

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:** 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.

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**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.

REPORT ON A SURVEY OF HISTORIANS IN AMERICAN  
DIPLOMATIC HISTORY

William H. Hall, University of Georgia

This issue of the **Newsletter** is  
dedicated to Nolan Fowler, editor  
1973 - 1979

## REPORT ON A SURVEY OF INSTRUCTORS IN AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY

by

William Stueck, University of Georgia

When I accepted an invitation to join a SHAFR panel on teaching American diplomatic history, I decided to survey the techniques of my colleagues. I was certain that others in the profession had ideas and employed techniques with which I was unfamiliar and which deserved to be mentioned and discussed at the SHAFR session. Thus I wrote some questions, solicited others from my fellow panelists, put them together in a questionnaire, and sent them to 285 instructors of American diplomacy. This was a substantially smaller sampling of the profession than the survey done by Sandra Caruthers Thomson and Clayton A. Coppin, Jr., earlier in the decade, which reached 450 people.\* The Thomson and Coppin survey elicited 182 usable responses and I received 87. However, the thrust of my questionnaire differed from that of Thomson and Coppin and, although the report below is certainly of limited use in generalizing about current teaching trends, I hope it will at least provide some interesting and useful information to instructors in our discipline.

About three of every four respondents begin his/her course somewhere between 1750 and 1776. A few begin before that time period (1492 or 1660), but most of the others start in the last decade of the 19th century. Of those who begin their courses in the 18th century, many noted a substantial increase in class size as the course reaches the 20th century. About a third of the respondents listed their class size at 20 or under, while another third stated it was between 20 and 30. Of the final third, there was an even split between classes of 30 to 40, 40 to 60, and over 60.

Roughly, 85% of the respondents assign a textbook, an increase over the Thomson and Coppin survey of 15%. Many vary the specific textbook they use from year-to-year, but Thomas G. Paterson, J. Garry Clifford, and Kenneth J. Hagan's **American Foreign Policy** is currently the most popular, with over 20% of the respondents identifying it as the one most recently used. Thomas Bailey's **A Diplomatic History of the American People** was second. Alexander DeConde's **A History of American Foreign Policy**, and Robert Ferrell's **American Diplomacy** were a close third. Daniel Smith's **The American Diplomatic Experience** and

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\*Thomson and Coppin, "Texts and Teaching: A Profile of Historians of American Foreign Relations in 1972," **West Georgia College Studies in the Social Sciences**, (June, 1974).

Lloyd C. Gardner, Walter LaFeber, and Thomas McCormick's **Creation of the American Empire** were the only other texts mentioned by more than three respondents. The most frequently mentioned criterion for choosing a particular text was readability. Everyone who uses Bailey noted that consideration, and a few instructors cited the bibliography as a positive aspect of Bailey's book. The reasons for using Paterson **et al.** are most varied. Readable, up-to-date, brief, good maps, illustrations, and bibliography--all were cited several times (in descending order of frequency) as positive attributes of that text. Standing out in the rationales of those using DeConde is its comprehensiveness and its availability in a cheap two-volume paperback edition. A few people also mentioned that it was up-to-date. Ferrell was also labeled comprehensive by several respondents (and "skimpy" by one), and readable as well. About 15% of the respondents labelled a text's interpretative quality as significant, with an event split between those who wanted a "balanced" presentation (DeConde, Smith, and Ferrell cited) and those who preferred something more opinionated (Gardner **et al.** and Paterson **et al.**). In the latter case, professors usually wanted something to contrast with the point of view of the lectures.

Virtually everyone believes it is important to expose students to varied points of view. Virtually everyone assigns readings offering varied interpretations. Paterson's **Problems** volumes are the most popular among those professors who use essays and documents to interject ideological diversity (Norman Graebner's **Ideas and Diplomacy**, the Health series, and the Holt-Rinehart series were also mentioned several times,) although many people simply use several monographs or interpretative surveys. Nearly all respondents also stated that a portion of lecture and discussion time is devoted to historiography. Less universal, but still fairly common, are classroom debates, historiographical papers done outside of class, and historiographical questions on examinations.

Professors use a wide range of tests and assignments. Everyone gives essay examinations, and a solid majority give them a class. About one in four respondents say they have used take-home exams and about one in five have used the objective variety. Less than one in ten have administered oral tests. A large majority of the respondents assign either research papers or book reviews. Mentioned occasionally were the use of historiographical essays, position papers, documents analysis, oral presentation, oral history, and role-playing. Here the some of the more novel comments by respondents:

I have the students each choose a different treaty from a list that I distribute. The students then study and write a 10-15 page paper covering the evolution of the treaty from its inception, through negotiations, through ratification, and the appropriation of funds. (Lawrence Gelfand, University of Iowa)

I have found a short exercise, restricted to a week. . .which asks students to read selections in **FRUS** and then compare their findings with published material in **NYT** or **Time** and **Newsweek**,

**America or Nation**, to be very useful in stimulating students. The mix of handling at-the-time pop culture items and 'secret' dispatches published now in **FRUS** apparently excites students. The exercise is a nifty entry into the morass of the relationship of public opinion, public information and policy formation.  
(John Zeugner, Worcester Polytechnic Institute)

Each student places his/her paper on reserve where it must be read by the other students. At the time of presentation, each presenting student (one period for each student) makes a five-minute presentation on why the topic was picked, the hypotheses, the conclusions, and the most helpful sources. Then the chief critic is allowed 20-30 minutes to blast away, followed by the others for 3-5 minutes apiece. The term paper grade partly depends on how well each student criticizes the other papers.  
(Gordon Warren, Central Washington University)

I frequently roleplay a school or some representative of a school (e.g., William A. Williams, George Kennan). I also have students write documentary plays. One of the best of these has turned out to be an M.A. thesis, "John F. Kennedy and Vietnam," which has the thesis that the intense masculine socialization of Kennedy's childhood continued to characterize Kennedy's decisions in relation to Cuba, Laos, the meeting with Khrushchev in Vienna, and the decision to show Khrushchev that American leadership is tough (troops in Vietnam). I have members of the Theatre department act out scenes from this Kennedy documentary in class, and also have one or two students plays which are part of a given class acted by the students themselves.  
(Joseph Grabill, Illinois State University)

I have set up a small course of about 20 students on Soviet-American relations in the Oxford debate style. I lecture half the time, the students engage in formal debates during the rest. I assign propositions to teams of two or three students, who read heavily in documents. The teams debate and answer questions from the rest of the class, which at the end decides the winner. All students read secondary literature. Grading is based on debate performance and a term essay--no exams.  
(Kinley Brauer, University of Minnesota)

For those coming in from junior colleges--increasing in numbers and badly trained--I have a technique for helping them learn how to write analytical essays. First-write the questions at the top of a piece of paper. Second-make a list on each page of each factor they can think of that applies (look at notes, books, ask people, etc.). Third-arrange those items into an explanatory order--where does it all

begin? What does that lead to and so on. Fourth--show it to me so we can go over it and see how it's coming along.

(Robert Sellen, Georgia State University)

Since students will not improve their ability to write until they have plenty of feedback and practice, I offer them the chance to improve their grade by rewriting papers already graded (for instance, a C paper, rewritten at A level, will result in a B final grade).

(Gary Ostrower, Alfred University)

I use a great deal of oral history. Students interview a subject on current world issues and attempt to establish the relationship between world view and socio-economic background. One of the by-products of this project is the student's realization of how little the public knows about American history--how myth infuses the public mind.

(Tennant McWilliams, University of Alabama-Birmingham)

. . . I ask students to assume the role of a historical figure (an Ambassador or the Secretary of State) and draft their own memorandum, dispatch, or policy-paper on a particular issue covered in the course literature and lectures. My students seem to like this exercise.

(Michael Hogan, Miami University)

The Personalized System of Instruction (PSI), I find, offers some good opportunities for innovation in the classroom. Because of the emphasis on historical interpretation, PSI, I do believe, can be applied literally, but with modifications. I have found from my own experience that it is more effective in learning than the traditional method of teaching that relies heavily, and almost exclusively on lecturing. I divide the American History Course into Topical Units--eight for each semester. A review 'exam' is given on the completion of each unit. In evaluation, I have been using 'proctors' (graduate assistants), and peer proctors (students who have completed the course and are top students). Guide questions are included in the syllabus for each Topic. Students respond to these 'at home'--outside of class. The course itself, as I suggested above, is interspersed with lectures, class study sessions, class discussion sections. Theoretically a student should master Topic I before he goes to Topic II. If performance is not satisfactory, he takes a makeup exam. Responsibility for completion of all assignments and work is upon the student. This course does not have a mid-term or final examination although there is a good deal of 'testing' throughout the semester. The handling of a PSI program requires a great amount of departmental cooperation. Ordinarily, there should be one proctor for every 10 students in a course, I have continued my experimentation with PSI mainly because students have been so overwhelmingly favorable to this method of

instruction. I would be interested to know if there are any other American Diplomatic History professors who have experimented with PSI.

(Jules Davids, Georgetown University)

"The Journal Method" is a sharp departure from the traditional lecture, mid-term, final exam approach ordinarily employed. The journal method is one in which the student keeps a journal on the course composed of his reactions, reflections, notes and other entries. This journal will take the place of examinations and will be evaluated as a whole at the end of the course, furnishing the grade. One advantage of this technique is that it gives the student more leeway to allocate his time to those aspects of history which he finds most interesting. Combined with regular lectures, the instructor still has the opportunity to bring to the class's attention those matters he feels merit consideration. It also gives the student more flexibility in doing his work.

(Joseph May, Youngstown State University)

To do this method justice, more space is needed than is available here. I suggest that interested colleagues contact Professor May directly for copies of his "Explanation." William Olson of Marist College also offers a diversified course, employing lectures, discussions, independent study, and simulations, that colleagues might want to write him about.

Users of Audio-Visual materials (other than maps) are numerous among the respondents. About 40% employ such materials either regularly or occasionally. Only one in four respondents never uses them. In the latter group there is a fairly even breakdown between those who are against AV materials in principle, those who confess ignorance of the general area, and those who describe available materials as unsatisfactory. The most popular films among the first group are the State Department series "A History of U.S. Foreign Relations," "Hiroshima and Nagasaki," "The Selling of the Pentagon," the Capra film on the coming of World War II, and "The Cuban Missile Crisis." Tapes were mentioned by about 15% of the respondents and a few people mentioned records. About 15% have used their own slides and half-dozen their own tapes.

I want to thank those of you who took the time to respond to the questionnaire. Your comments have been most helpful. I apologize for having missed some of you. The 15¢ stamp prevented me from sending questionnaires to all SHAFR members.

**YALE 14, HARVARD 0**  
by  
**J. Garry Clifford, University of Connecticut**

Historians of twentieth century American diplomacy must inevitably make pilgrimages to the great manuscript libraries at Harvard and Yale. Students of World War I cannot ignore the Walter Hines Page papers at Harvard or the Edward M. House papers at Yale. For more than twenty years anyone wishing to see the diaries of Joseph Grew, J. Pierrepont Moffat, and William Phillips, has had to find his or her way to the Houghton Library, a squat silo-like structure which abuts on the east side of the Widener Library inside Harvard Yard. Similarly, hundreds of historians have sat in the Gothic reading room of Yale's Sterling Library turning the typed pages of Henry L. Stimson's diary, perhaps the most examined manuscript source in recent American history. Without demeaning the value of other university and public libraries, it could be argued that Harvard and Yale are second only to the national archives, presidential libraries, and the Library of Congress, as indispensable repositories for American diplomatic historians.

Having spent considerable time in the manuscript collections of both institutions in the past, and being fully aware of the rivalry that permeates everything connected with Harvard and Yale, I thought it might be informative to SHAFR members who have not visited Cambridge or New Haven recently to compare research experiences at the Houghton and Sterling libraries. (It should be noted that the Sterling Library houses historical manuscripts, faculty papers, and university records. A vast collection of literary manuscripts can be found in the new Beinecke Library across the street. The Houghton Library contains both literary and historical manuscripts. Other Harvard libraries have a few manuscript collections of importance to diplomatic historians, most notably the Thomas W. Lamont papers at the business school library, but for the purposes of this essay the discussions will apply only to the Houghton and Sterling libraries.) It is, in fact, no contest. Whatever the relative merits of Harvard-Yale football teams or faculties may be, it is clear that for historical researchers the Sterling Library is a much more pleasant and convenient place to do work.

The main drawback at the Houghton Library is the "only-ten-folders-at-a-time" rule. If the researcher is using, say, the Moffat or Grew diaries, the "ten folder" rule is no problem because diaries are arranged chronologically. A whole day of research can pass reading six months

of a diary. If, however, the historian wishes to examine correspondence arranged alphabetically, obstacles crop up. Take the papers of Oswald Garrison Villard, pacifist, progressive, long-time editor of the **Nation**. Villard, who lived into his eighties, seems to have corresponded with everyone who was anyone from the 1880s to 1950. Historians of the peace movement have been mining nuggets from the Villard papers for years. To try, as I did, to find materials for a particular time span, 1939-1941, is a tedious process because of the alphabetical arrangement of the correspondence. The finding aid lists each correspondent, the number of letters sent and received, and the beginning and terminal dates of the correspondence. Each correspondent has a special number, and a separate call slip must be filled out for each correspondent when ordering manuscripts. For example, if the finding aid indicates that Villard's correspondence with Senator George Norris spanned from 1915 to 1944, numbering more than sixty letters, there is no way of knowing whether any correspondence exists for the 1939-1941 period without ordering all of it. Sometimes out-going and incoming letters are grouped together, sometimes not. And the rule is "only-ten-folders-at-a-time." Thus the researcher fills out many, many call slips, the archivists are continually bringing folders in tens, and everyone struggles to remain courteous and friendly.

One always hopes that such difficulties are exceptions, that the Villard papers, organized and catalogued in the 1950s, are not necessarily the model for more recent acquisitions. The papers of Roger Greene, whose career is ably chronicled in Warren Cohen's **The Chinese Connection**, are much easier to use. Most of Greene's correspondence is organized chronologically, according to the activities he was engaged in. Thus his papers dealing with the Committee to Defend America and the Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression are confined to two or three boxes, which can be ordered one at a time. The box remains at the main desk, however, and the "ten-folders-at-a-time" rule stays in effect. The advantage is far fewer call slips. The Robert E. Sherwood papers, accessioned by Harvard in 1978, unfortunately reverted to the alphabetical arrangement of the Villard collection, albeit with one minor "improvement" -- incoming and outgoing correspondence with a certain individual are filed separately under different numbers. The result? Twice as many call slips and twice as much frustration.

I was not at the Houghton Library when the 17,000 letters in the Leon Trotsky archive were opened for scholarly research on January 1, 1980. I knew that the letters had been kept sealed for so long in order to protect Trotsky's post-exile correspondents from Stalinist retaliation. Nonetheless, I had a recurring fantasy that a dozen or so disguised KGB agents with forged academic credentials arrived at the library at the appointed hour. They eagerly began searching for clues to the whereabouts of Trotskyites now in their 70s and 80s. But the "ten-folders-at-a-time" rule took too long, Russian tempers grew short, a pencil snapped, someone reached for his gun, and. . . . Ah, it is only a fantasy.

The procedures at the Sterling Library are considerably different. As at Houghton, there is a "no pen, only pencil" rule, but Sterling also provides several old elite typewriters for the researcher's convenience, and rarely are they all in use. The finding aids provide more helpful information. In most of the collections in which correspondence is arranged alphabetically, the finding aids list every year in which there were letters. Moreover, nearly every alphabetically arranged collection is broken down into several chronological periods, thus keeping the best of both worlds, so to speak. Probably the most difficult to use of Yale's newer acquisitions are the rich Walter Lippmann papers, in which some 110 boxes of correspondence are divided into two series: before 1931 and after. Lippman's diaries, some of which are extensive, are filed separately, however, and the detailed finding aid makes it simple for the hurried researcher to locate principal correspondents quickly. In what may be Sterling's most convenient procedure, the historian may order upwards of twenty boxes at a time. The boxes are placed on trucks behind the main desk. Five boxes can be examined at one time. One call slip covers the whole process. The upshot, of course, is an atmosphere in which the scholar spends most of his time researching manuscripts, while the archivists work at organizing and cataloguing collections. In fact, the Sterling Library staff, comprising some 25 full-time professionals and an equal number of part-time students, usually outnumbers researchers in the reading room. In one memorable afternoon this last autumn, I was the only scholar in the room when archivists organizing the Walter Camp papers pulled out a marvelous old baseball bat, vintage 1890, from a dusty box.

The Sterling staff, it should be emphasized, goes out of its way to assist scholars. On entering the manuscripts anteroom for the first time, the visiting researcher is interviewed by one of the staff, and it is not uncommon for the archivist most familiar with the desired collections to be summoned from the working rooms downstairs to give further advice. Occasionally, without even having asked, the researcher will be told of other collections that might be pertinent, as I was told of Max Lerner's and Alfred Bingham's papers after spending several afternoons in the Lippmann MSS. Brochures and lists abound. In the anteroom are several folders which include lists of manuscript collections grouped according to specified research categories. Among the headings are 20th century American foreign policy, World War I, World War II, 20th century reform movements, Connecticut politics, and American lawyers and the legal profession. Furthermore, an easy-to-use catalogue of microfilm holdings reveals, for example, that Sterling has the Henry A. Wallace papers and the entire British War Cabinet minutes for 1939-1945. For someone like myself, studying the political debate over American entry into World War II, the Yale Library is an ideal place to work.

Several of Yale's recent manuscript acquisitions deserve more extensive comment. SHAFR members should not assume that, with the Stimson diary and papers now available on microfilm via inter-library loan or purchase, there is less need to visit New Haven. The recently

opened Walter Lippmann papers are being increasingly used. As one might expect of such an important journalist, Lippman's list of correspondents was huge, and diplomatic scholars can find letters from confidants like Lewis Douglas, Wendell Willkie, John McCloy, George F. Kennan, Allen Dulles, and countless others. The papers of Dwight McDonald and Max Lerner, both large collections, offer a similar range of correspondence for the 1930s to the 1970s from a perspective more to the left. An even larger collection, especially valuable for the 1960s, is that of Chester Bowles, former Connecticut Congressman and Governor, twice Ambassador to India, and Under Secretary of State in 1961. An indefatigable letter-writer, Bowles seems to have corresponded with the entire Democratic Party from World War II on. Long single-space letters to Adlai Stevenson during the Kennedy years are especially good sources.

Although students of American isolationism will be disappointed that Chester Bowles' activities for the American First Committee are not included in his papers, other collections at Yale help to make up for this lack. Edwin Borchard, a professor of international law at Yale during the 1930s and 1940s, has left rich papers, highlighted by numerous letters between Borchard, an expert on neutrality law, and Senate isolationists like William Borah, George Norris, and Gerald P. Nye. Another isolationist collection is that of Charles Parsons, a Republican lawyer from Maine who involved himself in the bizarre case of Tyler Kent, the American coding clerk in London who was arrested in 1940 for removing top-secret information from the Embassy, including copies of the now famous Churchill-Roosevelt cables. Parsons' papers included a separate file of Kent correspondence, as well as the transcript of Kent's trial in England. The Senate papers of John A. Danaher (Republican of Connecticut, 1939-1945) provide an intimate look at New England isolationism. Danaher, an anti-New Deal Republican, kept most of his confidential files and apparently threw out the repetitive constituent correspondence usually found in Senatorial collections. An occasional Danaher correspondent was Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis, whose papers at Yale are now being catalogued and will soon be available for research. Danaher "almost stood on my chair and cheered" when he received a Bemis letter commending his stand against revising the Neutrality Act in September, 1939.\* (Bemis, it should be added, was an erratic isolationist. He helped organize a Wendell Willkie Club in New Haven in 1940). Yale's most important isolationist collection, the huge Charles A. Lindbergh papers, is still officially closed. I am told, however, that specific applications for clearly described purposes might result in some of Lindbergh's papers being made available for research.

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I hope that the foregoing essay will not offend SHAFR members whose interest in the Harvard-Yale rivalry stems from old school ties. If, in matters of historical manuscript research, Yale is number one and trying harder, Harvard might be stimulated to make reforms. Changing the "ten-folders-at-a-time" rule might lead to eventual parity. In any event, one hopes that the Harvard librarians will contemplate efforts

less imaginative than that of legendary Crimson football coach Percy Haughton, who is alleged to have stirred his charges to victory by strangling a bulldog in his bare hands at half time. The problem is not that urgent.

\*John Danaher to Samuel Flagg Bemis, September 22, 1939, Box 20, Samuel Flagg Bemis MSS, Sterling Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT.

### **Minutes of SHAFR Council**

The Council met in Suite 527, New York Hilton, at 8:15 p.m., December 27, 1979. Council members present were: Paul A. Varg, President, David M. Pletcher, Vice President, Thomas G. Paterson, Betty Miller Unterberger, Warren F. Kimball, Robert F. Smith, Raymond A. Esthus, Gary R. Hess, Executive Secretary-Treasurer. Also in attendance were Lawrence Kaplan, Warren Kuehl, Arnold Offner, Milton O. Gustafson, William Brinker, Ralph Weber, David Trask, Warren I. Cohen, Peter Cohen, Thomas D. Schoonover.

President Varg commented briefly on recent developments, especially the considerable progress made toward completion of the **Guide to the Foreign Relations of the United States**.

The Council received reports from various committees and officers. Thomas Schoonover, a member of the Bernath Memorial Lecture Prize Committee, reported that nine persons had been nominated for the 1981 award, which will be announced at the meeting in San Francisco in April. Arnold Offner, Chairperson of the Bernath Article Award Committee, indicated that seven articles had been submitted for the committee's consideration. Gary Hess reported that Walter LaFeber has received twelve nominations for the Bernath Book Award. Hess also noted that correspondence from Wayne Cole indicates that plans are well-advanced for the August meeting at the University of Maryland. Bill Brinker, editor of the **Newsletter**, noted a need for articles and invited suggestions with respect to items to be covered in the **Newsletter**. Warren Cohen, editor of **Diplomatic History**, reported that the number of articles being submitted has increased in the last year and that about one in five is eventually accepted for publication.

Milton O. Gustafson, who will replace Paul Holbo as Chairperson of the Nominations Committee, summarized the nominations submitted to the membership in October and which resulted in the election of Larry Kaplan as Vice President, Robert Dallek to the Council, and Theodore Wilson and Martin Sherwin to the Nominations Committee. In 1980, the committee will nominate, in addition to the Vice President and a position on the Nominations Committee, persons to fill three vacancies on Council (two three-year terms and one two-year term).

Ralph Weber, Chairperson of the Membership Committee, commented on the considerable growth in membership since 1976

(from 566 to nearly 900) and questioned whether SHAFR should make a special effort to attract additional members from non-traditional sources, i.e. business, other disciplines, foreign service and military personnel, graduate students. Weber expressed appreciation for support from other members of the committee and the Council. The Council discussed at some length the matter of recruiting. Ray Esthus recalled that three years ago the Council, concerned about the implications for the character of the Society, had opposed seeking members outside history. The size of the Society was not considered important, inasmuch as all membership is subsidized by supporting institutions. Larry Kaplan noted that there had been some effort at recruiting European diplomatic historians. Warren Kuehl suggested that since a high percentage of SHAFR's non-academic members come from the Washington, D.C. area, it might be desirable to target membership recruiting in that area. Others suggested special efforts in a few regions before undertaking any general program at nontraditional recruiting. Also it was agreed that the Membership Committee should include a representative in the United Kingdom.

David Pletcher, Chairperson of the **ad hoc** committee to recommend an editor for the Roster and Research List, commented that the qualifications and institutional support have been listed in the **Newsletter**, but that at present, there are no candidates. It was suggested by one or two persons present that perhaps an issue of the **Newsletter** could be devoted to updating the list of current research projects, but others expressed concern about changing the character of that publication.

Warren Kuehl reported on his recent correspondence with Dr. and Mrs. Gerald Bernath regarding use of the bonds which they contributed to the Society last year. A number of possibilities had been discussed earlier in Council and with the Bernaths. In anticipation of taking final action at the April meeting of Council, it was agreed at this time that the tentative priorities be: subsidizing of membership for student and retired members; increasing the cash prizes for the three existing awards.

The discussion on utilizing funds donated by the Bernaths to subsidize student-retired memberships led to extended commentary on the desirability to increase the Society's operating budget. The following means were suggested: soliciting more life memberships, inviting contributions to an endowment fund at the time of membership renewal, establishing a "sustaining membership" category. There was agreement that the **ad hoc** committee on funding established three years ago should be encouraged to take the initiative in proposing means of improving the financial situation.

Warren Kuehl also reported on behalf of Richard Burns, editor of the **Guide of Foreign Relations of the United States**. The contract has been signed with ABC/CLIO Press, entries for 31 of the 41 chapters have been received, Burns and his staff are engaged in extensive editing, and a progress report will be sent to contributing editors early in 1980. Following some discussion on using royalties to support supplements

to the **Guide**, it was moved that Council establish a standing committee on bibliographical revision, charged with the responsibility of recommending to Council procedures and policies to be followed in updating the **Guide**. Motion passed.

Speaking for Samuel F. Wells and Waldo H. Heinrichs, Warren Kuehl remarked that suit had been filed in the Federal District Court on behalf of release of the Foreign Service List and Biographical Register. The suit had failed on a technical issue, but it was being appealed to the Circuit Court. SHAFR has provided modest financial support on behalf of this action.

The Executive Secretary-Treasurer presented his report and the proposed budget for 1980. (Copies attached to the minutes.)

Moving to new business, incoming President David Pletcher indicated that Eugene Trani, University of Nebraska, will become Chairperson of the Program Committee in 1980 and that Ralph Weber has agreed to serve another three-year term as Chairperson of the Membership Committee. Warren I. Cohen submitted the names of Charles Neu, Beverly Zweiben-Slany, and Irwin F. Gellman to serve three year terms on the Board of Editors of **Diplomatic History**. Council approved the nominations. It was suggested that biographical data should accompany nominations in the future.

The Council briefly reviewed the problem of attendance at its meetings. A poll of members conducted by Warren Kuehl last summer regarding how attendance might be improved indicated that there was no immediate and feasible remedy. It was suggested that letters from the President stressing the importance of Council meetings might be useful in gaining travel support from home institutions. It was also suggested that Council might reduce its meetings to two per year. Council also considered a proposal that SHAFR help to sponsor an American-Australian exchange of scholars. In view of the limited funds of SHAFR, the administrative problems involved in such an exchange, and the existing possibilities of exchange through the Fulbright program, Council took no action on the matter.

President Varg presented the following resolution, which was passed unanimously:

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations acknowledges with its utmost appreciation the contribution of Warren Kuehl and Lawrence Kaplan as Joint Executive Secretary-Treasurer. Their continuous service, wisdom, guidance, and common sense have been instrumental in the development of the Society.

Meeting adjourned at 10:15.

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At the SHAFR luncheon attended by nearly 100 persons in the Rendezvous Room of the New York Hilton December 29, David M.

Pletcher presided and reviewed the Society's principal developments in 1979. He read the Council's resolution of appreciation for the service of Warren Kuehl and Larry Kaplan and on behalf of the Society presented each with a set (3 volumes) of the **Encyclopedia of American Foreign Relations** edited by Alexander De Conde. Paul Varg's presidential address followed (and will be published in **Diplomatic History**).

## REPORT OF EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER December 27, 1979

SHAFR has had another exceptional year. Membership reached nearly 900; the Council and various committees have accomplished a great deal; the budget remained balanced. The development of **Diplomatic History** and the service of the **Newsletter** have been especially important to the Society's members. The bibliographical project, directed by Richard Burns, made substantial progress. The generous support of Dr. and Mrs. Gerald Bernath enabled SHAFR to continue its recognition of younger scholars through the three awards named in honor of Stuart L. Bernath.

While SHAFR continued to have a balanced budget, the margin remained rather slim. The ability of the Society to maintain relatively low membership fees and, at the same time, to provide important services was possible because of the contribution provided by the institutions associated with the journals and committees, and because of the generous support of the University of Akron, Kent State University, and Bowling Green State University in the maintenance of the national office. We do face the problem of rising costs in virtually all aspects of the national office operations, but I hope that by careful financial management the Society can continue to meet its expenses at present levels of income.

Finally, the transfer of the national office to Bowling Green has now been virtually completed. In that process, I have benefited immensely from the cooperation and advice of Warren Kuehl and Larry Kaplan. Now that I have had the opportunity to be a part of the national office operations for a few months, I can appreciate more fully than ever the significant contributions which Warren and Larry have made to this Society.

Gary R. Hess

**SHAFR BUDGET**  
**1979**

**CHECKING ACCOUNT**

1978 Carryover	3,694.53	
Dues Received in 1979	7,198.69	
Life Members (4)	500.00	
Convention Income (AHA 1978)	654.50	
Bernath Living Trust	1,900.00	
Contributions (General and NCC)	5,057.00	
Sale of Mailing List	320.00	
Income and Transfer from Bernath Book Prize Account	500.00	
Income and Transfer from Bernath Article-Speaker Acct.	500.00	
Transfer from Savings	6,354.36	
Misc.	3.00	
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>26,682.08</b>

**EXPENDITURES**

General Office		
Postage	694.91	
Long Distance	72.00	
Office Supplies and Printing	727.94	
Student Assistant	240.00	
		1,734.85
Executive Secretary, Council, and Committees		
Executive Secretary Travel	-0-	
Council and Committees	256.00	
		256.00
Conventions		
AHA (1978)	876.48	
OAH	92.78	
SHA	50.00	
Summer Conference, Univesity of Kansas	422.40	
Convention Speakers	100.00	
Pacific Coast Branch of AHA	143.60	
		1,685.26

Publications

**Diplomatic History**

Payment for 4 issues for first 600 members at \$1.00 per copy	2,400.00	
Payment for issues over 600 members at \$1.50 per copy	1,529.50	
Contract Subsidy	750.00	
	<u>          </u>	4,679.50

Miscellaneous

Refunds, Overpayment of Dues	125.00	
Bank Expenses and Deposit Box	26.12	
Donations to NCC	337.00	
Income Tax Consultant	75.00	
NEH-Transfer of Bentley Foundation Gift	5,000.00	
Airmail Transfer to N. Fowler	4.25	
	<u>          </u>	5,567.37

Bernath Accounts

Bernath Book Prize	500.00	
Bernath Speaker Prize	300.00	
Bernath Article Prize	200.00	
	<u>          </u>	1,000.00
Transfer of Interest to Gerald and Myrna Bernath on Trust Agreement		<u>1,900.00</u>

**TOTAL EXPENDITURES**

16,822.98

**SUMMARY:**

Carryover from 1978	3,694.53
Income for 1979	<u>22,987.55</u>
Total Available	26,682.08
Less Expenses	16,822.98
Less Transfers to Savings	<u>6,000.00</u>
Checking Balance 12/27/79	3,859.10

**ENDOWMENT AND SAVINGS ACCOUNT:**

Balance, January 1, 1979	3,572.01
Interest, 1979	
Regular on Savings	255.98
Bernath Undesignated	374.92
Certificate 0033493	84.36
Certificate 004287	67.42
Transfers to Savings	<u>6,000.00</u>
	10,354.69
Transfers to Checking	<u>6,354.36</u>

Balance, 12/27/79 4,000.33

## Bernath Accounts, 1979

December  
**BALANCE**

Undesignated Account	
U.S. Treasury Note held at Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland Safekeeping Receipt 56357	
Interest Paid 8/15/79	<u><u>\$374.92</u></u>

Bernath Book Account	
17-10524-4 Passbook Number	
First National Bank of Akron	
Balance December, 1978	274.45
Interest on Bonds	600.00      800.45
Award, 1979	500.00      374.45
Interest on Bond	82.50      456.95
Interest on Savings Acct.	25.40 <u><u>482.35</u></u>

Bernath Article and Speaker Account	
00-47346-3 Passbook Number	
First National Bank of Akron	
Balance December, 1978	836.89
Interest on Bonds	495.00      1,331.89
Awards, 1979	500.00      831.89
Interest on Savings Acct.	36.27 <u><u>868.16</u></u>

Bernath Trust Account.	
36-003654-9 Passbook Number	
Bank Ohio	
Balance December, 1978	26.33
Interest on Savings Acct.	1.34 <u><u>27.67</u></u>

## PROPOSED 1980 SHAFR BUDGET

### INCOME

Late Dues for 1980	2,200.00
Dues in November-December for 1981	4,500.00
Life Memberships	-0-
Interest	700.00
Convention Income	-0-
Carryover from 1979	<u>3,859.10</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>11,259.100</b>

### EXPENDITURES

General Office	
Postage and Mailing	700.00
Telephone (Long Distance)	75.00
Office Supplies and Printing	<u>700.00</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,475.00</b>

Executive-Secretary, Council and Committees	
Executive Secretary Travel	500.00
Council and Committee Expenses	<u>250.00</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>750.00</b>

Conventions	
AHA	200.00
OAH	100.00
SHA	100.00
Pacific Coast Branch of AHA	100.00
Summer Conference, University of Maryland	300.00
Speakers	<u>400.00</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,200.00</b>

### Diplomatic History

Subsidy under Contract	750.00
Payments for Copies	<u>4,500.00</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5,250.00</b>

Miscellaneous	
Tax Consultant	75.00
Refunds, Overpayment of Dues	25.00
Petty Cash	10.00
Banking Expenses and Deposit Box	<u>30.00</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>140.00</b>

<b>TOTAL EXPENDITURES, 1980</b>	<b>8,815.00</b>
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## PERSONALS

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Lawrence S. Wittner (State University of New York, Albany) has been awarded a National Endowment for the Humanities fellowship for 1980-81. He will be doing research on the American peace movement from 1961 to 1975.

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Harry Dahlheimer (S.U.N.Y., Cortland) has been appointed Chairman of the History Department at Cortland College.

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Professor Betty Miller Unterberger (Texas A & M University, College Station) has been elected to a three-year term on the Nominations Committee of the American Historical Association.

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Thomas M. Leonard (University of North Florida) is the recent recipient of a grant from the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute to support research at the FDR Library on U.S.-Central American relations 1944-1949.

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Calvin L. Christman (Cedar Valley College) has been appointed Southwest Regional Coordinator of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society.

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Detlef Junker, (University of Heidelberg, Germany), has been invited to spend four weeks--February 15 to March 15, 1980--as an International Scholar-in-Residence at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

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## SEMINARS, FELLOWSHIPS, SHORT COURSES

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Thomas G. Paterson (University of Connecticut) has been appointed the Director of a National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar for 1980. Intended for teachers in two-year, four-year, and five-year colleges, this seminar will concentrate on the topic "A Generation of American Foreign Policy, 1945-1975" through readings and individual research projects. Twelve college teachers will be selected and each will receive a stipend of \$2500 to cover travel, research, and living expenses. The seminar will be conducted at the University of Connecticut from June 16 to August 8. A fuller description and application forms are available from the director at the Department of History, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut 06268.

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Robert A. Divine (University of Texas) will direct another National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar on the topic "The

Cold War Years: America From Truman to Nixon." This session is open only to teachers in two-year colleges. It will be held at the University of Texas-Austin from June 16 to August 8. A stipend of \$2500 for travel, research, and living expenses is available. For further information and application forms contact the director at the Department of History, University of Texas, Austin, Texas 78712.

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The American Historical Association recently announced details of the CONGRESSIONAL FELLOWSHIPS FOR HISTORIANS competition for 1980-81. These awards are supported by a grant from the Andrew D. Mellon Foundation. For each of the next three years, two historians, near the beginning of their scholarly years, will be competitively selected to spend one year on the staffs of congressional committees or individual representatives and senators. The deadline for application is April 15, 1980. Application forms and information can be obtained from: Congressional Fellowship Committee, American Historical Association, 400 A Street SE, Washington, D.C. 20003.

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"Going to the Source: An Introduction to Research in Archives," the National Archives' four-day course in the use of primary sources, will be given May 27-30, 1980, in the National Archives building, Washington, D.C. Sessions will deal with locating and gaining access to primary sources, with the printed aids available to researchers that describe records, and with the process of research in archives and manuscript depositories.

Enrollment is limited to 25 persons. The cost, including all materials is \$60. To register, write Elsie Freivogel, Education Division, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C. 20408. For general information, call Ms. Freivogel at (202) 523-3298.

## **ATTENTION**

Last minute call for papers for the summer SHAFR meeting. The Program Committee, made up of Gene Trani, Wayne Cole, and Joan Hoff Wilson, has issued a call for any last minute proposals for the summer SHAFR meeting, which will be held at the University of Maryland, College Park from Thursday night, August 14 through lunch on Saturday, August 16. The Program Committee has received a number of proposals and between March 15th and April 15th we will be finalizing the program for the summer meeting. Should any SHAFR member have proposals, they should get them as quickly as possible to Dr. Eugene P. Trani, Assistant Vice President for Academic Affairs, Regents Hall, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska 68583.

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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).*

David Reynolds (Caius College, Cambridge University, England), "FDR on the British: A postscript," **Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society**, 90 (1978), 106-110. In February 1939 President Roosevelt sounded off about the British in a letter to one of his old Harvard professors, Roger B. Merriman. FDR complained that Britain was trying to pass the buck, citing the recent comments made to him by Lord Lothian about the USA taking over Britain's world role. As Roosevelt probably intended, his letter eventually got back to the British Foreign Office. It was part of his campaign to "stiffen" British policy toward Germany in the winter after Munich. What FDR apparently did not know was that the FO had secretly decided on Lothian as its next ambassador in the USA. FDR's comments caused a hurried re-appraisal of the decision. Only after the FO had directly asked Roosevelt for his opinion of Lothian--and had received a favourable answer--did it proceed with the appointment.

Samuel F. Wells (The Wilson Center), "Sounding the Tocsin: NSC 68 and the Soviet Threat," **International Security**, 4 (Fall, 1979), 116-158. This article examines the way in which two groups of well-informed Americans, the review group drafting NCS 68 and a private pressure group formed in December of 1950 as the Committee on the Present Danger, assessed the Soviet threat over the coming five to eight years and the programs which they advanced to meet that threat. Based on recently declassified records in the Truman Library and the National Archives, this article examines the context in which NSC 68 was drafted, including the hydrogen bomb decision and President Truman's rigid budget ceiling, and pays special attention to the intelligence sources on which the NSC 68 estimates were based. It argues that both the review group headed by Paul H. Nitze which drafted NSC 68 and the Committee on the Present Danger substantially over-estimated the Soviet threat. With the major catalyst of the outbreak of the Korean War,

these two groups helped to put in motion programs which caused the Soviets to accelerate their own defense effort. After a concluding look at the nature of the Soviet military power in the mid-1950s, the period toward which NSC 68 was directed, the article calls for more thorough study of opponents' actual programs and intentions before launching major military expansion.

Heino Taremae (Estonian Archives in the U.S.), "Baltic Materials among the John C. Wiley Papers," **Journal of Baltic Studies** IX, 3 (Fall, 1978), 203-211. John C. Wiley (1893-1967) was the last U.S. Minister to Estonia and Latvia (1938-1940). His papers (13 archival boxes and one folder) in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, N.Y. consist of diplomatic files, general correspondence, personal files, Wiley's writings, clippings and miscellaneous publications. This article reviews the collection from the viewpoint of materials related to the Baltic States. The diplomatic files contain copies of 47 despatches from Riga and 26 despatches from Tallinn, as well as paraphrased copies of 174 telegrams from Riga. The general correspondence files contain unofficial and personal correspondence on the subject of Estonia and Latvia with various U.S. Ambassadors (Norman Armour, William C. Bullitt) and State Department officials (Jay Pierrepont Moffat, Loy W. Henderson, Nathaniel P. Davis, and George F. Kennan) as well as with people outside the diplomatic service.

Ronald Spector (Department of the Army), "European Colonialism and American Attitudes Toward Southeast Asia 1919-1941: The Case of Indo-China," **Proceedings of the Seventh International Association of Historians of Asia Conference**, (Bangkok, 1979) I, 269-289. This paper argues that the attitude of the United States toward Southeast Asia in the 1920s and 30s was influenced not so much by economic considerations or by traditional American sentiments of anticolonialism and republicanism as by the experiences and writings of consuls, journalists, naval and military officers, and other Americans who had firsthand experience in Southeast Asia. In general these Americans tended to develop a common viewpoint with French, Dutch, and British colonialists and saw the peoples of Southeast Asia as "backward" and indolent. They believed that all troubles in the area were Communist inspired. Only a few Americans, whose knowledge of Southeast Asia was less superficial, understood better the nature of the social and economic problems of the region and the growing strength of nationalist sentiments there. American leaders therefore entered World War II with extremely ambivalent attitudes toward the peoples of Southeast Asia. Racism and feelings of Western solidarity vied in their minds with traditional hostility to colonialism, and sympathy for selfdetermination vied with fear of "communism" and Japanese expansionism to produce many of the confused and contradictory policies of the 1940s.

Patricia Dawson Ward (Baylor), "James F. Byrnes and the Paris

Conferences of the Council of Foreign Ministers: April 25-July 12, 1946." Paper delivered at the Centennial Year Symposium on James F. Byrnes and the Origins of the Cold War hosted by the Institute of International Studies, University of South Carolina. Given the merging consensus within the Truman Administration that the United States should get "tough" with the Soviet Union in 1946, Secretary of State James B. Byrnes publicly engaged in uncompromising diplomacy at the Paris session of the Council of Foreign Ministers. Privately, however, Byrnes successfully used **quid pro quo** diplomacy within the secret council meetings to produce draft treaties ending World War II. Byrnes presented his Paris victory to the American public as a triumph for a firm foreign policy, but the success of "tough" American diplomacy was not the lesson of Byrnes's negotiations. Rather the lesson was that simultaneously Secretary of State James Byrnes's public intransigence encouraged the impetus toward cold war and his private compromise diplomacy demonstrated that productive diplomacy was still possible.

David R. Kepley (National Archives), "The Senate and the Fall of China, 1949," paper presented before the Duquesne History Forum, October 18, 1979. The paper examines the positions which various Senate factions took during 1949 toward extending aid to the beleaguered Nationalist Chinese. The administration and such bipartisan Republicans as Arthur H. Vandenberg and Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., agreed that providing huge amounts of arms to Chiang Kai-shek would not alter the outcome of the civil war. Nonetheless, Vandenberg favored appeasing the China bloc with minor concessions in order to minimize their objections to Truman's European programs and avoid the charge that America gave Chiang the final push into oblivion. The China bloc led by William F. Knowland, Styles Bridges, Patrick J. McCarran, and later joined by H. Alexander Smith, proposed two major aid programs for the Nationalists in March and August of 1949. Because the China bloc enjoyed only limited support within the Republican party, however, they received only a pittance for Chiang. The followers of Robert A. Taft and Kenneth S. Wherry, who became such vociferous supporters of the China bloc in 1950-52, were as unenthusiastic about providing aid to China in 1949 as they were in sending aid to any foreign country. They lent only occasional rhetorical support to Chiang's cause in 1949, not becoming converts until the advent of Joe McCarthy and the Korean War.

J.B. Donnelly (Washington and Jefferson College), "Promoting the Idea of the League: Arthur Sweetser and American Journalism at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919." This paper was delivered at the American Historical Association Annual Meeting as part of Panel 19: Organizing the League of Nations. Although President Wilson employed Ray Stannard Baker at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 as a confidant and as head of the American delegation's press bureau, he rejected the muckraker's plan for close Presidential cooperation with

the American press corps to promote the idea of the League of Nations. Baker and his aide Arthur Sweetser (1888-1968) nonetheless kept busy attempting to influence and inform some 200 demanding American reporters.

Sweetser prepared widely-used summaries of key issues (such as Fiume, Danzig, and Shantung), of the draft treaties and enemy replies, and of Colonel House's confidential press conferences. Less successfully, Sweetser tried to improve the public image of Secretary Lansing and to persuade opponents (such as the New York **Sun's** Laurence Hills) and supposedly friendly critics (such as the New York **World's** Herbert Bayard Swope) to support Wilson and the League.

Sweetser knew that even Wilson opposed aspects of the Treaty of Versailles. But Sweetser believed that the League would correct the errors of Paris. He became one of the first members of the League Secretariat and spent the rest of his life publicizing the League and the United Nations, together in his view "the greatest secular cause on earth."

Warren F. Kuehl (University of Akron), "Getting the League of Nations Started," American Historical Association annual meeting, 1979. The paper focused on problems related to creating a staff (including references to Americans), on selecting a headquarters, on the impact of Senate debates of 1919-1920 on the attitudes of other members' governments, and on Woodrow Wilson's responsibility to issue a call for the first Council and Assembly meetings. It noted how planning had to change, particularly in response to the absence of the United States, and concluded that it is difficult to determine exactly when the League began to function. Any one of five different dates could be used, and contemporaries and later authorities are not in agreement on which should be the designated one.

Robert Ferrell (Indiana University), presented one of three papers at the American Historical Association meeting in New York in December, surveying the question as to whether the **Dictionary of American Biography** should be revised. In his paper on "The Diplomats," Ferrell said that by all means there should be a revision, and not because the first 20 volumes of the **Dictionary**, published in the late 1920s and early 1930s, were badly done, but because so much time has elapsed since that publication and the present day. For its time, the **Dictionary** was the best possible piece of scholarship, but the membership of the American Historical Association was far too small for the number of biographies that had to be done, and there also has been an enormous opening of manuscript materials dealing with many of the figures that are worthy of inclusion in the **Dictionary**. For that reason, there should be a revision of many of the biographies, and this task could be accomplished during the 1980s, together with inclusion in a regular series, a straight alphabetical series, of the several supplements published since the original volumes appeared.

Stephen E. Pelz (University of Massachusetts, Amherst), "America Goes to War, Korea, July 1 - October 9, 1950: Truman's Decision to Cross the 38th Parallel." A paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, December, 1979. The speaker outlined the conclusions of recent traditionalist and revisionist historians, who argue 1) that Truman made an early decision, and 2) that he did so for cold war motives which the traditionalists found acceptable and the revisionists unacceptable. But the speaker maintained that the process of decision was incremental, with the final decision not coming until after the Inchon invasion, and that the delay was probably due to Acheson's fear that a wider war in Korea might jeopardize Europe and the Middle East. In spite of these fears, Truman prejudiced the decision by making military plans, diplomatic preparations, and public statements which gradually committed him to cross the parallel, if the Inchon invasion succeeded. Truman called for reunification because of mounting Republican attacks on the administration's military and foreign policy, and he allowed military planning to proceed because he feared that MacArthur might join the Republican campaign. The unexpected collapse of the North Koreans after Inchon left Truman with little choice but to allow MacArthur to try his hand at ending the war. The incremental decision process and the influences of politics and personality on the outcome cast doubt on both traditionalist and revisionist interpretations and point toward an explanation in which the process of decision, short term political goals, and unanticipated international events are the critical variables.

Roger R. Trask (University of South Florida), "The Conflict Between George S. Messersmith and Spruille Braden, 1945-1947." Read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, New York, December 29, 1979. This paper describes and analyzes the conflict between Ambassador to Argentina Messersmith and Assistant Secretary of State Braden over policy toward Argentina at the beginning of the Peron era. While Braden, reacting to Argentina's pro-Axis stance during World War II, was strongly anti-Peron and refused to consider Argentina's full readmittance to the inter-American system while Peron remained in power, Messersmith favored and worked for accommodation to promote hemispheric unity and security in the face of the Soviet challenge and English commercial competition. Their policy differences led Messersmith and Braden into a personality conflict as well. President Truman opted for Messersmith's policy in June, 1947, but, tired of their squabbling, retired both Messersmith and Braden. The paper illustrates the confusion that sometimes exists in the Department of State over policy issues, and also the roles of individual personalities in policy formulation and implementation.

Irwin Gellman (Newport Beach, California), "The Conflict between Cordell Hull and Sumner Welles, 1937-1943," a paper presented at the American Historical Association convention on December 29, 1979. By the end of Franklin Roosevelt's first term, three administration

personalities directed foreign affairs: the president, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, and Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles. This trio worked relatively well together until Hull's health began to deteriorate early in Roosevelt's third term, which gave Welles greater contact with the White House. Hull's physical condition grew worse, and the attack of Pearl Harbor and the St. Pierre-Miquelon episode further depressed the secretary. The irreparable breach between the two men came at the Rio conference in early 1942 where Hull accused Welles of insubordination. After the meeting Hull worked energetically for Welles's resignation and used a seemingly unrelated event to achieve that goal. Late in 1940 Welles made homosexual advances to several porters on a presidential funeral train. Although none accepted the offer, the Federal Bureau of Investigation made an inquiry, and J. Edgar Hoover submitted his findings to the president. Roosevelt decided to ignore the sordid episode and keep Welles in office. William Bullitt, a Welles adversary, along with Hull's active support, however, campaigned for Welles's removal. Their efforts succeeded in the summer of 1943 when a threatened Senate probe of Welles's behavior surfaced. Welles had to resign, and his departure from the state department had devastating effects on the conduct of United States foreign policy.

Harry Dahlheimer (SUNY, Cortland), "American Diplomats' Perceptions of Nazi Germany, 1933-1935," Duquesne University Forum, October, 1979. During the years when the neutrality legislation was *in utero*, the reports submitted to Washington by America's on-the-scene observers in Germany fully documented the dangerously radical character of the Nazi regime. "There has been nothing in social history more implacable, more heartless and more devastating than the present policy in Germany against the Jews," wrote George S. Messersmith (U.S. Consul General in Berlin). "It is very difficult," warned Raymond H. Geist (U.S. Consul in Berlin), "to foresee how the bellicose spirit here can ever be restrained and directed into channels of peace." While in speeches Hitler professes peace, observed William E. Dodd (US. Ambassador to Germany), inside Germany "the manufacture of arms and tanks and poison gases goes on day and night . . . I do not think Hitler will wish to make a war before 1937 or '38 [but] I believe I am right in saying that it is a fixed purpose." Roosevelt's decision to accept a binding impartial neutrality therefore was taken in full awareness of the threat to peace and to the survival of humanitarian values posited by German resurgence under Hitler.

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## Conferences to Come

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The Center for the Study of the Recent History of the United States has scheduled a conference on "Three Faces of Midwestern Isolationism" for Iowa City, Iowa, April 2, 1980. The Center is a cooperative undertaking of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch; the State Historical Society of Iowa; and the University of Iowa. Papers will be given by Wayne S. Cole (University of Maryland); Justus D. Doenecke (University of South Florida); Melvyn Dubofsky (SUNY Binghamton); with a concluding address by Norman Graebner (University of Virginia).

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## Conferences Past

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An international Symposium sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the Papers of Woodrow Wilson on "Woodrow Wilson: Revolution, War and Peace" was held at Princeton University on October 10-12, 1979. Six major papers were given with comments by selected experts in each area. Those giving papers included Lloyd Gardner (Rutgers University), Betty M. Unterberger (Texas A&M University), Kay Lundgreen-Nielsen, (Odense University, Denmark), Inga Floto (University of Copenhagen), Kurt Wimer (Professor Emeritus, Stroudsburg State College), and H.G. Nicholas (Professor Emeritus, Oxford University). The proceedings will be published in a forthcoming volume by the Princeton University Press.

## CORRECTION

In a zest to compliment the work of SHAFR's Secretary-Treasurers on page 16 of the December, 1979 **NEWSLETTER** we suggested that (excepting the AHA) we did not know of another organization so ambitious with its periodical publications--the quarterly journal and quarterly newsletter. Heino Taremae (Estonian Archives in the U.S., Inc.) informs us that the Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies (AABS) has approximately 900 members and publishes a quarterly journal and a quarterly newsletter. Our apologies to the AABS and our thanks to Dr. Taremae.

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## PUBLICATIONS IN U.S. DIPLOMACY BY MEMBERS OF SHAFR

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Frederick W. Marks III (Forest Hills, New York), **Velvet on Iron: the Diplomacy of Theodore Roosevelt**. 1979. University of Nebraska Press. \$15.00.

Irwin F. Gellman (Newport Beach, California), **Good Neighbor Diplomacy: United States Policies in Latin America, 1933-1945**. 1979. Johns Hopkins University Press. \$18.50.

Mordechai Rozanski (Pacific Lutheran University), **Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of China, 1910-1929: A Descriptive Guide and Subject Index to Microcopy No. 329**. 1979. Scholarly Resources Inc. \$17.50.

Bruce R. Kuniholm (Durham, North Carolina), **The Origins of the Cold War, in the Near East: Great Power Conflict and Diplomacy in Iran, Turkey and Greece**. Princeton University Press. \$27.50. Paperbound edition, \$10.50.

Richard S. Kirkendall (Indiana University), **A Global Power: The United States since the Age of Roosevelt**. Second ed. 1979. Alfred A. Knopf. Paperback edition, \$6.95.

Michael Schaller (University of Arizona), **The United States and China in the Twentieth Century**. 1979. Oxford University Press. \$9.95.

Jules Davids (Georgetown University), **American Diplomatic and Public Papers: The United States and China. Series II: The United States, China, and Imperial Rivalries**. 1979. 18 volumes. Scholarly Resources Inc. \$995.00.

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## OTHER PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS OF SHAFR

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Ssu-Yu Teng and John K. Fairbank, **China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923**. With a new Preface, 1979. Harvard University Press. Paperback edition \$5.95.

Lawrence E. Gelfand (University of Iowa), **Herbert Hoover: The Great War and its Aftermath, 1914-23**. 1979. University of Iowa Press. \$17.95.

Roland N. Stromberg (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee), **Europe in the Twentieth Century**, 1980. Prentice-Hall, Inc. Paperback ed. \$12.95.

David E. Kyvig (University of Akron), **Repealing National Prohibition**. 1979. University of Chicago Press. \$19.50.

David L. Porter (William Penn College), **The Seventy-sixth Congress and World War II, 1939-1940**, 1980. University of Missouri Press. \$19.50.

John M. Carroll and William W. MacDonald (Lamar University), **European Traditions in the Twentieth Century**. 1979. Forum Press \$6.95.

Jules R. Benjamin (University of Rochester), **A Student's Guide to History**. Second edition, 1979. St. Martin's Press. Paperback edition, \$3.95.

Paolo E. Coletta (U.S. Naval Academy), **The American Naval Heritage in Brief**. Second edition, 1980. University Press of America.

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## U.S. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

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The United States role in the Middle East is the focus of the newly-released Volume IX of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's "Historical Series," (**Executive Sessions of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee**). These previously unpublished executive session hearings for 1957 deal extensively with the Eisenhower Doctrine; including testimony by John Foster Dulles, Admiral Arthur W. Radford, United States ambassadors Raymond A. Hare, George Wadsworth, and Henry Byroade, and the President's special envoy to the Middle East, James P. Richards.

Many of the hearings were held jointly with the Senate Armed Services Committee, and contain a debate over the "shadowland" between the President's role as Commander-in-Chief and the Congress' power to declare. Among the participants were senators John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

Other hearings in the volume include nuclear disarmament negotiations, foreign aid, and the controversial ambassadorial nominations of Scott McLeod and Maxwell H. Gluck.

Those wishing to receive copies of this and previous volumes in the series should contact the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, D.C., 20510. There is no charge for copies.

## DISCOUNTS

Scholarly Resources Inc. (publishers of **Diplomatic History**) are offering a 20% discount on 1980 **DH** ad rates to any publisher advertising a work by a SHAFR member. With the 20% reduction, the rates are \$100.00 for a full page and \$60.00 for a half page.

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## WANTED: AN EDITOR FOR SHAFR'S **ROSTER AND RESEARCH LIST**

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Every other year SHAFR issues to all members a roster of its membership, combined with a list of the members' current research topics, classified by subject. In alternate years a brief supplement is issued. The last **Roster and Research List** appeared in December, 1978; another will be due in December, 1980. Dr. Warren F. Kimball (Rutgers University, Newark) who has ably served as editor of the **List** for the last ten years, has notified SHAFR that he would like to be relieved of the post.

According to Kimball, material costs for producing the **Roster and Research List**, together with mailing expenses, have been borne by Rutgers University, which has also furnished a work-study student as assistant. The production costs in 1978 for an issue of one thousand copies, were \$613.22 (stencils, ink, paper, and envelopes). Expenses for the off-year supplement he estimated at \$250-300. A work-study student was assigned to Kimball for fifteen hours a week; he estimated that less time was required for the off-year supplement. Access to a computer which could digest, store, and reproduce the data would, of course, greatly facilitate preparation of the **List**, but is not a prerequisite for the position.

SHAFR welcomes applications for the post of editor of the **Roster and Research List**. Any member who feels that he/she has the qualifications for the position and who has the requisite backing from his/her institution should contact at once the chairman of the committee charged with finding a replacement for this office -- Dr. David M. Pletcher, Department of History, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47401.

## SHAFR'S CALENDAR 1980

- April 9-12            The OAH will hold its 73rd annual meeting in San Francisco with the Hyatt Regency as headquarters.
- April 9                Council meeting 8:00-11:00 p.m., Board Room (Intermediate Level), Hyatt Regency.
- April 10              Reception-Cash Bar 5:00-7:00 p.m., Regency Room (Intermediate Level), Hyatt Regency.
- April 11              Luncheon will be served from noon-2:00 p.m. in the Bayview Room A-B (Street Level), Hyatt Regency. John Lewis Gaddis will present his Bernath Memorial Lecture, "Strategies of Containment." Presentation of Bernath book and article awards, the announcement of the 1981 Bernath lecturer, and the business meeting will follow.
- May 1                 Deadline, material for June **Newsletter** with publication one month later.
- August 1             Deadline, material for September **Newsletter** with publication one month later.
- August 14-16        SHAFR's Sixth Annual Conference at the University of Maryland.
- August 20-23        The Pacific Coast Branch of the AHA will hold its 73rd annual meeting at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles. SHAFR will have a reception at this convention.
- November 1          Deadline for materials--December **Newsletter** to be published early December.
- November 1-15      Annual elections 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.
- December 1          Deadline, nominations for 1981 Bernath memorial lectureship.
- December 28-30     The 95th annual convention of the AHA will be held in Washington, D.C. As usual, SHAFR will have a full round of activities at this meeting.

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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)  |

(Note: During the first three years of the competition for the articles prize the upper age limit was 40 years).

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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)

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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) Kenneth E. Shewmaker (Dartmouth)
1973	John L. Gaddis (Ohio U)
1974	Michael H. Hunt (Yale)
1975	Frank D. McCann, Jr. (New Hampshire) Stephen E. Pelz (U of Massachusetts-Amherst)
1976	Martin J. Sherwin (Princeton)
1977	Roger V. Dingman (Southern California)
1978	James R. Leutze (North Carolina)
1979	Phillip J. Baram (Program Manager, Boston, MA)

## THE SHAFR NEWSLETTER

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

**EDITOR:** William Brinker, Department of History, Tennessee Tech, Cookeville, Tennessee 38501.

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

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

**ADDRESS CHANGES:** Notification of address changes should be in the office of the editor at least one month prior to the date of publication. Copies of the **Newsletter** which are returned because of faulty addresses will be forwarded only upon the payment of a fee of \$1.00.

**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

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| 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)                       |

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