other government matters of concern to diplomatic historians. The Committee shall be comprised of six members appointed by the President. Each will normally serve a three year term with membership changing on January 1. Persons may be reappointed to one additional consecutive term on the committee. The Chairperson of the Committee will be appointed by the President normally for a two year term and may be reappointed to that position.

The Council, by mail ballot, approved the motion and the proposed amendment will be submitted to the membership in October.

Council discussed at some length the role of public historians in SHAFR. It was noted that many academic historians are unaware of the work, especially publications, of historians working in government agencies. It was also observed that public historians have been substantially involved in SHAFR governance and in the summer programs. Dave Trask reported on the establishment of the National Council on Public History and that as a member of its executive committee, he hoped to provide a liason between SHAFR and the NCPH. He also indicated that he wished to discuss SHAFR's relationship with the NCPH at the December meeting. There was general agreement among those present that the **Newsletter** should be

used to call greater attention to the work of public historians.

Waldo Heinrichs reported on the litigation seeking release of the Biographical Register. The case has been heard before the Court of Appeals in Washington and a decision is expected shortly. There is a possibility that it will be remanded to District Court. A decision by the Court of Appeals might lead to an appeal to the Supreme Court. It was moved by Gelfand, seconded by Esthus, that the Society should continue to support the work of Heinrichs and Sam Wells. By mail ballot, the Council approved the motion.

Council next agreed that a meeting should be held next summer in the Washington area and instructed the President to make preliminary arrangements. In discussing this matter, there was a consensus that despite the decrease in attendance at the summer meetings (from over two hundred at the 1975 and 1976 conferences to about 125 for each of the last three meetings which have been held in the Washington area, and about 70 at the Kansas meeting in 1979), they have contributed to the Society's sense of identity and, most importantly, have provided an opportunity for diplomatic historians to participate in what have consistently been good programs.

In other business, the Council considered a request from Bradley University seeking SHAFR's co-sponsorship of a seminar at the Europäische Akademie Berlin in the Summer of 1981. The Council was reluctant to allow use of the Society's name as a sponsor and was concerned about the precedent such sponsorship might establish, but it was agreed that space in the **Newsletter** ought to be made available to bring the program to the attention of SHAFR members.

Council adjourned at 10:05 a.m.

Gary R. Hess

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## Personals

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David Alan Rosenberg (Naval Research Advisory Committee of the Office of the Secretary of the Navy), a previously announced co-winner of the Bernath Article Award, is also a co-winner of the Binkley-Stephenson Award for his article "American Atomic Strategy and the Hydrogen Bomb Decision."

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The June issue of the SHAFR **Newsletter** correctly announced that Michael Schaller (University of Arizona) had won the Bernath Book Award. The **Newsletter** incorrectly listed the title of the prize-winning book. Professor Schaller's prize-winning book was **The U.S. Crusade in China** (Columbia University Press). Our apologies for our error; our congratulations for Mike's achievement!!!

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Benjamin D. Rhodes (University of Wisconsin-Whitewater) has been named a 1980 Hoover scholar and has been granted a fellowship for extended research connected with the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library.

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Jules R. Benjamin (University of Rochester) has been awarded a post-doctoral grant from the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute and another from the Harry S. Truman Institute.

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The Tom L. Evans research grant from the Truman Institute was awarded to Melvyn P. Leffler (Vanderbilt) who will be working on a history of the influence of American Military leaders on foreign policy, 1945-50.

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Richard Hume Werking (University of Mississippi) is currently serving as Acting Director, University Libraries.

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Frederick H. Schapsmeier (University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh) has been awarded the John McN. Rosebush University Professorship in American History.

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James J. Lorence (University of Wisconsin Center-Marathon) will serve as chairman of the Department of History and Political Science during 1980-81. He has recently completed a sabbatical leave, conducting research on socialism in outstate Wisconsin, 1910-20.

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Joseph M. Siracusa (University of Queensland, Australia) has been awarded study leave for seven months in the United States. He has received a grant from the Australian Research Grants Committee to conduct research on American interventionism in the twentieth century.

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Glenn May (University of Texas, Arlington) will be a research fellow at Australian National University in 1980-81.

\* \* \* \* \*

Richard Bradford (West Virginia Institute of Technology) has been awarded a research grant to study the diplomatic methods of the American Indian.

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David L. Anderson (Sam Houston State University) has a temporary appointment at California State Polytechnic University, San Luis Obispo, for 1980-81

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Wilson D. Miscamble has completed his doctorate at the University of Notre Dame and returned to Australia where he has taken a position as North American analyst in the Office of National Assessments, Department of Prime Minister, Canberra.

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Robert L. Beisner (American University) has finished a one-year sabbatical leave during which time he has done research on the History of American Natural Disasters and worked on a novel.

\* \* \* \* \*

Eugene P. Trani (formerly at the University of Nebraska) has assumed duties as Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs at the University of Missouri-Kansas City effective July 1, 1980. Professor Trani has also been awarded a Senior Fulbright grant to spend February through May of 1982 in the Soviet Union. He will lecture at Moscow State University on American Political Parties in the early Twentieth century.

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Thomas D. Schoonover (University of Southwestern Louisiana) spent eight weeks attending a National Endowment of the Humanities summer seminar at Yale University, The seminar was directed by Robin Weeks.

\* \* \* \* \*

J. Garry Clifford (University of Connecticut) is beginning a one-year sabbatical. He plans to do research in Great Britain as well as in the United States.

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John F. Zeugner (Worster Polytechnic Institute) will spend 1981-83 at Keio University in Tokyo, Japan. Professor Zeugner will be Visiting Professor in American Cultural History.

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Roger Trask (University of South Florida) will, on September 2, 1980, become Deputy Historian, Historical Office, Office of the Secretary of Defense.

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Warren F. Kuehl (University of Akron) is preparing a biographical dictionary of internationalists comprised of some 500 individuals whose influence was felt beyond their national boundaries. The biographical dictionary will be a collaborative study to be published by Greenwood Publishing Company.

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## FEDERAL HISTORIANS ORGANIZE

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In April 1980 the Society for History in the Federal Government held its first general meeting in Washington, D.C. The Society subsequently distributed its first **Newsletter**. This quarterly publication plans to inform the members of the activities of the Council and committees, to acquaint its members with the accomplishments of as well as developments and opportunities within federal history or archival programs, to call the attention of members to legislative and judicial actions which will affect the relationship between history and the federal government, and to present the concerns of the Society for History in the Federal Government to non-members and to potential members.

Several SHAFR members are serving as officers and chairpersons of the new Society as well as serving on the editorial board of the newly-launched **Newsletter**. Among them are George Mazuzan, Anna Nelson, Nina Noring, Neal Petersen, Paul Scheips, Jack Shulimson, and Sam Walker.

SHAFR wishes the Federal Historians and their publication good health and long life!

Anyone wishing information regarding the Society should contact Philip L. Cantelon, Secretary; Society for History in the Federal Government; Box 14139 Ben Franklin Station; Washington, D.C. 20044.

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## OAH SESSION TAPES

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As most of you probably know the OAH arranged to record and then to sell audio cassette copies of selected sessions of the 1980 San Francisco meeting. Most of the participants agreed to have their presentations taped. Among those sessions which are available on tape are three sessions of interest to this society.

**Rearming for the Cold War.** (A. DeConde, B. Bernstein, J. Siracusa, S. Wells) No. 1AB \$10)

**The Big Stick: United States Cold War Interventions in Latin America** (W. LaFeber, R. Immerman, M. Azirci, L. Casal, S. Jonas) (No. 10AB \$10)

**The Vietnam War--The New Revisionism and Its Critics** (R. Dallek, J. Colhoun, B. Cumings, S. Silverman) No. 14AB \$10)

These taped sessions are available through contacting:

Audio-Stats  
Educational Services  
12812 Garden Grove Blvd., Suite M  
Garden Grove, CA 92643

(Preprinted order forms were included in the OAH **Newsletter** for July, 1980).

## SUPERVISORY ARCHIVIST SOUGHT FOR FORD LIBRARY

On September 3, 1980 the General Services Administration announced a vacancy for a Supervisory Archivist, GS-1450-15 at the Gerald Ford Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Said archivist will serve as Director of the library. Applicants must have appropriate education. In addition, applicants must possess three years of specialized experience in archival science or in a directly-related field of work such as history that involves the collection, appraisal, analysis, or synthesis of information having historical or archival values.

The GSA form carries the vacancy number NL80-1190 (TWP) and includes a complete description of duties, qualification requirements, selective factors, and application procedures.

Applications must be submitted by October 1, 1980 for initial review.

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### ABSTRACTS OF ARTICLES PUBLISHED, OR SCHOLAR 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 of articles which have appeared in **Diplomatic History**, since all SHAFR members already receive the latter publication).

Alan K. Henrikson (Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University), "America's Changing Place in the World: From 'Periphery' to 'Centre'?" in Jean Gottmann, ed., **Centre and Periphery: Spatial Variation in Politics** (SAGE Publications, 1980), 73-100. This graphically illustrated essay, a product of the author's participation in the Committee on Geography and Politics of the International Political Science Association, surveys the entirety of America's foreign relations, and it suggests a new interpretive way of thinking about the major shifts that have occurred in America's "place in the world." It also stresses the importance of the link between policy and image. From being on the "periphery" of the Atlantic world in the eighteenth century, the United States became a "center" in its own right, in ever larger and more



complex spatial and social contexts. Today, the country is once again "marginal" in certain respects, yet it may possess enough relative strengths to enable it to offset its relative weaknesses--and thus "hold the center."

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Alan K. Henrikson (Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University), "The Creation of the North Atlantic Alliance, 1948-1952," **Naval War College Review**, XXXII, 3 (May-June 1980), 4-39. A detailed, comprehensive, and speculative, if relatively brief, re-examination of the founding of NATO--the treaty, the organizational structure, and the military forces. A variety of sources is used, including the recollection of direct participants. The article's main purpose is to explain why NATO, rather than some other form of defense cooperation (e.g., U.S. reinforcement of the European-led Brussels Union or of the proposed European Defense Community), historically developed. A key to the formation of a unitary **Atlantic** pact, it is suggested, is the acute threat that was perceived in 1948 of a Soviet nonaggression treaty with Norway, which lay along one of the major "Atlantic approaches" and which, if it succumbed, might allow a narrowly focused Western European alliance to be outflanked. A further purpose of the article is to invite consideration of whether the military defense of Europe ought today to be more "Europeanized," and of whether NATO ought to be broadened geographically and functionally.

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Kenton J. Clymer (University of Texas at El Paso), "Religion and American Imperialism: Methodist Missionaries in the Philippine Islands, 1899-1913," **Pacific Historical Review**, XLIX, no. 1, (February, 1980), 29-50. This article examines the attitudes and perceptions of Methodist missionaries in the Philippines toward American policies in the islands during the years of Republican rule. It examines and analyzes their attitudes towards such matters as the question of whether the acquisition of the islands was providential, the American battle to crush armed Filipino resistance, alleged persecution of Protestants, the government's responsibility regarding moral issues (such as gambling and the opium trade), and the new public schools. Generally speaking, the missionaries cooperated with the government and supported American policies in these years, though they were quick to criticize governmental actions that did not conform to Protestant moral norms. Their criticisms, however, were intended to purify American rule, not to challenge it in any fundamental way.

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Kenton J. Clymer (University of Texas at El Paso), "The Episcopalian Missionary Encounter with Roman Catholicism in the Philippines, 1901-1916," **Philippine Studies**, XXVIII (First Quarter, 1980), 86-97. Although the turn-of-the-century missionary movement attracted widespread support in the United States, the newly-opened fields in the Philippines and Puerto Rico (following the Spanish American War) had one peculiar embarrassment: the large majority of the population was already Christian, though of the Roman Catholic persuasion. Though this fact did not deter the Protestant bodies from entering these areas,

the Episcopalians, with a theology and tradition close to Roman Catholicism, were especially ambivalent. In the Philippines, the church determined to limit its ministry almost exclusively to Americans and Europeans, and to the minority of Filipinos who were not Christians. Nevertheless, serious tensions developed with Roman Catholics, Episcopal Bishop Charles Henry Brent privately accusing the Catholics of immorality, greed, and a thirst for temporal power.

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Richard H. Bradford (West Virginia Tech), "The **Virginius** and the **Maine**: Two Crises of the Gilded Age."

A paper presented at the Duquesne University History Forum, October 18, 1979. In both 1873 and 1898 Spain and the United States came near to war. In 1873, blows were averted. In 1898, war was declared. This paper examined the reasons for these different results by analyzing the process of change through time. In 1873 the United States had just concluded a great war, the U.S. Navy was weak, and American leadership was committed to avoiding war with Spain. The Cuban question was relatively new in American politics. Over the next twenty-five years, Spain in Cuba continued as an irritation. A generation grew up which did not remember war save in the heroic tales of their fathers. American leadership in the person of William McKinley was determined to settle the Cuban problem even at the cost of war. Finally, the creation of a new navy by the end of the century gave the United States the opportunity to lance the boil of Cuba with a successful war.

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Richard H. Bradford (West Virginia Tech), "The Progressives as Anti-Imperialists." A paper read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, December 28, 1979.

This paper analyzed the continuation of one form of progressivism into the 1920's: the role of Progressives in opposing American intervention in Nicaragua during 1925-1933. During those years Progressives such as George Norris, Robert LaFollette, Jr., Burton K. Wheeler, and others kept up a steady barrage of criticism of President Calvin Coolidge and Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg's policies. The Progressives rested their criticism on moral, legal, and economic grounds. By 1927, the Midwestern Progressives held the swing votes to control Congress on domestic issues but could not transfer their strength to foreign affairs. One reason was their divided leadership, if indeed they had any leaders. Some were in favor of investigating the intervention, while others such as William E. Borah reluctantly supported the administration's plan to hold national elections in Nicaragua as the best way to prepare for an American withdrawal. In the last analysis, the Progressives failed to attract widespread support among the American public, and it was not until the administration of Herbert Hoover and the advent of the Great Depression that the last Marines left Nicaragua.

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Wayne Patterson (Saint Norbert College), "The State Department and Human Rights in Korea, 1978-1979," paper read at the 1979 Annual

Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 31-September 3, 1979. The paper examines how the human rights aspect of American policy in Korea is implemented while at the same time attempting to achieve other policy goals, namely security in Northeast Asia. Despite a lack of improvement in Korean human rights during 1978-1979, the State Department argued that the tactics of quiet diplomacy and high-level representations should not be replaced by symbolic public displeasure. Reasons for these tactics include: the attitude of the Korean government toward our human rights policy, our refusal to link human rights and security, the nature of the Korean opposition and Korean politics in general, likely Korean reaction to overt pressure, and external constraints. The paper concludes that, in the short run, there is little that the US can do to improve Korea's human rights picture under current policy parameters. Only in the long run, when the hostile confrontation on the Korean peninsula is relaxed and economic growth leads to a more pluralistic political development will the human rights situation in Korea improve. The data is based upon interviews and classified documents available to the writer as a result of the East Asia Scholar-Diplomat Seminar.

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Arnold A. Offner (Boston University), "The United States and National Socialist Germany," paper presented at a conference on "The Fascist Challenge to the International System and Policies of Appeasement," sponsored by The German Historical Institute (London), June 23-25, 1980. This paper contends that American policy is best understood by reference to American assumptions that international instability stemmed from both the restraints that the Treaty of Versailles imposed on Germany and the political and economic rivalries engendered by the emergence of independent national states in place of the sundered Austro-Hungarian Empire, and that political and economic appeasement were inextricably intertwined. Americans also held a jaundiced view of British, French, and Italian foreign and domestic policies, while they retained basic respect for the presumed efficient and productive traditional German civilization as distinct from Nazi society, perceived to be increasingly illiberal, militaristic, and bent on war to sustain itself.

American diplomats' view of the post-1919 European order and the "German problem" led them to seek to appease Germany through the use of such publicly acceptable means as arms reduction, increased trade (including benign neglect of violations of liberal trading practices), and "parallel" political and economic conferences. Following the failure of Undersecretary Sumner Welles' mission and then Germany's spring 1940 offensives, however, the Roosevelt administration concluded that it had to destroy what it now perceived to be a Nazi or Fascist design to impose a totalitarian new order upon the globe.

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Marcia Toepfer (Hq. US Air Force, Intelligence), "American Governmental Attitudes Towards the Soviet Union During the Czechoslovak Crisis of 1938," **East European Quarterly**, XIV, 1 (Spring

1980), 93-108.

Perceptions of the USSR within the United States government during the Czechoslovak crisis of 1938 have received scant historical attention, although the crisis was conceivably the most important historical event of the 1933-1939 period for both America and Russia. Examination of the attitudes of American policy-makers towards the Soviet Union from 1933-39 reveals the extent to which previous views of Soviet conduct and goals influenced perceptions of the Soviet stance during the crisis and recommendations for a suitable American response to the incident. For some officials, images of the USSR determined all their other diplomatic and political assumptions. Others saw Russia as a tool against fascism and urged closer Russo-American relations towards that end. The latter never clarified the manner in which America could act jointly with the USSR to thwart Hitler and, therefore, they had no solution of their own to proffer. As a result balance of power proponents merged with ideologists to support a non-active foreign policy during the Munich crisis.

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Ole R. Holsti (Duke University) and James N. Rosenau, "Vietnam, Consensus, and the Belief Systems of American Leaders," **World Politics**, XXXII (Oct. 1979), 1-56. Based on a sample of 2,282 leaders in all walks of American life, this study probes the impact of U.S. involvement in Vietnam on the perceptions, convictions, and belief systems of those who occupy high positions of leadership. The findings clearly indicate that the post-World War II consensus on U.S. foreign policy has been shattered; that the Vietnam experience was a critical sequence of events in this respect; and that differing, largely mutually exclusive belief systems have emerged among the nation's leaders. The competing conceptions of international politics were found to be so coherent and integrated that they are unlikely to change soon or casually. Barring another traumatic event on the order of Pearl Harbor or Vietnam, the prospects for an early emergence of a new foreign policy consensus in the United States thus seem slim, and beyond the capacity of any political figure or group to fashion.

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Ole R. Holsti (Duke University) and James N. Rosenau, "Does Where You Stand Depend on When You Were Born? The Impact of Generation of Post-Vietnam Foreign Policy Beliefs," **Public Opinion Quarterly**, XLIV (Spring, 1980), 1-22. American involvement in Vietnam and its attending domestic conflict have generated a good deal of speculation about generational differences and, more specifically, about the divergent "lessons" that Americans of different ages have drawn from the most salient foreign policy episodes they have experienced. The most visible lines of cleavage have quite often been described as falling between those whose views were shaped by the events leading up to World War II, on the one hand, and, on the other, those whose outlook has been molded by the war in Southeast Asia. Using data from questionnaire response of 2,282 American leaders in various occupations, this article assesses the validity of the "Munich generation versus Vietnam generation" thesis. The findings indicate that the most

salient cleavages on foreign policy exist between occupations and within generation, rather than vice versa. The article concludes with a discussion of the prospects for early achievement of domestic consensus on issues of international politics and American foreign policy.

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Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones (University of Edinburgh), "Ethnic and Occupational Influences on American Foreign Policy, 1898-1973," paper read to the workshop on "Congress and American Foreign Policy," held in Amsterdam at the biennial conference of the European Association for American Studies, April, 1980. In the paper, Jeffreys-Jones outlined some problems and hypotheses arising from his research into the social bases of U.S. diplomacy. Ethnic influences had been relatively slight, except in such cases where prejudice and idealism combined to produce a "double locomotive" effect on policy: radical students had, if anything, provoked opposition to their cherished goals; on the other hand, occupational high-tariff lobbies exerted effective pressure on Congress until the 1930s. After 1920, the housewife had an increasing influence on economic diplomacy, less through her reputed pacifism than through her price-consciousness, more through the President than Congress.

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Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones (University of Edinburgh), "The Historiography of the CIA," **The Historical Journal**, 23 (June, 1980), 489-496. This review article deals with books written by Ray S. Cline, Harry A. Rositzke, David Atlee Phillips, William Colby, Douglas S. Blaufarb, and William R. Corson, all published in the period 1976-1978. While many recent authors remain tied to the polemics of CIA politics, and while several aspects of intelligence history remain unexplored, a few writers have broken away to ask new questions. Blaufarb and Corson, in particular, have provided new perspectives on the utility of counterinsurgency and the significance of the CIA's "prehistory", helping to create for the first time a "Historiography of the CIA."

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Thomas G. Paterson (University of Connecticut), "George F. Kennan," **International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Biographical Supplement**, vol. 18 (New York: The Free Press, 1979), pp. 375-381 (double columned). An analytical essay on Kennan's chief ideas (containment, disengagement, neo-isolationism, detente, and professional diplomacy) and their impact. The article includes a brief biography and a bibliography of works by and about Kennan.

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Barton J. Bernstein (Stanford) "Misguided Missile," **Inquiry** (May 5, 1980), pp. 8-11, questions the Carter administration's plan to deploy the MX (200 missiles and 2,000 warheads) and suggests that less accurate missiles based in small submarines off the American coasts would be less provocative, less disruptive, and cheaper. The MX, with its great accuracy (a CEP of about 300 feet), is dangerous and provocative because it would give America a counterforce capacity against Soviet

land-based ICBM's (about 75 per cent of the Soviet arsenal). The Soviets might well move to a "launch on warning" strategy. The MX will also make arms control even more difficult, for the counterforce capacity and the provision for 4,600 silos (but only 200 missiles) would probably impel the Soviets to increase their 6,200 land-based ICBM warheads to about 10,000-12,000. Even if SALT II passes (which seems unlikely this year), the MX would make it unlikely that arms control negotiations could slow the arms race and decrease the size of the nuclear arsenals of the two great powers.

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Barton J. Bernstein (Stanford), "Unraveling A Mystery: American POW's Killed at Hiroshima," **Foreign Service Journal**, 40, (Oct. 1979), pp. 17-19, concludes that the first atomic bomb killed at least eleven and maybe twenty-three American POW's in Hiroshima and asks why the Pentagon has refused to admit this. Recently uncovered evidence in Japanese and American archives reveals that the Japanese provided the American army with reports on many of these deaths, tried to conceal some of their own war atrocities, and that American authorities never publicly revealed the results of their official inquiries (that American POW's were killed).

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Warren F. Kimball (Rutgers U. Newark College), "Nixon, Kissinger, and the Lunatics," paper read at the annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians, San Francisco, April, 1980. Discusses the problems of analyzing very recent history and examines the sources currently available for studying the Nixon-Kissinger policy toward the Middle East. Using a number of journalistic accounts, usually based upon inside though one-sided information, the paper compares the account of U.S. policy before the 1973 Arab-Israeli War given in those sources with Kissinger's memoir. Concludes that Kissinger consciously sabotaged the Rogers Plan and that both Kissinger and Nixon aimed at creating a stalemate in the area rather than trying to deal with the local, long-term problems that created the crisis. The Nixon-Kissinger fixation on the Soviet Union prevented them from appreciating the intensity of both Arab and Israeli nationalism. Notes that it was not the stalemate policy which forced the Israelis to make compromises after the 1973 war, but Soviet aid and training for Egyptian military forces and the fear that continued conflict might serve to unify the Arabs.

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Hong-Kyo Park (Jarvis Christian College), "U.S.-Korean Relations, 1945-1947," **Asian Profile**, VIII, 1 (February 1980), 45-52. A brief examination of American efforts to solve the problem of divided Korea by bilateral negotiations with the Russians during the period 1945-1947. The failure of American efforts was not surprising, because it stemmed from the reluctance of either the United States or the Soviet Union to see Korea dominated by the rival power. Neither nation wanted to give up its prominent role over half of the country in exchange for a unified Korea that might end up in the hostile camp. As a result, the 38th parallel became a permanent political barrier.

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Richard Hume Werking (University of Mississippi), "Bureaucrats, Businessmen, and Foreign Trade: The Origins of the United States Chamber of Commerce," **Business History Review**, LII (Autumn, 1978), 321-341. Historians have hitherto viewed the birth of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce merely as the product of businessmen's efforts to create an association of trade organizations. This article demonstrates that, on the contrary, the Chamber owes its origins chiefly to foreign affairs bureaucrats in the federal government. These officials, principally in the young Department of Commerce and Labor, were anxious to increase U.S. exports, and they saw the Chamber as a way to disseminate foreign markets information. They also expected the associated businessmen to serve as the department's allies in its battles with the State Department over which agency was to be responsible for foreign trade promotion.

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Wilson D. Miscamble (Canberra, Australia), "George F. Kennan, The Policy Planning Staff and the Origins of the Marshall Plan," **Mid-America**, vol. 62, no. 2 (April-July, 1980), 75-89. This essay examines the role of George F. Kennan and the Policy Planning Staff in the formulation of the Marshall Plan. It focuses not only on the activities of the Planning Staff prior to General Marshall's June 5 speech at Harvard's commencement but also on its extremely important contribution to the development of the European Recovery Program from June through September of 1947. In doing so it traces and analyses the actual development of the assistance program rather than describing the context in which this policy making was initiated. The essay is based on research in the records of the Policy Planning Staff and other State Department records and in the Kennan, Acheson, Clayton and Vandenberg papers among others.

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## Publications by Members of SHAFR

Richard H. Bradford (West Virginia Institute of Technology), **The Virginius Affair**. 1980. The Colorado Associated University Press. \$10.00.

Justus D. Doenecke (University of South Florida), **Not To The Swift: The Old Isolationists in the Cold War Era**. 1980. Bucknell University Press. \$17.50.

Thomas A. Breslin (Florida International University), **China, American Catholicism, and the Missionary**. 1980. Pennsylvania State University Press. \$15.95. The research for this work was funded in part during 1971-72 by a grant from the AHA Committee on American East-Asian Relations.

James W. Cortada (Ford's, New Jersey), **Spain and the American Civil War: Relations at Mid-Century**. 1980. American Philosophical Society. \$10.00.

Edward W. Chester (University of Texas, Arlington). **The United States and Six Atlantic Outposts: The Military and Economic Considerations**. 1979. Kennikat Press. \$17.50.

Charles DeBenedetti (University of Toledo), **Peace Reform in American History**. 1980. Indiana University Press. \$18.50.

## Student Boners

Response received by the **Newsletter** editor on an examination question regarding Hirohito and the end of World War II.

"The Japanese finally gave in and decided to get rid of him but then we said that he could stay as long as he exposed himself."



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### **Conference to Come**

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The Tenth Annual Meeting of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations will be held at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, on 28-31 May 1981. The Banquet Speaker will be Annemarie Schimmel, Islamicist. Those wishing to submit crosscultural studies or papers in comparative civilization are invited to send the title and four copies of a one-page abstract by 15 November 1980 to:

Professor T. Kaori Kitao  
Department of Art  
Swarthmore College  
Swarthmore, Pennsylvania 19081

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### **Irish Chair**

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The University College Dublin announces that applications are invited from well established historians in the field of American History for appointment to the Mary Ball Washington Professorship of American History, a chair which is endowed by the Alfred I. DuPont Foundation and other donors. This is a one year appointment to begin October, 1981. Courses offered by the holder of the chair will include the history of American foreign relations and the history of the Presidency. For further information contact: Mr. J.P. MacHale, Secretary and Bursar, University College, Belfield, Dublin 4, Ireland. (Closing date for applications is 27 November 1980.)

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## **BERLIN SEMINAR**

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From June 29 to July 4, 1981 a one-week seminar for American professors of foreign relations or European history will be held at the Europäische Akademie Berlin, a center since 1960 for over 500 scholarly seminars designed to develop dialogue on international understanding. American sponsors from the Department of History and Institute of International Studies at Bradley University have announced that the program will deal with "German-American Relations and Recent German International Policies."

Participants will be housed and fed during the week at the Akademie which is largely subsidized by the West German government. Participants pay travel expense to Berlin and a \$30.00 fee which will cover all of the week's activities at the Akademie including room, board, tours (including East Berlin), and most seminar expenses.

Application information can be obtained from:

Lester H. Brune  
History Department  
Bradley University  
Peoria, Illinois 61625

## SHAFR's Calendar for 1980-81

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| November 1     | Deadline, materials for December <b>Newsletter</b> .  |
| November 1-15  | Annual election for officers of SHAFR.  |
| November 12-15 | The 46th annual meeting of the SHA will be held in Atlanta with headquarters at the Atlanta Biltmore. There will be a SHAFR reception on Thursday evening, November 13.           |
| December 1     | Deadline, materials for 1981 Bernath memorial lectureship.  |
| December 28-30 | The 95th annual convention of the AHA will be held in Washington, D.C. at the Shoreham and Sheridan Hotels. As usual, SHAFR will have a full round of activities at this meeting. |
| January 1      | Membership fees in all categories are due, payable at the national office of SHAFR.   |
| January 15     | Deadline, nominations for 1981 Bernath article award.   |
| February 1     | Deadline, materials for March <b>Newsletter</b> .   |
| February 1     | Deadline, nominations for 1981 Bernath book prize.  |
| April 1-4      | The 74th annual meeting of the OAH will be held in Detroit with the Detroit Plaza being the headquarters hotel.   |
| May 1          | Deadline, materials for June <b>Newsletter</b> .  |

In accordance with the By-Laws of SHAFR, Article III, Section 3, the **Newsletter** is hereby printing the revised and current By-Laws of the organization.

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**By-Laws of SHAFR**  
**Article I: Membership**

Section 1 Any person interested in furthering the objects of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations as set forth in the Certificate of Incorporation shall become a member upon submitting an acceptable application and paying the dues herein provided.

Section 2. The following are the classes of membership in the Society: Regular, Student, Life, and Institutional. The specific qualifications of each class of membership shall be established by the Council.

Section 3: Annual dues for Regular, Student and Institutional members shall be established by the Council.

Section 4: (a) All members in good standing, except institutional members, shall have the right to attend, participate in, and vote in all of the Society's meetings and to vote in its elections. Each member shall be supplied without additional charge one copy of each issue of **Diplomatic History** and the **Newsletter** while he is a member, shall receive a copy of the By-Laws, and shall have such other privileges as may be prescribed by the Council.

(b) Membership in good standing is defined as paid membership certified by the Executive Secretary-Treasurer at least thirty days before participating in an election or in the Annual Membership Meeting except that the ballot for the annual election shall not carry the name of any member whose current membership was not paid by July 1.

Section 5: Any member whose dues become three months in arrears shall be automatically suspended.

Section 6: Dues are payable in advance of the first day of each year. New membership shall become effective at the beginning of the calendar year in which application is received and dues are paid except that dues paid after September 15 shall be applied for the following year.

## **Article II: Officers, Elections, and Terms of Office**

Section 1: The officers of the Society shall consist of a President, a Vice-President, and an Executive Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2: The President and Vice-President shall be elected for terms of one year each, beginning on January 1. The Vice-President shall be an automatic nominee for the office of President the following year, although contesting nominees may be offered in accordance with provisions of the By-Laws.

Section 3: The Executive Secretary-Treasurer shall be appointed by the Council to serve at the pleasure of the Council.

Section 4: In the event of the death, resignation or disability of the President, the last to be determined by a majority vote of the Council, the Vice-President shall succeed to the Presidency until the following January 1. Since the office of Vice-President will then be vacant, the Council by majority vote may designate one of its own members to act as chairman of meetings in the President's absence. A Vice-President who succeeds to the Presidency under the provisions of this section shall still be an automatic nominee for the next year's Presidency. If the Presidency, while filled by the elected Vice-President under the terms of this section, shall again become vacant, the Council, by majority vote, shall designate a President ad interim to act until the office is filled by an annual election.

Section 5: (a) Elections shall be held annually by mail ballot. The candidate for each office who receives the highest number of votes is elected. When more than two nominees are slated for a particular office, a run-off election will be held between the candidates with the two highest vote totals.

- (b) The Nominating Committee shall present the name of the outgoing Vice-President as an automatic nominee for the office of President.
- (c) The Nominating Committee shall also present a slate of two candidates for each of the following offices: Vice-President, members of the Council, and member of the Nominating Committee.
- (d) Additional nominees for any office shall be placed on the ballot when proposed by petition signed by twenty-five members in good standing; but such additional nominations, to be placed on the ballot, must reach the Chairman of the Nominating Committee by October 10.
- (e) The Chairman of the Nominating Committee shall certify the names to be placed on the ballot to the Executive Secretary-Treasurer by October 20. The Executive Secretary-Treasurer shall mail the completed election ballot to the membership not later than November 1 for return to him by December 1. The elections results, certified by the Nominating Committee, shall be announced at the Annual Membership Meeting.

### **Article III: Powers and Duties**

Section 1: The President shall supervise the work of all committees, formulate policies for presentation to the Council, and execute its decisions. He shall appoint the members of the Membership and Program Committees and of special committees, commissions, and boards. He shall sign all documents requiring official certification. The President shall be ex officio a member of the Council and shall preside at all Membership and Council meetings at which he is present. A retiring President shall retain membership on the Council for three years after the expiration of his term of Office as President.

Section 2: The Vice-President shall preside at Membership and Council meetings in the absence of the President and shall perform other duties as assigned by the Council. The Vice-President shall be ex officio a member of the Council.

Section 3: The Executive Secretary-Treasurer shall have charge of all Society correspondence, and shall give notice of all Membership and Council meetings. He shall keep accurate minutes of all such meetings, using recording devices when deemed necessary. He shall keep an accurate and up-to-date roll of the members of the Society in good standing and shall issue a notification of membership and copies of the Certificate of Incorporation and the By-Laws to each new member. He shall see that the By-Laws are printed periodically in the **Newsletter**. He shall submit all mail ballots to the membership and shall tabulate the results. He shall retain those ballots, for possible inspection, for a period of one month. He shall give instructions of the Council to the new members of committees when necessary. Under the direction of the Council, he shall, manage all funds and securities in the name of the

Society. He shall submit bills for dues to the members and deliver an itemized financial report annually to the membership. He shall have custody of all records and documents pertaining to the Society and be responsible for their preservation, and shall prepare an annual budget for approval by the Council. The Executive Secretary-Treasurer's accounts shall be audited annually by a Certified Public Accountant designated by the Council. The Executive Secretary-Treasurer shall be ex officio a member of the Council, but without vote.

#### **Article IV: The Council**

Section 1: The Council of the Society shall consist of (a) those officers or former officers of the Society who, in accordance with Article III of the By-Laws, serve ex officio as members of the Council and (b) six members (three year terms) elected by the members of the Society. In the event of a vacancy on the Council caused by death or resignation, the vacancy shall be filled at the next annual election.

Section 2: The Council shall have power to employ and pay necessary staff members; to accept and oversee funds donated to the Society for any of the objects of the Society stated in the Certificate of Incorporation; to appoint the Executive Secretary-Treasurer; to arrange for meetings of the Society; to create, in addition to committees named in the By-Laws, as many standing or ad hoc committees as it deems necessary to fulfill its responsibilities; and to transact other business normally assigned to such a body.

Section 3: The Council may reach decisions either at meetings or through correspondence filed with the Executive Secretary-Treasurer, provided that such decisions have the concurrence of 2/3 of the voting members of the Council.

#### **Artical V: Committees**

Section 1: The Nominating Committee shall consist of three members in good standing who hold no other office in the Society and shall be elected for a term of three years, except that members of the first Nominating Committee shall be appointed by the President to terms of one, two, and three years, respectively. The Chairmanship shall be held by the member with the longest years of service, except that when two or more members have equal length of service the President shall designate which of them shall serve as Chairman. If a post on the Nominating Committee becomes vacant through death, resignation, or ineligibility through acceptance of an office in the Society, the President shall appoint a member to fill the post until the next annual election, when a replacement shall be chosen for the unexpired term.

Section 2: The Membership Committee shall consist of members in good standing, appointed by the President for a term of three years; except that for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a regular rotation of membership on the Committee the President may, as appropriate, appoint members for a term shorter than three years. The Chairman shall be appointed by the President for a term of three years. The Chairman and members may be reappointed for one additional term.

Section 3: The Program Committee shall consist of members in good standing, who hold no other office in the Society., appointed by the President for a term of two years; except that for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a regular rotation of membership on the Committee the President may appoint members for a term of one year. Normally the President shall at the beginning of his term appoint two new members to the Committee and shall designate one of those appointees to succeed to the Chairmanship at the beginning of the next President's term.

### **Article VI: Diplomatic History**

Section 1: The Editor of **Diplomatic History** shall be appointed by the President with the approval of the Council for a term of five years.

Section 2: The Editorial Board shall consist of the Editor and nine members nominated by the Editor and appointed by the Council. Members shall serve three years, except that for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a regular rotation members may be appointed for a term shorter than three years.

### **Article VII: Amendment**

Section 1: Amendments to the By-Laws may be proposed by twenty-five members in good standing or by any member of the Council.

Section 2: Once proposed, amendments must be approved by a majority vote of Council and a concurring majority vote of those participating in a mail ballot.

### **Article VIII: Meeting**

Section 1: There shall be an Annual Membership Meeting open to all members of the Society of good standing. This shall be in conjunction with the Organization of American Historians annual convention. Notice of the final time, place, and agenda of the Annual Membership Meeting shall be mailed by the Executive Secretary-Treasurer to each member of the Society at least thirty days prior to that meeting.



Section 2: Resolutions tentatively approved at the Annual Membership Meeting shall be submitted by the Executive Secretary-Treasurer directly to the full membership of the Society by mail ballot for final approval.

AWARD WINNERS

|      |   |      |
|------|---|------|
| 1977 | John Holt Wilson (Fellow, Research Institute)   | 1977 |
| 1976 | David S. Patterson (Organization in Research)   | 1976 |
| 1975 | Marilyn Burroughs (Research in Practice)        | 1975 |
| 1974 | John L. Coatsworth (Fellow, Research Institute) | 1974 |
| 1973 | Elton Spitzer (Fellow, Research Institute)      | 1973 |

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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, Beverly 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 1982 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, 1980. The Chairman of the Committee, and the person to whom nominations should be sent, is Dr. Keith L. Nelson, Department of History, University of California (Irvine), Irvine, California 92717.

**HONORARIUM:** \$300.00 with publication of the lecture assured in the SHAFR **Newsletter**.

### 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)                  |

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## THE STUART L. BERNATH MEMORIAL PRIZE FOR THE BEST SCHOLARLY ARTICLE IN U.S. DIPLOMATIC HISTORY DURING 1979

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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, Beverly 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 1979. The article must be among the author's first five (5) 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 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, 1980. The Chairman of that Committee for 1979 is Dr. Arnold A. Offner, Department of History, Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts 02215.

**AMOUNT OF AWARD:** \$200.00. 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 April, 1980, at San Francisco.

### 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 (U of Texas, Arlington)<br>David A. Rosenberg (U of Chicago) |

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## THE STUART L. BERNATH MEMORIAL BOOK COMPETITION FOR 1980

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The Stuart L. Bernath Memorial Book Competition was initiated in 1972 by Dr. and Mrs. Gerald J. Bernath, Beverly 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 1979. 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. Walter F. LaFeber, Department of History Cornell University, Ithaca, New York 14853. The works must be received not later than February 1, 1980.

**AMOUNT OF AWARD:** \$500.00. 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 which will be April, 1980, in San Francisco.

### PREVIOUS WINNERS

|      |  |
|------|--|
| 1972 | Joan Hoff Wilson (Sacramento)<br>Kenneth E. Shewmaker (Dartmouth)                    |
| 1973 | John L. Gaddis (Ohio U)  |
| 1974 | Michael H. Hunt (Yale)   |
| 1975 | Frank D. McCann, Jr. (New Hampshire)<br>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, MA)                                       |
| 1980 | Michael Schaller (U of Arizona)  |

## SOCIETY FOR HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

Founded in 1967. Chartered in 1972

**PRESIDENT:** David M. Pletcher, Department of History, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47401.

**VICE-PRESIDENT:** Lawrence S. Kaplan, Department of History, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio 44240.

**EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER:** Gary R. Hess, Department of History, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43403.

**CHAIRMAN, PROGRAM COMMITTEE:** Eugene P. Trani, Assistant Vice President for Academic Affairs, Regents Hall, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska 68583.

**CHAIRMAN MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE:** Ralph E. Weber, Department of History, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53233.

**CHAIRMAN, NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE:** Milton O. Gustafson, National Archives, Washington, D.C. 20408.

**MEMBERSHIP:** Anyone interested in U.S. diplomatic history is invited to become a member of SHAFR. Annual dues are \$8.50, payable at the office of the Executive Secretary-Treasurer. Fees for students, unemployed members, and retired members are \$5.00 per year, while institutional affiliations are \$30.00. Life memberships are \$125.00. The dues for institutions which wish to receive only the **Newsletter** are \$5.00 a year. In the case of memberships by a husband-wife team the dues of one of them shall be one-half that of the regular rate.

**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. All members receive these publications.

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