

The Society for Historians of American  
Foreign Relations



**NEWSLETTER**

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**SOCIETY FOR HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS**  
FOUNDED IN 1967. CHARTERED IN 1972.

**PRESIDENT:** Betty M. Unterberger, History, Texas A & M,  
College Station, Texas 77843.

**VICE PRESIDENT:** Thomas Paterson, History, University  
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**EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER:** William Kamman,  
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**CHAIRMAN, NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE:** Thomas M. Leonard,  
History, University of North Florida, Jackson-  
ville, Florida 33216.

**CHAIRMAN, GOVERNMENT RELATIONS COMMITTEE:** Milton O.  
Gustafson, Diplomatic Branch 5E, National  
Archives, Washington, D.C. 20408.

**MEMBERSHIP:** Annual dues are \$16.50, payable at the  
office of the Executive Secretary-Treasurer. Student  
fees are \$6.00, for retired members \$8.00. Life  
memberships are \$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. In-  
stitutions 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 and the late W. Stull Holt. The details  
of each of these awards are given in 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.

**Blueprint for Quagmires, or  
Keeping the SOB's on Our Side:  
The Eisenhower Administration and  
Third World Authoritarianism**

by

H.W. Brands, Jr. (University of Texas at Austin)

In the spring of 1959, the Eisenhower administration reflected on what appeared to be a wave of military takeovers in the Middle East, South Asia, and the Far East. During the previous six months, army officials had toppled civilian governments in Sudan, Iraq, Pakistan, Burma and Thailand, and the administration pondered what this apparent trend meant for American interests in the broad region that soon would be commonly known as the Third World. The State Department prepared a lengthy report on the subject, which was discussed at a May 1959 meeting of the National Security Council. Though the minutes of this meeting remain classified, the State Department memorandum has been released and can be found in the papers of the White House Office of the Special Assistant for National Security Affairs at the Eisenhower Library.<sup>1</sup> This paper, entitled "Political Implications of Afro-Asian Military Takeovers," affords a fascinating glimpse at the way in which one administration sought to come to grips with what has been perhaps the most vexing problem of U.S. relations with less-developed nations for three decades: how to deal with revolutionary change in the Third World, in the context of continuing U.S.-Soviet rivalry.

The basic issues considered in the State Department report were summarized in three questions. First, did the "observable trend" toward military regimes in Asia and Africa, and the consequent abandonment of democratic institutions there, threaten American interests? Second, did the trend toward political authoritarianism presage a movement toward "economic authoritarianism," thus lowering Third World resistance to communist ideology? Finally, did American support of authoritarian regimes tarnish the international image of the United States and give credence to communist charges of American militarism and hostility to genuine democracy?<sup>2</sup>

To the first question, whether military takeovers and the demise of democracy threatened American interests, the answer the report gave was: Probably not, considering the alternatives. Acknowledging that the ideal situation was one in which the United States supported "benevolent and experienced civilian politicians who have a broad popular base and are held to some form of accountability by a parliament or organized opposition," the paper quickly added that few of the countries in question had any tradition of stable civilian government, and that such traditions would probably take decades to develop. In the meantime, while "ineptness" and "corruption" were the distinguishing traits of Third World politics, the United States would have to recognize that the ideal of supporting capable and accountable civilian governments would have to "be subordinated to the practical and the possible for many years to come."

The situation was not completely bleak, though, because authoritarianism was "not without certain short-run advantages to the United States." Military regimes possessed greater strength in the face of the "real military threat" posed by communism, especially in the region around China, than could be expected of elected governments. The State Department paper commented that in most Third World countries, officer corps comprised the best-educated and most-disciplined sectors of society, and that, therefore, military governments were in the best position to provide the "strong military leadership" necessary to deal with problems of external and internal security. "In small countries especially, where security and trappings of sovereignty are national obsessions, the military can in political or economic crises make demands which civilians would shirk from [sic]." Besides, not being dependent on popular support, military governments were better able to impose their will when necessary: "[T]here are certain advantages in ruling by fiat in times of crisis."<sup>3</sup>

To the second fundamental question, whether political authoritarianism predisposed a country toward economic authoritarianism, the answer offered was: Yes, but--. Political authoritarianism, though hardly to be sought after, was not considered especially threatening to American geopolitical interests; anyway, it constituted the "norm" in the developing world.

Economic authoritarianism, on the other hand, was said to be a much graver matter, for it seemed to open the way to easy adoption of communist ideology and practice. Perhaps it should not be surprising, in an administration as conservative economically and ideologically as Eisenhower's, to find that violations of property rights were considered more objectionable than transgressions involving human rights and civil liberties; still, such a clear confirmation of the commonest charge against capitalism is striking when found within the U.S. government. In any event, the State Department memo asserted that while "political authoritarianism unquestionably weakens the tenuous fibers of democratic beliefs and values" and "points the way toward an easier acceptance of economic controls which trend toward Communist techniques," the connection was not inevitable. If the United States impressed upon military rulers the dangers of sliding from political to economic authoritarianism, the hazards of the latter might be avoided. The key contributors to success in this endeavor would be persistence and consistency.<sup>4</sup>

To the third question, whether American support of authoritarian regimes damaged the reputation of the United States as the chief advocate of democracy, the answer appeared to be: Not necessarily. "It is perfectly possible," the paper asserted, "for us to perpetuate our image as a democratic and basically non-militaristic power, notwithstanding our support of militaristic regimes...." Admittedly, the United States had not done a fully satisfactory job on this count in the past, but with care, America's reputation could be improved, despite association with governments that had usurped political control. "If we set an example of liberal democracy at work, mute our own militarists somewhat, show a greater understanding of neutralism, and identify ourselves more firmly with developmental progress, we can certainly remedy a somewhat tarnished U.S. image..."<sup>5</sup>

Such were the broad conclusions of the paper. From their essentially hopeful tone, the reader might have concluded that all, or at least most, was well with American Third World policy. Yet a careful reading of the analysis behind the conclusions would have revealed that the situation was more complex and less reassuring than the general conclusions indicated. In its summary of recent events in the Middle East, a

region that had witnessed several dramatic military takeovers in the previous several years, the paper delineated the basic dilemma confronting American policy makers with respect to the Third World as a whole:

It is of course essential in the Cold War situation to seek to promote stability in the underdeveloped countries . . . where instability may invite Communism. A new, authoritarian regime, though less 'democratic' than its predecessor, may possess much more stability and may well lay the ground for ultimate return to a more firmly based 'democracy.' These are compelling reasons for our maintaining relations with regimes in power. On the other hand, to become identified with an authoritarian regime and its policies makes us a target for anti-regime propaganda and activity and creates the impression both inside and outside of the country concerned that we approve of authoritarianism and repression so long as our self-interest is thereby satisfied. This impression once created tends to isolate us from whatever progressive forces may exist in a given country, and it discredits our sincere dedication to the principles of freedom, democracy, economic progress and development, and respect for human dignity.<sup>6</sup>

Two possible solutions to the dilemma were suggested. First, the U.S. ought to try to make clear that in supporting a particular country, it was supporting not only the current regime, but the people of that country as well in their striving for political and human rights. Without saying what must have seemed obvious to skeptical observers -- that such a position was in many cases untenable, since the government that the United States supported was actively engaged in suppressing the people's rights -- the memorandum did note that this course was fraught with difficulty. Aiding the people in their quest for democracy required maintaining contact with opposition groups, but such contact tended to antagonize the government. Citing Iran as an example, the memo declared that "we have been aware of opposition to the Shah in Iran, but the importance of our relationship with the Shah as the leader of the regime in power requires us to exercise great caution" in maintaining contacts with actual or potential opposition groups.<sup>7</sup>

If this route seemed problematic, a second possible path to resolution of the dilemma of reconciling democracy with stability appeared to offer somewhat greater hope. In the opinion of the Eisenhower administration, the basic challenge confronting the Third World was economic development, and the primary goal of American policy was to demonstrate that development could be achieved more readily by association with the West than by attachment to Moscow or Peking. A few years earlier, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles had put the issue succinctly in a letter to White House aide C.D. Jackson:

I have become personally convinced that it is going to be very difficult to stop Communism in much of the world if we cannot in some way duplicate the intensive Communist effort to raise productivity standards. They themselves are increasing their own productivity at the rate of about 6% per annum, which is about twice our rate. In many areas of the world such as Southeast Asia, India, Pakistan and South America, there is little, if any, increase. That is one reason why Communism has such great appeal in areas where the slogans of 'liberty', 'freedom', and 'personal dignity' have little appeal.<sup>8</sup>

What was required of American policy, as it related to the question of Third World authoritarianism, was to demonstrate that economic development could be achieved even in the absence of political rights. Indeed, authoritarianism might be the engine -- or at least the engineer -- of development: citing examples from several Latin American countries, the State Department paper suggested that "authoritarianism is required to lead backward societies through their socio-economic revolutions." Moreover, an emphasis on improving living standards ought to be possible to sell to authoritarian regimes by pointing out that "developmental progress is the principal key to locking off dissidence." Instrumental in the sales process would be American military training programs. The presence of American advisers in Third World countries, the report said, offered "great opportunities" for inculcating "a greater appreciation of the necessity for economic development" on the part of local regimes.<sup>9</sup>

There were significant problems with this course, too, though. The most significant resulted from the fact that while military regimes could "be relied on to tend their security fences," economic development required bringing civilian expertise into a government. As the paper's authors recognized -- and as Third World military leaders surely knew -- civilian infiltration of a military government tended to undermine that government. To the extent that a military regime turned responsibility over to civilian experts, the report said, "it prepares the way for its own replacement by a return of civilian power." This, of course, the military regime would resist; but if it resisted, and if it tried to shut out the "non-military intelligentsia" -- which, the paper commented, "ultimately shapes the choices and destinies of society" -- it prepared the way for a "second-stage revolution" which would topple the regime.<sup>10</sup>

Either way, it seemed, the military would be in trouble -- and with it, the United States. If a "happy medium" could be struck between military authoritarianism and civilian democracy -- "a military regime 'civilianized' to the greatest extent possible" -- the situation might still be salvaged. But this appeared to be the diplomatic equivalent of squaring the circle. As the report's authors conceded, "Our past experience with military regimes testifies eloquently to the difficulties of attaining such a happy medium".<sup>11</sup>

Thus, without admitting it in so many words, the memorandum strongly implied that, by siding with Third World authoritarians, American leaders were starting down a road that would probably lead to serious problems at some point in the future. In the careful language of the national-security bureaucracy, the "long-range balance sheet" was described as "dubious." But there did not seem to be any alternative in the short term, for if the United States declined to offer assistance, America's rivals would be more than happy to step in. A comment on the Middle East might have applied to the Third World generally: "In the bipolar world of the Cold War, our refusal to deal with a military or authoritarian regime in the Middle East could lead almost necessarily to the establishment of that regime's friendly relations with the Soviet Bloc...."<sup>12</sup>



As the history of U.S.-Third World relations demonstrates, this latter argument has usually carried the day. Critics of American foreign policy have often claimed that American leaders have been blind to the long-term consequences of supporting repressive, if apparently "dependable", regimes. If this report is representative of the thinking of American leadership on the subject-- and there is no particular reason to think that it is not -- this criticism is ill founded. The problem is not that American policy makers have failed to see the dangers inherent in aligning with authoritarians; the problem is that they have been unable to discover preferable alternatives. To refuse support seemed to risk pushing potential clients into the Soviet camp. Better to offer assistance in the hope -- even if that hope was slim -- of persuading the clients to clean up their acts. American leaders were not heedless of the quagmires that lay before them; but the dangers of staying out seemed greater than the risks of wading in.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup>Folder "NSC 5701," box 19, Policy subseries, NSC series, Office of the Special Assistant for National Security Affairs (OSANSA), Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 5, 9-10.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 5, 11.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Dulles to Jackson, 24 August 1954, box 40, C.D.  
Jackson papers, Eisenhower Library.

<sup>9</sup>"Political Implications . . ." pp. 1, 10-11.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 7, 10, 12.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 6, 19.

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**MINUTES OF DECEMBER 27, 1985 SHAFR COUNCIL MEETING**

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The SHAFR Council met at 8:00 p.m. in the Barrymore Room of the Marriott Marquis in New York City on Friday, December 27, 1985. President Warren Kuehl presided. Council members present were Vice President Betty Unterberger, Michael Hunt, Melvin Leffler, Martin Sherwin, Roger Trask, and William Kamman. Also attending were David Anderson, Barbara Beidler, William Brinker, Justus Doenecke, Milton Gustafson, Thomas Helde, Daniel Helmstadter, Page Putnam Miller, and Ralph Weber.

1. Page Putnam Miller reported on activities of the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History. She noted that selection of a new archivist of the United States was still uncertain. Selection may come from a new group not previously interviewed for the position. She noted that Ted Carter was being interviewed for the position. Discussion turned to federal classification policy. Ms. Miller noted that there should be support for amending the Federal Records Act: 1. to provide for a statutory system of automatic declassification based on the assumption that all government records will be made available through an orderly procedure on a determined timetable: 2. to return to the system of distinguishing foreign government documents from American documents with foreign government information. This would mean honoring foreign government classified documents but recognizing that American documents containing foreign government information are subject only to American classification standards. There followed discussion of using executive orders to determine declassification policy. Ms. Miller believes that Congress should assert its authority in the matter. Milton Gustafson read the following resolution which the AHA Council accepted.

WHEREAS the 1984 Annual Report of the Information Security Oversight Office (published in April,

1985) reveals that among documents denied in part under the mandatory review process has increased dramatically from 10% of all documents in 1983 to 75% in 1984;

And WHEREAS the State Department reviewed only 684 foreign relations document cases under mandatory review in 1984, after having reviewed 853 in 1983;

And WHEREAS the low priority the Administration places on the systematic review process is reflected in a decrease in the number of documents declassified under systematic review, from a minimum of 30 million pages per year for the period 1973 to 1981 to under 13 million pages in both 1983 and 1984;

RESOLVED that the AHA Council and the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History bring to the attention of ISOO and other appropriate authorities the deep concern of the historical profession over these developments and continue to monitor closely the process of declassification in federal agencies;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the AHA Council believes that these developments indicate the need for statutory authority for federal classification policy so that historians who write and teach about the modern era will be able to use the documents they need to reach carefully considered conclusions about their subjects thus enabling Americans to have a better understanding of their past.

No action was taken by the SHAFR Council on the resolution at this time, but later in the meeting when Mr. Gustafson was reporting on activities of the Government Relations Committee, Council unanimously endorsed the resolution.

2. Messrs. Doenecke and Helde reported on the program committee's work for the 1986 SHAFR summer conference at Georgetown University on June 26-28. Mr. Doenecke said that twenty-two proposals had been received; most of them for the post-1945 period. He indicated his desire to extend the deadline for receiving proposals

in order to encourage programs from the pre-1945 period. Council agreed that the program committee which would meet on December 28 would decide this issue.

Mr. Helde reported on arrangements. Georgetown University is building a new dormitory which may be completed by conference time. If not, he has reserved rooms in existing facilities. He proposes that there be one program session each morning, two each afternoon, and that evenings be left free. He suggested that a plenary session be held on Wednesday evening, June 25. There was discussion on the nature of the plenary session. It was suggested that there should be a major speaker at the session rather than a panel. There was discussion of the registration fee and suggestions were made that it should not be so high as to deter student attendance.

President Kuehl noted that the present program committee structure does not allow sufficient time for preparing SHAFR's summer programs and giving sufficient notice to participants to request travel money. It may be necessary to have two committees working simultaneously - one committee working on the next summer program and one for the following year. A program site for 1987 has not been chosen. According to past Council action, two out of three meetings will be on the East Coast and the 1987 meeting should be in that region. Ms. Unterberger is working on this question.

3. Mr. Gustafson reported for the Governmental Relations Committee. He noted that minutes of the committee's last meeting had been mailed. He indicated his hope that the program (to be arranged by the committee) for the opening plenary session of SHAFR's summer conference should feature a major speaker rather than a panel discussion on declassification of government documents.

4. President Kuehl reported on efforts to receive updated information for the "Roster and Research List." Questionnaires went to the membership at the same time as the membership renewal forms. Kuehl's office has been processing the returned questionnaires and a new "Roster and Research List" will be published in a special issue of the Newsletter early in 1986. David L. Anderson of Indiana Central University in

Indianapolis offered a proposal for future Roster and Research lists. Anderson presented cost estimates for printing and mailing the list. He suggested that the complete roster could be published biennially or triennially and have a partial list of new or revised roster information published on an annual basis in the Newsletter.

David Anderson was appointed editor of the "Roster and Research List".

5. Melvyn Leffler, chairman of the search committee for selecting a new editor of Diplomatic History, reported that the committee had two excellent applicants for the position. Mr. Leffler reviewed the applications with Council and reported that the search committee recommended Michael J. Hogan for the position of editor of Diplomatic History to succeed George Herring. In the discussion that followed Council agreed that both applicants would perform well the duties of editor. Council accepted the committee's report and appointed Hogan.

Leffler then noted that the search committee recommended that Diplomatic History should have a section devoted exclusively to review essays (perhaps one or two an issue). Council believed that this question needed much thought and was not prepared to make a commitment at this time. Council recommended that the new editor explore the issue and consult with various persons including Daniel Helmstadter of Scholarly Resources.

6. Upon the recommendation of Warren Kuehl, Council accepted a motion to have SHAFR join the Commission of International History.

7. Ralph Weber, chairman of the Membership Committee, reported that he was contacting former SHAFR members to encourage renewal of memberships. Betty Unterberger reported on her efforts to recruit East European members for SHAFR at the Third World Congress on Soviet and East European History in Washington, D.C. An arrangement was made with Dr. and Mrs. Bernath to subsidize these members. Unfortunately no Soviet historians and few historians from other East European countries attended. Ms. Unterberger had little opportunity to advance the proposed memberships.

Warren Kuehl reported on his efforts to provide the Guide at a reduced cost for new student members. A Bernath subsidy would assist the project. In contacting ABC-Clio, Kuehl found that the press had less than 50 copies of the Guide. ABC-Clio is willing to republish the Guide for SHAFR at a sliding cost. A subsidy of \$8,000 would provide 400 copies. There were several questions on eligibility for receiving the Guide at reduced cost. President Kuehl will continue his investigations. Council informally approved the purchase of 400 copies of the Guide.

8. Council discussed indexing of Diplomatic History. Among the questions discussed were whether SHAFR should do it alone or cooperate with a consortium and whether the indexing should be done by means of new technology or graduate student labor. Daniel Helmstadter will get an estimate on indexing costs and will report to Council in April. The question of abstracts of articles in Diplomatic History will be left to the new editor.

9. The Finance Committee's report was submitted to Council. Council accepted the report. Council appointed Warren Kuehl to chair the Finance Committee for 1986.

10. William Kamman presented the 1985 financial report for SHAFR and the proposed budget for 1986. Council accepted the report and the proposed budget.

Kamman reported that the Asia Foundation is contacting all Chinese members who received memberships through the Foundation's subsidy and will then decide on renewing the arrangement with SHAFR.

Winners of the 1985 elections were: Betty Unterberger, President; Thomas G. Paterson, Vice President; Richard Dean Burns, Council; Theodore Wilson, Council; Roger Dingman, Nominating Committee.

The proposed changes in the by-laws passed: 314-15; 325-5; 325-4; 329-3.

The OAH resolution on South Africa was approved 231-81.

11. The Graebner Award will be made at the summer conference. Warren Kuehl asked all members to consider nominations.

President Kuehl noted that the Bernath Dissertation Fund Committee had selected Valdinia C. Winn of the University of Kansas and Walter L. Hixon of the University of Colorado to receive \$500 grants from the fund.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

William Kamman  
Executive Secretary-Treasury

### REPORT OF SHAFR FINANCES, 1985

The committee created to oversee SHAFR's funds supervises the Stuart L. Bernath Accounts, including the Book Award, the Speaker/Article Award, and the Supplementary Fund. It also administers the SHAFR Endowment and prize accounts for the W. Stull Holt and the Norman and Laura Graebner Awards. This makes a total of six separate accounts.

The SHAFR Endowment Fund is especially noteworthy. It includes life memberships, accumulations, and gifts. Additional gifts and interest will enable SHAFR to pursue its many projects.

This past year saw a notable increase in the assets SHAFR administers in the amount of \$23,822.48.

#### SHAFR TRUST, PRIZE, AND ENDOWMENT PORTFOLIO December, 15, 1985

Bonds and notes are listed at face value

Stuart L. Bernath Book Award		
Federal Notes	9,000.00	
Bank Account	<u>679.10</u>	9,679.10
Stuart L. Bernath Article/Speaker Award		
Federal Notes	6,000.00	
Bank Account	<u>440.51</u>	6,440.51
Stuart L. Bernath Supplementary Account		
Federal Notes	52,000.00	
Corporate Bonds	10,000.00	

Vanguard Account 10/30	1,346.16	
Bank Account	<u>2,433.25</u>	65,779.41
Bernath Charitable Remainder Annuity		
Corporate Bonds	<u>20,000.00</u>	20,000.00
SHAFR Endowment		
Corporate Bonds	21,000.00	
Federal Notes	8,000.00	
Bank Account	<u>1,336.05</u>	30,336.05
Holt Fellowship		
Federal Notes	8,000.00	
Corporate Bonds	4,000.00	
Insured CD	5,000.00	
Bank Account	<u>345.09</u>	17,345.09
Graebner Prize		
Federal Notes	3,000.00	
Corporate Bonds	2,000.00	
Bank Account	<u>2,503.10</u>	7,503.10

1982 total: \$89,618.30  
 1983 total: \$119,721.64  
 1984 total: \$133,260.78  
 1985 total: \$157,083.26

By Warren F. Kuehl. Committee members: Lawrence S. Kaplan, Joseph O'Grady, and Marvin Zahniser.

Financial Report for SHAFR 1985  
 (December 16, 1984 to December 15, 1985)

Carryover from 1984  
 Checking Account \$14,234.86  
 Vanguard Money Market Fund 8,862.41 \$23,097.27

Receipts  
 Dues \$15,227.95  
 Bernath Living Trust 1,900.00  
 Bernath Prizes and Expenses 2,951.15  
 Sale of SHAFR Mailing List 270.00  
 Endowment 577.50  
 Graebner Award Gift 100.00  
 Holt Award (reimbursement) 1,500.00



Misc. Refunds			
(incl. AHA Luncheon)	845.50		
Net Interest and Dividends	808.23		
AHA Luncheon (1985)	602.35		
Miscellaneous (money for			
air mail postage)	16.50		
Transfer from Ohio State Acct.			
to Vanguard Money Mkt.	10,000.00		
Transfer from Columbus Acct.			
to Denton	2,328.10		
Transfer from Vanguard Acct.			
to First State Bank,			
Denton, Money Market	2,750.79	39,878.07	
Total Funds			<u>\$62,975.34</u>

#### Disbursements

Scholarly Resources	\$9,177.18
Bernath Prizes and Expenses	4,427.56
General Operating	1,797.29
Overseas Postage	288.00
Convention Expenses	1,848.05
Contribution to NCC	750.00
Professional Fees	110.00
Tax Related Assessment	200.00
Holt Award	1,500.00

#### Transfer:

a. Endowment Funds	11,193.50		
b. Graebner Fund	100.00		
c. Vanguard MM	10,000.00		
d. SHAFR-NTSU from			
SHAFR-Ohio State	2,328.10		
e. From Vanguard MM			
to First State-			
Denton MM	2,750.79	26,372.39	46,470.47
			<u>\$16,504.87</u>

#### Cash on Hand

First State Bank, Denton			
Operating	\$ 963.42		
First State Bank Money Market	15,541.45		<u>\$16,504.87</u>

## Proposed SHAFR Budget for 1986

Our anticipated revenue sources for 1986 are as follows:

Membership dues for 735 regular members	\$12,127.50
Membership dues for 165 student members	2,062.50
Membership dues for 60 retired and unemployed members	480.00
Interest on checking account and money market funds	900.00
Sale of membership list	<u>300.00</u>
TOTAL	<u>\$15,870.00</u>

Our anticipated expenditures for 1986 are as follows:

Diplomatic History (Scholarly Resources)	\$ 9,000.00
General Operating (postage, stationery, supplies, committees, Secretary- Treasurer expense)	3,000.00
Convention Expense	1,500.00
National Coordination Committee	750.00
Tax Consultant	200.00
Transfer to General Endowment	<u>1,400.00</u>
TOTAL	<u>\$15,850.00</u>

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In accordance with past practice, the Newsletter periodically publishes the By-Laws of the Society. The following includes the changes recently approved by the Society.

### 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 participation 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 candidate 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 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.

#### Article 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 five members in good standing appointed by the President for a term of one year. Two co-chairpersons shall be designated, one to oversee the program and one primarily responsible for local arrangements.

Section 4: The Finance Committee shall consist of one person designated by Council to administer endowment accounts plus three members appointed by the President for a term of three years. 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 and two years. The three appointed members shall review annual budget statements, advise the Executive Secretary-Treasurer and the agent Council has designated regarding investment policy and expenditures of nonoperating accounts, and assist in raising funds. Should the Committee deem it advisable, it is authorized to order an audit.

## 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 at least three years and not exceeding 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 in 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.

### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT RELATIONS

by Milton O. Gustafson

The purpose of the Government Relations Committee is to facilitate the exchange of information relating to federal, state, and local government activities in historical and archival areas that affect historians in general and SHAFR members specifically. Committee members (Milton Gustafson, Anna Nelson, Harold Langley, and Marlene Mayo) worked closely with Page



Miller and the National Coordinating Committee in answering questions from SHAFR members and others and helped to resolve problems. The purpose of this report is to acquaint SHAFR members with some of the unresolved problems and unanswered questions.

### The National Archives

On April 1, 1985, the National Archives, an independent agency from 1934 to 1950, became independent again. The 35 years that the National Archives was part of the larger General Services Administration were not always troubled, as the last ten were, but more troubled times may lie ahead.

Archivist Robert M. Warner resigned on April 15, and the President has not yet named a replacement. Space problems are becoming acute; a new building will be needed, and until it is built some records will have to be transferred to the Washington National Records Center in Suitland, Maryland. Decisions will have to be made soon about what records will remain in the National Archives Building, what records will be transferred to Suitland, and what records will be transferred eventually to a new building. Other policy changes and proposed changes, involving research room rules and rules regarding copying equipment, bear watching. Although the President's FY 1987 budget is supportive of the National Archives, no one knows what will happen to that budget because of the Gramm-Rudman balanced-budget law.

### Managing Federal Information Resources

The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) has prepared an OMB Circular, which has the effect of law, to change the ways many federal agencies operate. According to the American Library Association, the impact of the circular will be less access to less information by and about the U.S. Government. Agencies will spend less to collect information and disseminate it to the public; the current trend toward commercialization and privatization of government information will accelerate. This topic will be part of the SHAFR-sponsored program at the OAH convention in New York in April.

## Fee Waivers for FOIA Requests

The Freedom of Information Act allows agencies to charge fees for searching for documents and reproducing them for requestors, but agencies can also waive those fees in the public interest. In one case the State Department determined that a doctoral dissertation available on microfilm did not constitute adequate dissemination of the information requested, and the fee waiver was denied. Proposed legislation to amend the Freedom of Information Act, to make it more restrictive, also includes provisions for waivers of FOIA fees for scholarly research. We think doctoral dissertations meet the criteria for "scholarly research."

The policy of the National Archives is to not charge a fee for searching for documents, but also not to waive the fee for reproduction costs because the records requested can be made available in National Archives research rooms.

Materials in Presidential Libraries are not federal records, and thus not subject to the Freedom of Information Act. Classified information must be requested under the mandatory review provisions of Executive order 12356 instead of FOIA. Following a request, the classified information is submitted by the Library to the agency for mandatory declassification review. The Treasury Department, unique among federal agencies, has mandatory review regulations requiring requestors to pay for research time (even though the research is done by the Presidential Libraries), reproduction costs, and review time, even though FOIA specifically forbids charging for review time.

Another view of the Freedom of Information Act is presented in the current issue of Perspectives, the AHA newsletter, by Ambassador John R. Burke, the head of the State Department's Classification/Declassification Center. Burke, trained as a historian by Professor Fred Harvey Harrington at the University of Wisconsin, argues that the FOIA needs changing. "Relief from the present overwhelming administrative burdens of the FOIA would free resources" so that reviewers could work on advancing the present dateline of the Foreign Relations series.

One of the FOIA requestors creating problems for State Department (and other agency) reviewers is Scott Armstrong, who is organizing a "National Security Archive." Armstrong has a budget of \$120,000 to gather copies of documents on 85 national security topics from 41 different federal agencies in 1986-1987. Copies of these document sets would then be resold to research libraries.

### Federal Classification Policy

We recommended that the SHAFR Council support the resolution approved by the AHA Council in December, calling for a statutory authority for federal classification policies by amending the Federal Records Act. Classification/declassification issues should be regulated by law instead of Executive orders. Under the current rules (EO 12356), according to the Information Security Oversight Office (ISOO), the number of documents declassified by systematic review has decreased dramatically. In addition, the percentage of documents denied in part increased from 10% of all documents reviewed in 1983, to 75% in 1984. We will be studying ISOO's report for 1985 to provide additional information to SHAFR members.

One advancement was a directive from President Reagan, dated November 12, 1984, to federal agencies to ensure the timely publication of the Foreign Relations series (the records of 1960 to be published by 1990). How this directive will be implemented remains to be seen.

(Included below is a copy of President Reagan's letter of November 12, 1985 as referred to in the report of Milton Gustafson.)

THE WHITE HOUSE  
Washington

November 12, 1985

The documentary publication Foreign Relations of the United States has presented the official record of American diplomacy since the presidency of Abraham Lincoln. This orderly and timely publication of the official diplomatic record is extremely important. The accurate understanding of the history of American diplomacy is necessary not only for our own citizens

but also for our allies and adversaries abroad. And, while the continued public disclosure of diplomatic negotiations and undertakings must be balanced carefully against the needs of national security and the expectation of confidentiality in the diplomatic process, the historic record when published should be as complete as possible. The documentary publication series, Foreign Relations, is the proper vehicle for systematic official disclosure of the major documentation regarding American foreign policy in its proper historical context.

I therefore direct that the authoritative foreign affairs record be gathered and appropriately published thirty years after the event in a manner fully consistent with other directives on the release and publication of official information. In particular, I ask that the Secretary of State take necessary measures to ensure the publication by 1990 of the foreign affairs volumes through 1960. The published record should reflect the activities of those federal agencies with responsibilities for the conduct of relations with foreign governments and international organizations.

To assist in this important task, I ask that each of you direct your agencies and staffs to cooperate with the Department of State in the collection, declassification review, and publication of these volumes. You should assure all proper access to authoritative historical records to appropriately cleared official Department of State historians and that the declassification review for publication is accorded the necessary priority to achieve this 30-year publication timeframe.

I ask the Department of State to oversee the convening of periodic meetings of appropriate interagency representatives to review and improve cooperative procedures and plans to meet this 30-year publication timeframe. In addition, I direct that the Department of State make an annual status report on the progress made toward this goal.

(signed, Ronald Reagan)

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## ANNOUNCEMENTS

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### SHAFR FUNCTIONS AT THE OAH

April 10, 1986, 8:00 p.m. - 11:00 p.m., Council Meeting, Hartford Room of the New York Penta Hotel

April 11, 1986, 5:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m., Cash Bar Reception, Pennsylvania Room of the New York Penta Hotel

April 12, 1986, 12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m., Luncheon, Pennsylvania Room of the New York Penta Hotel

William W. Stueck, Jr. (University of Georgia) will speak on "The Korean War as International History."

### SHAFR SUMMER MEETING: GEORGETOWN

The annual meeting of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations will be held at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. from the evening of Wednesday, June 25 through Saturday noon, June 28, 1986. The meeting will begin with a plenary session at 8 p.m. June 25. Both the Conference on Peace Research in History and the American Military Institute are working with the program committee to sponsor sessions, and each organization will plan a luncheon with a special speaker. The Office of the Historian of the Department of State will organize a special program for members and the Committee also hopes to provide a tour of the Old Executive Office Building.

### AEAR SECURES FUNDING

Warren Cohen of the Asian Studies Center sends information that the Henry Luce Foundation has awarded a grant to the Committee on American-East Asian Relations which Michigan State University will administer for the next five years. The grant will provide operating expenses for the committee and fund a Conference on the International Relations of East Asia during the Eisenhower Era.

## **THE WILBURT S. BROWN CONFERENCE**

The History Department of the University of Alabama, in conjunction with the American Military Institute, will sponsor The Wilburt S. Brown Conference on February 4 and 5, 1987 at the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa. The theme of the conference will be "The Civilian and the Military in the Age of Air Power." The conference will be chaired by Professor Ronald Spector of the University of Alabama History Department. Those wishing to present papers should contact Dr. Michael Hill, Coordinator, Wilburt S. Brown Conference, Department of History, P.O. Box 1936, The University of Alabama, University, AL 35486.

## **SYMPOSIUM ON WINSTON CHURCHILL AND ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS**

On April 25-27, 1986 Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, will host a symposium on Winston Churchill and on Anglo-American relations in the twentieth century. Speakers include Raymond Callahan, Warren Kimball, Robert Dallek, Theodore Wilson, Christopher Thorne, Robert Rhodes James, and John Lewis Gaddis. For further information, contact R.M. Jones, Department of History, Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri 65251.

## **CONNECTICUT FOREIGN POLICY SEMINAR**

The first meeting of the University of Connecticut Foreign Policy Seminar, to which diplomatic historians and others in the central New England area are invited, was held on November 22, 1985. Professor Thomas G. Paterson is the Seminar Coordinator. Professor Arnold Offner of Boston University inaugurated the seminar with a discussion of Harry S. Truman's statecraft. The second seminar heard a presentation from Professor Stephen Pelz of the University of Massachusetts-Amherst on "Toward a New Diplomatic History." A seminar on April 18 will discuss the characteristics of Franklin D. Roosevelt's diplomacy. Professors Douglas Little (Clark University) and J. Gary Clifford (University of Connecticut) will lead the seminar with comments from their recently completed books on aspects of

Roosevelt's foreign policy. Foreign policy specialists in the region who would like to participate are welcomed. Please write to Professor Thomas G. Paterson, Department of History, U-103, 241 Glenbrook Road, University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT 06268.

### **SOUTHEASTERN CONFERENCE: ASIAN STUDIES**

The annual meeting of the Southeastern Conference, Association for Asian Studies, will be hosted by the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, January 15-17.

For conference information, please contact:

Prof. Richard Rice  
History Dept.  
University of Tennessee at Chattanooga  
Chattanooga, TN 37403  
615/ 755-4572 or 615/ 842-4719

For program information, please contact:

Dr. Molly Frost  
3309 35th St., NW  
Washington, D.C. 20016  
202/ 362-6788

### **NEW FELLOWSHIPS ON PROCESSES OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY**

With support from the Ford Foundation, the Social Science Research Council has initiated a program of advanced research fellowships that will assist postdoctoral and senior scholars to undertake research on the processes of U.S. foreign policy making. Special emphasis will be given to proposals that seek to extend research in this area beyond the conventional focus on the foreign policy and national security agencies of the U.S. federal executive. Research is especially encouraged that compares the making of contemporary U.S. foreign policy processes to policy making across historical periods, issues, or countries, as well as research that makes use of theories and insights from diverse social science disciplines. The fellowships permit -- although do not require -- fellows to acquire additional training (say, in a language or in a general body of literature in which they are not currently trained), insofar as it would contribute to the proposed research.

Awards will be for up to two years of full-time support and may be accepted in addition to other grants, awards, and fellowships. There are no citizenship or residency requirements. The size of the stipend will depend on the fellow's current salary or level of experience, but is expected to range between \$25,000 and \$30,000 per year. The research need not be conducted in the United States, nor is residency at a research center required. Deadlines for applications in 1986 are May 1 and October 1.

For further information, write or call:

Council Fellowships in Foreign Policy Studies  
Social Science Research Council  
605 Third Avenue  
New York, New York 10158  
212/ 661-0280

### **SCHOLARNET: THE ACADEMIC COMPUTING NETWORK**

ScholarNet is a new electronic networking service for historians and other scholars in the humanities and social sciences. Through this telecommunications network, scholars in 65 countries can communicate readily with each other.

The telecommunications system, headquartered at North Carolina State University at Raleigh, will also assist businesses in finding needed expertise and information in many fields. Book and software publishers will find it an excellent means of disseminating electronic lists of their publications.

Directed by Richard W. Slatta, associate professor of history at North Carolina State University, ScholarNet initially consists of PoliNet, for political scientists and public administrators, and HumaNet, for scholars in the humanities.

PoliNet, directed by Michael L. Vasu, associate professor of political science at NC State, is currently online. Humanet, directed by Walter Meyers, professor of English at NC State, is due online in early 1986. Initially, HumaNet will serve scholars in history, philosophy and religion, and English. ScholarNet will expand to accommodate other disciplines in the future.



For further information, contact:

Richard W. Slatta  
ScholarNet, North Carolina State University  
Raleigh, North Carolina 27695-8101  
919/ 737-7908

### **DOCUMENTS ON GERMANY, 1944-1985**

The Department of State recently released the publication Documents on Germany, 1944-1985. It is a revised edition of a standard reference work first published in 1959, and presents an authoritative record of major statements of United States policy toward Germany since World War II. The volume provides an overview of the development of the German question and the Berlin issue together with the issue of European security in the post World War II era, and the evolution of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

The revised edition of Documents on Germany was prepared in the Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State. The volume contains 1418 pages of documentation. Thirty-two new documents were added to the material presented in the 1971 volume. An additional 140 documents cover the story from 1971 through 1985. Four new maps have been added. Copies of this book, which has been published only in soft cover (Department of State Publication No. 9446; GPO Stock No. 044-000-02062-9), may be purchased for \$24.00 from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. Checks or money orders should be made out to the Superintendent of Documents.

For further information contact:

Nina J. Noring 202/ 663-1141  
Paul Claussen 202/ 663-1126

### **WORLD WAR II CONFERENCE AT RUTGERS**

On April 4-6 Rutgers in Newark will host a public conference on "World War II and the Shaping of Modern

America." Several SHAFR members are scheduled to participate, among those are: Russell Weigley, David Reynolds, Walter LaFeber (Cornel University), Warren Kimball (Rutgers), and Lloyd Gardner (Rutgers).

For information write:

W.W.II Conference,  
Rutgers, The State University  
390 Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Blvd.  
Newark, NJ 07102

telephone (201) 648-5897

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(The following letter was received by the SHAFR office in response to Chester Pach's contribution, "Melby's Kuomintang Follies," in the December 1985 Newsletter.)

Sir:

I have read with considerable amusement, not to say nostalgia, Chester Pach's entertaining Melby's Kuomintang Follies. I well remember the ditty in my papers and that it bore no authorship. I wish I had written it, but I did not. If I remember correctly it was written by Henry Lieberman of the New York Times, a very talented man. It was his way of relieving the intense frustration under which we all lived at that time.

Sincerely,

John F. Melby  
Professor Emeritus

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**PERSONALS**  
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Three SHAFR members will appear on a panel on "The United States, War and Peace in the Twentieth Century" at the Canadian Historical Association meetings in Winnipeg in June. They are Geoff Smith (Queens'), Jeffrey Kimball (Miami of Ohio), and Charles DeBenedetti (Toledo).

Anna Nelson (George Washington University) was elected by the membership of the AHA to the post of Research Division Committee Member. Congratulations!

At a recognition ceremony held in conjunction with the recent American Historical Association conference, five veteran historians were honored by reference book publisher, ABC-CLIO. Among these was an Award of Merit conferred upon Richard Dean Burns. Burns is currently the Director of the Center for the Study of Armament and Disarmament and a Professor of History at California State University, Los Angeles. For publication by ABC-CLIO, Burns edited the Guide to American Foreign Relations since 1700. He is general editor of the company's War/Peace Bibliography Series, embracing 18 titles to date, and compiled or co-compiled several titles in the series. Associated with ABC-CLIO for 14 years, he was characterized as a "distinguished historian and scholar" by Boehm.

Donald R. Whitnah (University of Northern Iowa), and his wife are spending the spring semester in Austria gathering research materials for a book on Americans and Austrians in Land (province) Salzburg during the occupation, 1945-55.

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### ABSTRACTS

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Serge Ricard (University of Provence), "Theodore Roosevelt and the First Moroccan Crisis: Toward a Reappraisal," in L'Amerique et l'Europe: realites et representations, Actes du GRENA (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Universite de Provence, 1985), pp. 103-113. Basing his case on the Quai d'Orsay archives, the author argues that TR played no decisive part in bringing the French to the conference table and suggests that Algeciras was a diplomatic victory for Germany.

Michael Wala (Hamburg, Federal Republic of Germany), "Selling War and Selling Peace," Amerikastudien/American Studies, 30, 1, 91-105. Largely based on primary sources, this article examines the activities of three ad hoc "citizens' committees" founded before and after World War II by

prominent internationalists: The Non-Partisan Committee for Peace, the Committee to Defend America, and the Committee for the Marshall Plan. The article concludes that members of the "foreign policy establishment", on suggestion by government officials and elected politicians, sold the revision of neutrality legislation, aid to the Allies, and the European Recovery Program to a reluctant Congress and a skeptical public. In this, the committee members acted not as members of independent citizens' organizations, as their leaders maintained, but rather as external propaganda agents of the Department of State, preparing public and Congress for policies anticipated or already introduced by the administrations of Presidents Roosevelt and Truman.

Richard E. Welch Jr. (Lafayette College). "United States Recognition of the Soviet Union: The Influence of Wishful Thinking," MID-AMERICA, vol.67, no. 2 (July, 1985), 83-92. This essay describes the historical debate respecting the motivation and significance of Franklin Roosevelt's decision to restore official diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in November, 1933. The author suggests that much of the controversy respecting the comparative influence of the international scene and market ambitions has been the result of a failure sufficiently to distinguish between the motivation of Roosevelt, the foreign policy goals of the USSR, and the optimistic hopes of majority American public opinion. Roosevelt desired peace in the Far East and saw a revival of international trade as an auxiliary instrument for U.S. economic recovery, but neither Japanese expansionism nor the Russian market provided his primary motivation. He wished to enhance his domestic popularity while demonstrating that the New Deal represented a new day in foreign affairs as well as social-economic policy. The motives of Roosevelt, the USSR, and majority U.S. public opinion were at distinct variance, but they shared a similar result. The hopes of all three suffered disappointment.

J.A. Thompson (University of Cambridge, England), "Woodrow Wilson and World War I: A Reappraisal", Journal of American Studies, 19, 3 (December 1985), argues that most interpretations of Wilson's policy, including those of the 'Realist' school and the New

Left, under-estimate its flexibility. An analysis of the evolution of American policy towards the war shows the extent to which its objectives as well as its tactics changed over time. These changes affected the substance of Wilson's peace program as well as the purposes it was designed to serve. Throughout, Wilson was concerned to find a policy that would command broad support from American opinion. The pragmatic approach he adopted was in accordance both with his beliefs about the proper role of a political leader and his earlier practice, and his failure to achieve a more consistent and realistic policy reflected difficulties arising out of the nature of America's position in the world - difficulties that have faced his successors, too.

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### PUBLICATIONS

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George C. Herring (University of Kentucky), America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950 - 1975. Knopf. 1985. 2nd edition, paper ISBN 0-394-34500-2 \$10.95.

Larry I. Bland (Lexington, Virginia), Sharon R. Ritenour and Clarence E. Wunderlin, Jr., eds., The Papers of General George Catlett Marshall Volume 2: "We Cannot Delay" July 1, 1939-December 6, 1941. The Johns Hopkins University Press. 1985. ISBN 0-8018-2967-4 \$35.00.

Charles DeBenedetti (University of Toledo), ed., Peace Heroes In Twentieth Century America. Indiana University Press. 1986. ISBN 0253343070.

Gary R. Hess (Bowling Green State University), The United States at War, 1941-1945. Harlan Davidson, Inc. 1986. ISBN 0882958348 \$7.95.

Jerald A. Combs (San Francisco State University), The History of American Foreign Policy. Knopf. 1986. ISBN 0-394-34146-5 \$24.95.

Walter LaFeber (Cornell University), Richard Polenberg, and Nancy Woloch, eds., The American Century: A History of the United States since the 1890s. Third Edition. Knopf. 1986. ISBN 0-394-35116-9.

David S. Wyman (University of Massachusetts-Amherst), Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis, 1938-1941. Pantheon. 1986. Paper ISBN 0394736591 \$8.95.

Donald R. Whitnah (University of Northern Iowa) and the late Edgar L. Erickson, The American Occupation of Austria: Planning and Early Years. Greenwood Press. 1985. ISBN 0-313-24894-X \$39.95.

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### CALENDAR

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- April 1 Applications for the W. Stull Holt Dissertation Fellowship are due.
- April 9 - 12 The 79th annual meeting of the OAH will be held in New York with headquarters at the New York Penta Hotel.
- May 1 Deadline, materials for the June Newsletter.
- June 25-28 The 12th annual conference of SHAFR will be held at Georgetown University. Program co-chairs are Thomas Helde (Georgetown) and Justus Doenecke (New College, University of South Florida).
- August 1 Deadline, materials for the September Newsletter.
- November 1 Deadline, materials for the December Newsletter.
- 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.
- January 20                    Deadlines for the 1986 Bernath article award and the Bernath book award.
- February 1                    Deadline, materials for the March Newsletter.
- March 1                        Nominations for the Bernath lecture prize are due.

(The 1987 OAH will meet in Philadelphia, April 2-5. The program co-chairs are:

Drew Gilpin Faust, American Civilization, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19104  
and

Ronald Walters, Department of History, the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 21218.

The deadline for submissions is March 15, 1986.)

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**THE STUART L. BERNATH MEMORIAL PRIZES**

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The Stuart L. Bernath Memorial Lectureship, the Memorial Book Competition, and the Memorial Lecture Prize, were established in 1976, 1972, and 1976 respectively, through the generosity of Dr. 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 book.

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 January 20, 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:

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|------|---|
| 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 (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)<br>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)   |



## 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 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, 1986. The chairman of the committee to whom nominations should be sent is: Russell Buhite, Department of History, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma 73069.

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)

## 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 35 years of age, or within 5 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 20, 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: Harold Josephson, Department of History, University of North Carolina, Charlotte, North Carolina 28223.

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

### **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 Geoffrey S. Smith, Bernath Dissertation Fund Chair, Department of History, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, K7L 3N6. The deadline for applications is December 1, 1986.

1985 award winner - John Nielson (UC-Santa Barbara).

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### THE W. STULL HOLT DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIP

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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, 1986.

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, 1986.

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.

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### THE NORMAN AND LAURA GRAEBNER AWARD

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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.

## THE SHAFR NEWSLETTER

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

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

**EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS:** Donna Mealer and Payton Robbins.

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

**DEADLINES:** All material must be in the hands of the editor no later than 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 subjects, bibliographical or historiographical essays, essays of a "how-to-do-it" nature, information about foreign depositories, biographies, autobiographies of "elder statesmen" in the field, jokes, etc.

### FORMER PRESIDENTS OF SHAFR

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|------|--|
| 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 | Warrem F. Kuehl (Akron)                      |